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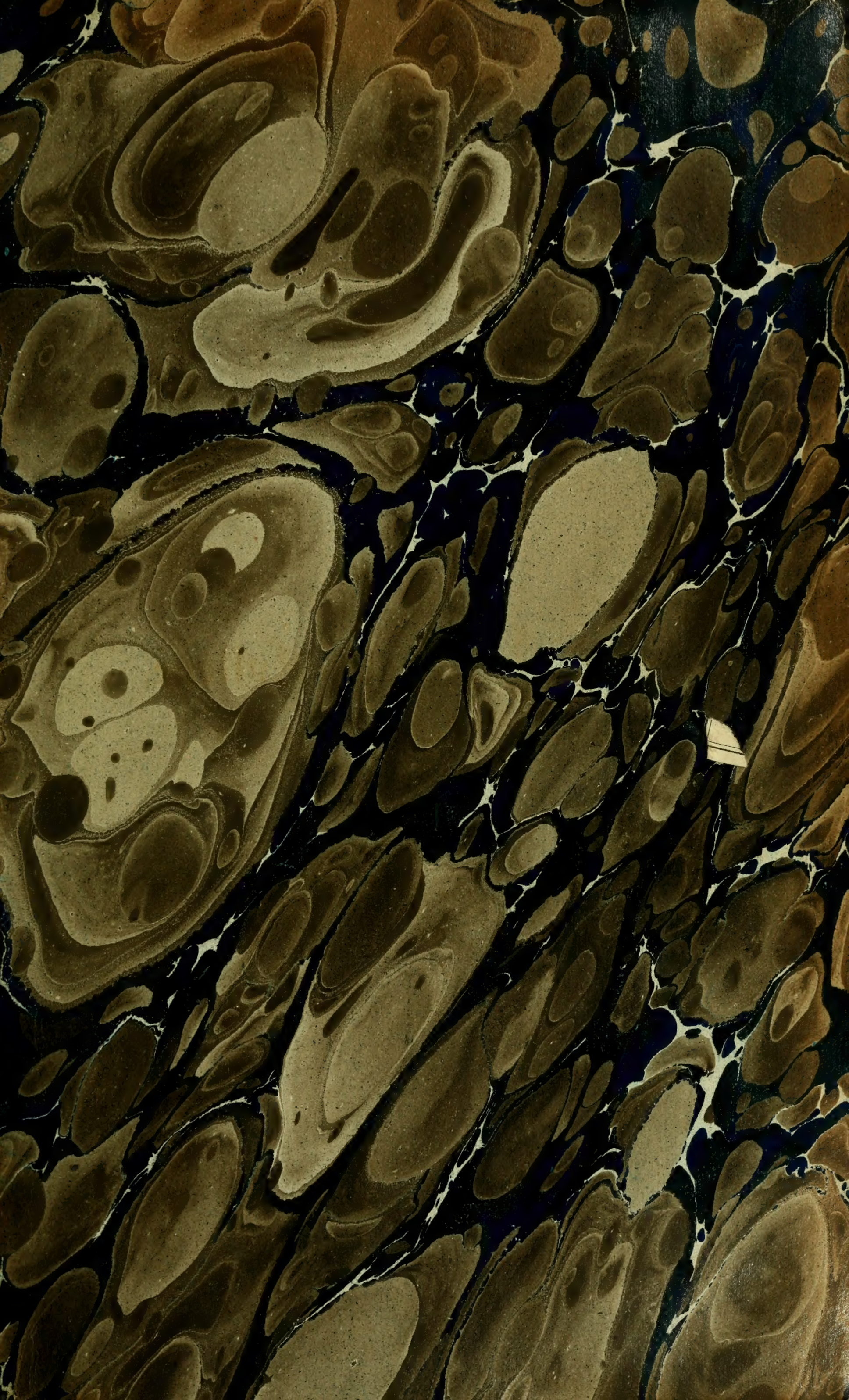

Associated Architectural Societies'

REPORTS AND PAPERS,

MDCCCLIX.

VOL. V., PT. 1.

REPORTS AND PAPERS

READ AT

The Meetings of the Architectural Societies

OF THE

COUNTY OF YORK,

DIOCESE OF LINCOLN,

ARCHDEACONRY OF NORTHAMPTON,

COUNTY OF BEDFORD,

DIOCESE OF WORCESTER,

AND

COUNTY OF LEICESTER,

DURING THE YEAR MDCCCLIX.

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*Parry, Thos., Esq., Architect, Sleaford
Peach, Rev. T. J., Holme Pierpoint, Nottingham, *V.P.*
Peacock, Edward, Esq., Manor Farm, Bottesford, Brigg
Peake, Henry, Esq., Sleaford
Pegus, Rev. W., Uffington House, Stamford
*Penrose, Rev. T. T., Coleby, Lincoln
Perry, Rev. G., Waddington, Lincoln
Philpott, Rev. W. B., Walesby, Market Rasen
Plater, Rev. Herbert, Grammar School, Newark
Pooley, Rev. J. H., Scotter, Kirton-in-Lindsey
*Portland, His Grace the Duke of, Welbeck Abbey, Notts., *Patron*
*Pownall, Rev. C. C. B., Milton-Ernest, Bedford, *R.D.*, *V.P.*
Pretyman, Rev. F., Great Carlton, Louth
*Pye, Henry, Esq., Louth
Rayson, Mr. Wm., Far-street, Horncastle
Rawnsley, Rev. T. H., Halton Holgate, Spilsby
Read, Rev. T. F. R., Winteringham, Brigg
Reeve, Mr. John, Lincoln
*Reynardson, Rev. J. Birch, Careby, Stamford
Robinson, Rev. G., Irby, Grimsby
Ross, John, Esq., Lincoln
Rowson, Rev. R. W., Laceby, Grimsby
*Rutland, His Grace the Duke of, Belvoir Castle, Grantham, *Patron*
Sansom, Rev. J., Buslingthorpe, Market Rasen
Scarborough, Mr. John, Winteringham
Scrivenor, Rev. A., Alvingham, Louth
Schneider, Rev. H., Carlton Scroop, Grantham, *R.D.*
*Sharman, W., Esq., Architect, Spalding
Shepherd, Rev. T. H., Clayworth, Bawtry, *R.D.*
*Sherbrooke, H., Esq., Oxton, Southwell, *V.P.*
*Sibthorp, G. T. W., Esq., M.P., Canwick House, Lincoln
*Sibthorp, Rev. H. Waldo, Washingboro' Lincoln
Sibthorp, Rev. R. Waldo, Lincoln
Simpson, Mr. Thos., High-street, Lincoln
Smith, Rev. T. F., Horsington, Horncastle
Smith, Rev. J. B., Sotby, Wragby
*Smyth, Rev. W., Elkington Hall, Louth, *V.P.*, *Treasurer.*
*Smyth, W. H., Esq., Elkington Thorpe, Louth
*Smyth, Rev. J. G., Elkington, Louth
*Stanhope, J. Banks, Esq., M.P., Revesby Abbey, Horncastle, *V.P.*
Street, Rev. B., Barnetby-le-Wold, Brigg
Stuart, Rev. T. F., Kirton-in-Lindsey
Sutton, Fred., Esq., West Tofts, Brandon
Sutton, Rev. Augustus, West Tofts, Brandon
Swan, Robert, Esq., Lincoln
Swan, Rev. C. Trollope, Welton-le-Wold, Louth
Terrot, Rev. C., Wispington, Horncastle, *Hon. Sec.*
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Thoroton, Rev. C., Rauceby, Sleaford

*Thorold, Richard, Esq., Weelsby House, Grimsby
*Thorpe, Jas., Esq., Beaconfield, Newark
Todd, Rev. T., Newton, Falkingham
*Trollope, Right Hon. Sir J., Bart., M.P., Casewick Hall, Stamford, *V.P.*
Trollope, Arthur, Esq., Lincoln
*Trollope, Rev. E., F.S.A., Leasingham, Sleaford, *Hon. Acting Secretary*
*Trotter, Mr. Theodore, Lincoln
Turnor, C., Esq., Stoke Hall, Grantham, *V.P.*
Twells, Rev. John, *R.D.*, Gamston, Retford
Valpy, Rev. J. M., St. John's, Nottingham
Vernon, G. E. H., Esq., M.P., Grove, East Retford, *V.P.*
Vernon, Rev. E. H. H., Grove, East Retford, *Hon. Sec.*
Vyner, Rev. W. P., Withern, Alford
Walters, Rev. N., Stamford
Walker, Sir Ed., Kt., Berry Hill, Mansfield
Walker, Rev. Joseph, Averham, Newark
Watson, Rev. W. R., Saltfleetby, Louth
Wayet, Rev. West, Pinchbeck, Spalding
*Welby, Sir G. E., Bart., M.P., Denton House, Grantham, *V.P.*
Welby, Rev. Geo., Barrowby, Grantham
Whichcote, Rev. Chris., Aswarby, Folkingham, *R.D.*
White, Rev. J., Grayingham, Kirton-in-Lindsey
Whitehead, Rev. G. Davenport, Lincoln
Whitton, Richard, Esq., Lincoln
Wilkinson, Sir Gardner, Kt., F.R.S., 33, York-street, Portman-square, London
Wilde, Rev. Albert Sydney, Louth
Willoughby d'Eresby, The Right Hon. Lord, Grimsthorpe Castle, Bourn
Wilkins, Rev. J. Murray, Southwell
Wilkinson, Rev. Clennel, Fulbeck, Grantham
Williams, Rev. R. P., Scartho, Grimsby
*Willson, Anthony, Esq., M.P., Rauceby Hall, Sleaford
Wingate, Wm., Esq., Ludford, Market Rasen
*Wright, Rev. Wm., Brattleby, Lincoln
Woolley, Thos. Smith, Esq., South Collingham, Newark
*Yarborough, Right Hon. the Earl of, Brocklesby Park, Grimsby, *Patron*
Yard, Rev. G. B., Wragby, *R.D.*
Younge, Rev. J. B. B., Wilsford, Grantham

The Report.

Your Committee has much pleasure in announcing officially the advance made by the Society since the publication of its last Report, although this is probably already well known to most of its members.

We can allude with pride to the numerous additions we have been authorized to make to our member list, now strengthened by the names of the Marquis of Bristol and Lord Willoughby d'Eresby, and adorned by those of Sir Gardner Wilkinson, Tennyson, (the poet laureate), and Dr. Latham.

We can speak with the highest satisfaction of our spring and autumnal meetings, held in friendly concert, the one with the Yorkshire Society, at Grimsby, the other with that of the Archdeaconry of Northampton, at Stamford. We are bold enough to invite your attention towards the local Architectural and Archæological Papers we have selected for publication, believing that they will fully come up to the expectation of our members generally; and finally, we have no doubt but that our financial statement will be received with the utmost satisfaction. But we have another duty to perform—we must turn over the page alluding to the Society's prosperity, and dwell awhile upon its losses during the year 1859. It will have been observed that, of late, the Society's annual volume has been far more efficiently illustrated than in former years. This improvement has been principally effected through the great liberality of the late Mr. Ellison. His ear having ever been open to the appeals of the needy, and his hand ever ready to relieve their wants, his death has been very widely and deeply lamented; but it is as an encourager of our architectural pursuits that we experience so much regret in alluding to him as a most valuable friend now no more; for it will probably be long before we meet with a similar one, combining so much truly Christian kindness with such a warm love of the fine arts, as were so happily blended in the character of the late benevolent proprietor of Sudbrooke.

The name of one who will not readily be forgotten in the county of Lincoln, on account of the solid worth with which it was connected, no longer appears in the list of our Vice-Presidents—we allude to Mr. Chaplin, the widely known and as widely esteemed Squire of Blankney.

Death has also extracted from the same list the name of a valuable supporter of our Society, that of Colonel Wildman, the late hospitable proprietor of Newstead Abbey, so interesting from its connection with the monastic system and with the most brilliant of our modern poets.

We have also to regret the departure from Lincolnshire of one of our local Secretaries, the Rev. W. B. Caparn, whose earnest Christian devotedness united to a humble spirit had attracted the friendly sympathies of many hearts towards him.

But the most touching event our Society has to record is the death of the late Earl of Westmoreland. He was not indeed one of our body, but having just brightened the member list of one of our fraternal Architectural Societies with his illustrious name, before it was ordained that it should be erased from the roll of the living, and soothed his declining days with the rational pleasure to be derived from Archæology, he was most anxious that the same gratification should be widely extended to others. The Associated Societies will not readily forget their late visit to the Roman villa near Lord Westmoreland's fine and historical mansion of Apethorpe; nor can their respective members who joined in it reflect without a sigh upon the sad event that has since occurred; he who then had a kind word and a hearty welcome for all his guests, whether high or low, having now sunk into the silence of the grave; and *his* ear for ever closed, that so lately was permitted to listen to the heartfelt applause bursting from the lips of his numerous guests, when they so vainly wished that long life, as well as happiness, might still be his.

We turn from so sad a reflection to record the Society's successful application to the Lord Mayor aud Council of York, in behalf of the preservation of the last remaining Barbican of their city, which had been threatened with destruction. The following was the letter forwarded by your Committee:—

"*Lincoln, March 4th,* 1859.

"My Lord:

"Hearing that at a meeting of the City Council of York, intended to be "held on Monday, the 14th instant, a proposition is about to be brought forward "with respect to the demolition of the Barbican of Walmgate Bar, the Architectural "Society of the Diocese of Lincoln most respectfully ventures to address you on this "subject, as the chief object it has in view is to promote the study of ancient archi-"tecture, and to preserve those buildings from decay or destruction, which throw any "light upon the history of the past or upon the customs of our forefathers. Such "buildings as that of the Walmgate Bar Barbican, are of more than local value and "interest, and the Society regards them as national historical monuments which "should be preserved, for the benefit and instruction of future generations, as well "as for our own. The city of Lincoln preserves with most zealous care its ancient "entrance-arch, as a reminiscence of its former occupation by the Romans, and the "Society regards your Barbican at York as an equally valuable illustration of a later "but yet ancient architectural and historical period, which it believes to be almost "unique; so that, should the fiat of the City Council go forth for its destruction, an "important evidence of the past will be swept away, which if simply left to itself "will (without any outlay upon it) still last through future centuries for the benefit "of many a generation of visitors to your venerable city. Temple-bar, although a "considerable inconvenience to the enormous traffic of the metropolis, and not a very "beautiful work of the 17th century, is still suffered to stand by the Lord Mayor "and Corporation of London; and it is the respectful and most earnest request of the "Lincoln Diocesan Architectural Society to the Lord Mayor and Council of York, "that the Barbican of the Walmgate Bar of your city, which is a much more valuable "relic of the past, may be spared from destruction.

"I am, my Lord,

"With the utmost respect, your obedient servant,

"EDWARD TROLLOPE,

"General Honorary Secretary to the Lincoln "Diocesan Architectural Society."

Eventually, your Committee had the pleasure of being informed that the Barbican was ordered to remain untouched, by the decision of a large majority of votes in Council; and we have reason to believe that the decision was materially aided by the interposition of this Society, in conjunction with the efforts of other scientific bodies.

No feature of the Society's proceedings is more popular than its annual meetings, when both eye and ear information are very widely offered in various forms for public acceptance. The study of Architecture is our first object, but a careful investigation of the history of the past is of necessity blended with such a subject, so that we are anxious also to elicit as much information as possible on this head, connected with the various localities we successively visit. Hence, not only buildings—ancient and modern, ecclesiastical and civil—receive our diligent attention, but we endeavour by means of our treatises and temporary museums to throw fresh light upon the lives of persons of note, or objects of archæological interest connected with the diocese.

During the present year the Society has held two public meetings, both of which commanded much public attention, and afforded the highest gratification to the Society's members, and its numerous local friends attending them. On the occasion of the one held at Grimsby, on the 25th of May, after divine service in St. James's church, the Society's Secretary, supported by the churchwardens, proceeded to call attention to the ancient features of the fabric, and the recent restorations that have lately been carried out. He concluded by calling attention to the sadly mutilated condition of the great west window; to aid in restoring which the Society has since raised a special sum of £50.

At half-past ten a long train of carriages was assembled in front of the Yarborough Arms, and all were soon amply filled with occupants, anxious to take part in an excursion to the following churches, which were visited in succession.

Trinity Church, Clee, famous for its extremely early tower and its Norman nave, &c. Here the Rev. G. Atkinson pointed out the peculiar features of this unusually interesting fabric, and especially directed attention towards the dedication stone inserted in one of the nave pillars, in connexion with which the following observations were made by the Secretary:—

" There is an inscribed stone inserted in the south-western pillar of this church, of very small size, but yet endowed with the talismanic power of raising up before our mental vision two of the most noted personages connected with English history—viz., Richard Cœur de Lion, and St. Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln. The inscription to which I allude is short, and not deeply engraved, but it remains almost as perfect as the day on which it was cut—667 years ago. Divested of abbreviations, it reads thus — HÆC ECCLESIA DEDICATA EST IN HONORE SANCTÆ TRINITATIS, ET SANCTÆ MARIÆ VIRGINIS, A DOMINO HUGONE LINCOLNIENSI EPISCOPO, ANNO AB INCARNACIONE DOMINI, M°. C°. XCII°. TEMPORE RICARDI REGIS. Whence we gather that Hugh de Avalon, the builder of a large portion of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln, although prevented by the hand of death from dedicating his own work to the honour and service of God, was once present here for the purpose of consecrating this church, and dedicating it to the Holy Trinity and the Virgin Mary. The ceremony of dedicating Christian churches is most ancient, and was no doubt adopted in imitation of the dedication of the Temple at Jerusalem by Solomon. In the little church of Germigny sur Loire, thought by Mr. J. H. Parker to be one of the original churches built by Charlemagne, by the aid of Greek architects and Byzantine workmen, an inscription still remains on the abacus of the two eastern capitals of the lower piers, recording its dedication in the year 806. The inscription reads thus—*Anno Incarnationis Domini DCCC. et VI., III. Nonas Januarii, Dedicatio hujus Ecclesiæ sub Invocatione Sancti Germini et Sanctæ Ginevræ.* It was usual to carve or paint crosses upon the pillars or walls of churches at the time of their dedication, which were, perhaps, looked upon as the seals of that worship thereafter to be carried on within their precincts. An interesting and very ancient instance of this custom may be seen in Egypt. On the pillars of the portico of the grand Temple of Philæ these Christian emblems are cut, which, in addition to an altar similarly marked, indicate an adoption by an early Christian church of a portion of that huge heathen temple for the purposes of Christian worship. Similar crosses, originally painted in the 14th century, were revealed on the walls of Sleaford church during its late restoration, when its walls were stripped of the plaster that had so long covered them. These crosses are usually of that form termed " paté" by heralds. Dedication stones are now rare, but I have copied one still preserved in the church of Osmoy, situated in the arrondissement of Neufchatel, for the purpose of comparing it with the one here at Clee, as it belongs to the same period, having been cut only 22 years previous to our Lincolnshire specimen. It commences in the usual manner—*Anno ab Incarnatione Domini, M. C. LXX. Dedicata hæc Ecclesia VI. Kalendas Maii in Honore*—but it is singular to find that the inscription was never finished, a space still being left blank intended to have been filled in with the name of the prelate dedicating the church, and of the saint to whom it was dedicated. One, still earlier, stands over the south door of the chancel of Castor Church, Northamptonshire, thus inscribed—*XV. Kalendarum Maii, Dedicatio hujus Ecclesiæ, A.D MCXIII.* Another, of about the same date, is in the possession of the Rev. Richard Yerburgh, of Sleaford, a cast from which is in my possession. It is partially defaced, but commences thus—*Hæc Ecclesia Manibus Hominum Facta, ad Honorem Sancti Adelwoldi* . . and, perhaps, the word *Dedicata* by itself below. The only clue I received as to the church whence this interesting relic was obtained many years ago, simply directed me to the neighbourhood of Louth; but it has proved sufficient, for I find that the little church of Alvingham, four miles to the north of that town, is dedicated to St. Adelwold, and I doubt not but that the stone in question came from its interior. Adelwold, or Adelwald, was an inmate of the Benedictine abbey of Ripon, who afterwards became a hermit and a saint, and was buried by St. Cuthbert himself in St. Peter's church, at Lindisfarne. His feast was kept March 23rd. Sometimes dedication memorials were engraved on

brass plates. One of these is in Ashbourne church, Derbyshire, bearing this inscription:—*Anno ab Incarnacione Domini M. CC. XLI.: VIII. Kalendas Maii, Dedicata est hæc Ecclesia et hoc Altare Consecratum in Honore Sancti Oswaldi Regis et Martyris, a Venerabili Patre Domino Hugone de Patishul, Conventrensi Episcopo.* The said Hugh de Patishul, it will perhaps be remembered, was consecrated Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield July 1st, 1240, and died December 8th, in the following year. Lastly, there is an example of what I believe to be a dedication stone inserted in the tower of St. Mary-le-Wigford's church, at Lincoln. This is now almost illegible; but it is remarkable as being cut on the upper portion of a Roman tombstone, doubtless selected from the great southern cemetery of that people, within whose limits St. Mary's church was built. An engraving of this is given in my Lincoln *Handbook*, published in 1856."

"These dedication stones are very likely to mislead ecclesiological students as to the dates of the churches in which they are found; for they may, of course, be only relics of older churches than those now sheltering them, or they may be later; so that it would be most dangerous to fix the date of a church, or any portion of it, positively, from the sole evidence of such inscriptions as those we are referring to. Churches were not always dedicated as soon as they were built, and in some cases many years intervened between the two events. This arose from the costliness of the gifts expected to be presented on such occasions to the church and to the dedication celebrants, as well as of the subsequent feasting. Many founders, therefore, sought to avoid, or at all events to postpone, such an additional charge upon their purses. Discovering this, the prelates of the 13th century sought to enforce greater strictness with respect to the dedication of churches; and one of the articles of inquiry at Bishop Grostete's visitation in 1236 was this:—'An Ecclesiæ sint dedicatæ.' (*Annal. Burton.*, *p.* 317.) During the following year, the legate Otho ordered that all cathedral, conventual, and parochial churches, already built, should be consecrated by their respective diocesans within two years, if they had not been previously thus sanctified; and also all that should thereafter be erected within the same space of time from their completion.—(*Brown*, *Fascic.*, *p.* 345.) A great load of debt was often incurred by the magnificent entertainments given on the occasion of dedicating a church, whether by a religious body or an individual, although the noble persons present might make grants of land, &c., for the maintenance of the new fabric, which they usually did. For instance, when Richard, Earl of Cornwall, in pursuance of a vow he had made in a moment of much danger at sea, founded the Cistercian abbey of Hales, in Gloucestershire, A.D. 1251, he entertained the king and queen, with their nobles, 13 bishops, 390 knights, at an immense cost; and this in addition to the presentation of 1,000 marks (for the purchase of lands) to the inmates of the new establishment, amplified by a rent of £20 per annum settled upon them by a charter. The Earl, however, we are informed, did not grudge the amount of his gifts and expenditure, making, as he did, this answer to some one who had remarked upon it—'I wish it had pleased God that all my great expenses on my castle of Wallingford had been as wisely and as soberly employed.'"

St. Peter's, *Holton*, which has a tower of the same type as that of Clee, the upper stage in each case being pierced with semicircular headed belfry apertures, having central heavy shafts, supporting deep oblong imposts.

St. Martin's, *Waithe*, whose tower is of the same class as the last, but placed between the nave and chancel, to the last of which early English aisles were afterwards applied. Through the liberality of G. H. Ha gh, Esq., very extensive reparations of the fabric are contemplated, which will probably lead to the rebuilding of the greater part of this church—a work that appears to be absolutely necessary; but the tower, we are assured, will remain untouched.

St. Nicholas's, *Grainsby*, which can also boast of an early tower, and a good south porch and doorway; but, otherwise, there is very much here that might be done to render its appearance more appropriate.

Hence the party paid a visit to the handsome new mansion of Mr. Haigh, situated in Grainsby parish, where all were most kindly received by the liberal proprietor, who was untiring in pointing out to his very numerous visitors the pictures, &c., most worthy of notice.

The excursionists then passed on to *West Ravendale*, where Dr. and Mrs. Parkinson had made extensive preparations for their entertainment in a large marquee,

in accordance with their well known hospitable feelings. Here the new church, schoolhouse, and parsonage, all erected at the expense of Dr. Parkinson, were duly examined and admired, as exemplifications of his taste and liberality. While some of the party were partaking of the good cheer provided for them, others followed their host to East Ravendale, where, on the site of a small ruined chapel, he read a memoir of the priory formerly existant there, founded by Alan, son of Henry, Earl of Brittany, in 1202, and afterwards given by Henry VI. to Southwell College in 1438.

Ashby having been inadvertently passed by through a mistake of the leading driver of the string of carriages——

St. Helen's, Brigsley, was next visited; and then

All Saints, Waltham. This is rather a large Early English church, as compared with most that had been previously visited, but requires much purification from whitewash and modern encumbrances, &c. It contains the brass of Johanna de Waltham, who died in 1420, and a pretty double piscina.

St. Giles's, Scartho, was the last church visited, where its venerable tower, rivalling in value that of Clee, attracted much attention, as did the whole fabric, on account of certain destructive measures which had been proposed in connexion with its then contemplated restoration. Happily, the evil threatened has been avoided; and we can now allude with pleasure to the works that have since been carried out in a conservative spirit, through the patient firmness of the worthy incumbent, the Rev. R. P. Williams.

Soon after the return of the party to Grimsby, the Society's temporary museum was thrown open to the public; and the Corn Exchange, where it had been very pleasingly and instructively arranged, was quickly filled with persons of all classes, anxious to examine its contents. The Society's evening meeting was presided over by the Bishop of Lincoln. As soon as his Lordship had taken the chair, the Mayor of Grimsby, J. Bell, Esq., supported by the Aldermen and Burgesses of the Borough, offered the subjoined address to the President of the Society and its Members.

" *To the President and Members of the Architectural Society of the Diocese of Lincoln.*

" My Lord Bishop, Reverend Sirs, and Gentlemen,—We, the Mayor, Alder- " men, and Burgesses of the Borough of Great Grimsby, while congratulating our- " selves that your truly valuable Society has this year selected our ancient borough " and its neighbourhood as the field for your inspection and research, unanimously " offer you our sincerest thanks for the honour shown to our town; and in behalf of " its inhabitants we heartily bid you welcome.

" We believe that the aims of your Society are of a highly intellectual and " practical character, tending to elevate the taste and refine the mind; at the same " time materially assisting in the maintenance of the ancient history of buildings " which have become endeared to the present generation by their early asso- " ciations.

" The suppression of the Monasteries, the ravages of time, and the outrages of " man, have left but few features of archæological interest in this town to which we " can direct your attention. Of those few the venerable church of St. James is " the most conspicuous; and that sacred edifice presents a lamentable spectacle of " decay, arising from the causes we have just referred to, and of the culpable neglect " of, and the injudicious reparation (in later days) by those to whose care the " maintenance of the fabric has from time to time devolved. Although much has " been done during the last two years to restore this church to a state of ordinary " decency, still much remains undone, and we are not without a hope that this visit " of your members will enlist an extended sympathy with our work in this county " and elsewhere.

" Our port is not without an attraction to the observer of the developement of " science and art in modern days; our noble dock occupying a site which fifteen " years ago was mud foreshore, washed with 18 feet of tide; the beautifully de- " signed and admirably-executed hydraulic tower rising 300 feet over a spot on the " same site, where formerly water was the deepest, and the substratum was the most " treacherous. The application af the science of hydraulics to the gates and working

" machinery of the docks are all subjects which, we feel sure, will be viewed by you " with gratification, and will impart satisfaction to your architectural and scientific " minds.

" Our town is surrounded with ancient remains, and is connected with legends " from remote times of British history; and we trust that your visit will throw new " light upon these histories—that it will incite us to a greater reverence for the " relics which remain, and to greater efforts for securing their preservation.

" We offer you our best wishes for the general prosperity of your Society, and " we entertain the hope that your visit to Great Grimsby may be productive of " present gratification to you, and will hereafter be reviewed by all of us as an in- " terval of intellectual enjoyment and improvement.

" Given under the common seal of the said borough, at a meeting of the Coun- " cil duly held in the Town-hall, on the 24th day of May, 1859."

The following reply was then read by the Rev. EDW. TROLLOPE, the Society's Honorary Secretary:—

" *To the Worshipful the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the Borough of Great Grimsby.*

" Mr. Mayor and Gentlemen,—We, the President and Members of the Lincoln " Diocesan Architectural Society, beg to assure you that the distinguished welcome " you have offered to us is a source of much gratification to our body, and we beg to " thank you very warmly for the same.

" The object of our Society is to endeavour to add to the general knowledge of " the architecture, archæology, and history connected with the counties of Lincoln " and Nottingham; but we direct our special attention towards the illustration of " that particular town and its vicinity selected annually as our place of public as- " semblage.

" We have already inspected with much pleasure your ancient parish church, " of which you may be justly proud, now that its restoration, as far as it has been " carried out, has been so substantially and judiciously effected. We shall be highly " gratified should our present visit to Grimsby conduce in any way to the further- " ance of that excellent work, which we most earnestly trust you will be enabled " shortly to complete.

" It is true that the suppression of the monasteries and the ravages of time have " swept away many of the beautiful and interesting specimens of architecture that " once adorned your town and its vicinity; but as the history of man and his deeds " usually endures far longer than his works, Grimsby has a peculiar charm in our " eyes from its long and undoubted connexion with the Danes. Here we can still " trace the remains of the creek, up which the hero of your ancient corporation seal " steered his little vessel. Hence we see the wide waters of the Humber, which so " often in olden times bore upon their surface the triumphant Danish Raven stan- " dard, and once witnessed the ignominious flight of the boastful Norwegian " 'Ravager of the Earth:' whilst around we can still discern palpable traces of the " sacrilegious burnings of those hostile Northmen. Here, also, we are reminded of " that illustrious prelate Archbishop Whitgift; and here the name of Gervase Holles, " so well known as a scholar and antiquary, rises up prominently before us. But " whilst we are led to look back upon the past with interest, and we hope with " profit, we cannot but congratulate you that the northern nations, formerly fre- " quenting the Humber, intent upon plunder, violence, and conquest, now do so " with the most pacific intentions, to the advantage of your town; and that the origi- " nal modest haven assigned to you by nature has been exchanged for that noble " dock and its grand hydraulic tower, so ably conceived and so skilfully con- " structed by the hand of man. Thanking you for your kind wishes, and for that " obliging co-operation which we feel assured we shall receive from your hands " during our visit to your borough, we most sincerely trust you will not be disap- " pointed with our proceedings whilst we remain your guests."

The BISHOP then called upon Mr. Trollope to read a paper on the *Danes in Lincolnshire;* at the conclusion of which, a vote of thanks was accorded to the lecturer, as proposed by Sir Charles Anderson, and seconded by Mr. Grieve; the President then requested the Rev. G. Atkinson to read his treatise on *The Saxon*

Architecture, and the Early Churches in the neighbourhood of Grimsby; for which the author received the most hearty thanks, as proposed in glowing and highly complimentary terms by the Rev. G. Gilbert, and seconded by Mr. Brookes.

The BISHOP said all that now remained, was for him to dismiss the meeting, and invite their attendance on the following evening. In doing so, however, he would desire to call attention to the articles of interest and value contained in the Museum, which were well worthy of inspection, and suggestive of ideas which could not be without interest or instruction.

On the motion of the Rev. ROBT. AINSLIE, vicar of Grimsby, seconded by the MAYOR, a vote of thanks was accorded to the Bishop for presiding; the reverend gentleman referring briefly to a former visit of his lordship to Grimsby, on the reopening of the church, and trusted soon again to welcome him.

His LORDSHIP returned thanks. He had only done his duty, he said, in attending as the President of the Society; and the oftener he could assist in that, or any other good work, the happier he should be.

The day's proceedings terminated about ten o'clock.

THURSDAY, MAY 26.

The MAYOR OF GRIMSBY this morning gave a *dejeuner* to the members of the Society, and their friends, who assembled in the Corn Exchange, at about nine o'clock. The number of invitations issued was one hundred and fifty; and the breakfast, which was a most excellent and substantial one, was supplied from the Yarborough Hotel. At the conclusion of the repast, the Bishop retired, accompanied by Sir Charles Anderson, his Lordship having an engagement which rendered it necessary that he should leave by an early train. On the motion of the Rev. Edward Trollope, a vote of thanks was cordially given to the Mayor for his liberal entertainment, which his worship briefly acknowledged, claiming no credit for what he had done, but esteeming it a privilege to entertain such guests, and feeling a pride in being surrounded by the members of so valuable a Society. The company then left for the platform of the railway, to proceed upon

THE SECOND DAY'S EXCURSION,

for which a special train had been engaged.

The morning was again auspicious, and something like two hundred ladies and gentlemen entered the train, which, leaving the station at the hour appointed, soon brought them to the vicinity of the ruins of

THORNTON ABBEY.—On arriving at the entrance, the Rev. J. BYRON kindly acted as guide to the party, who alluded to portions of the past history of this interesting old abbey, as well as to its present architectural features, in a popular manner, well adaped to the occasion; for which obliging and valuable service the representatives of the Society present, and their friends, expressed their grateful thanks.

The party then resumed their places in the train, and soon arrived at Barrow Station, whence a short walk brought them to an ancient earthwork that has long been regarded with a considerable amount of curiosity, termed *The Castles*, or the *Castle Hills.* Here, while the numerous visitors arranged themselves in a most picturesque manner over the slope of the principal grassy mound, the Secretary of the Society, ascending a smaller one opposite, read the following remarks with respect to this ancient artificial feature on the borders of the Humber:—

"This earthwork is exeedingly interesting from its extent, position, and the very uncertainty of its origin.

"It occupies a space of about eight acres of ground; its dominant feature being a large circular mound, surrounded by a fosse forty feet wide, and surmounted by a small tumulus, giving it a mammiferous outline.

"Round this are grouped several irregular shaped features surrounded also by fosses, including a very large one towards the north, of a crescent form, bisected by the new Castles road, but whose outline has of late years been nearly obliterated on the north side of the said road. The work was well protected on the south by a beck, which had formerly created a swamp or bog in that direction; whilst its occupants possessed an easy access to the sea by means of this beck, which, shortly widening out its bed, communicated with the Humber, under the appellation of Barrow Haven.

"There can be no doubt of its extreme antiquity, or that it gave the name to the adjacent village; but we want to know more than this, namely, when, and by whom, these mounds were raised. Most unfortunately, however, we have no records to help us, and very little internal evidence at our disposal, calculated to aid our efforts in the elucidation of these questions; but I am inclined to think that we may most reasonably enquire whether a far greater power than any that has hitherto been suggested may not at least have formed the nucleus of the Castles, viz., Nature herself.

"It was the ordinary habit of our Lincolnshire estuaries, of old, to form mounds by the constantly recurring confluence of the fresh and sea water within their channels. These were at first shuffled up, if I may so term it, into banks, and then heightened by driving winds, laden with fine silty or earthy particles, until they at length acquired a considerable elevation, as may be seen in the instances of Bicker Haven, Santon Common, and occasionally along the line of the Roman sea bank.

"The hand of man, however, has clearly moulded, what I conceive to have been originally a natural production, into its present form for the purpose of his defence.

"I do not suppose that any modern archæologian would be bold enough to agree with the visionary Stukeley in dubbing this an "Alate Temple of the Druids," but it still remains difficult to decide by what people their works were wrought into the shape they now possess.

"Probably, one of those Keltic tribes whose history is utterly unknown to us, and who swept, wave after wave, over our land before its first invasion under Cæsar by the Romans, has here left a trace of its energy and its labours; but, almost beyond a doubt, these earthworks were subsequently occupied by a people with whose history we are to a certain extent acquainted, viz., the Danes, and may well be compared with similar works at Thonock, near Gainsborough, and at Laxton, in Nottinghamshire—both with reason reputed to be of Danish origin. Unfortunately, we can now only surmise this; but had archæology been as successfully developed in the last century as it has been in the present one, we could at least have ascertained with certainty what people or peoples had occupied these mounds, for it is mentioned in Gough's edition of Camden that some tumuli then existed towards their northern side, which were opened, and found to contain urns and fragments of human bones; and, had we now in our possession but one of those urns, or even a portion of one, we might have pronounced at once with the utmost precision to what people they belonged.

"I doubt not, however, but that the Danes—at first temporarily, during their early raids upon our Lincolnshire coast, and afterwards permanently—held this position, which from its situation must have been a convenient and a strong one to a maritime people of predatory habits and a pugnacious character; although they were, probably, not the first occupants of the mounds on which we are now standing."

From Barrow the excursionists proceeded to Barton, where, after partaking of some refreshment, they proceeded to the celebrated old church of St. Peter, at that time in the act of undergoing a very extensive restoration; in connexion with which, the Rev. G. Atkinson, who was here the Society's cicerone, made the following very apt observations as to the two points that church-restorers ought always to keep in view. First, to treat with tender care what was old; to preserve the peculiar character of each structure; and to abstain from making any alteration in the old work that necessity did not absolutely require. Secondly, to render the churches requiring alterations as suitable to the wants and comforts of the worshippers therein, as the ritual and services of our Church, and the peculiar character of our sacred edifices, will allow of. He also much regretted to see the insertion of a modern doorway, imitating the character of the oldest work of the church, in the porch or narthex attached to the western face of the tower; as such an addition was calculated to deceive even intelligent visitors as to what was really old, and what imitative work of the present century.

After a hasty visit to the fine adjacent church of St. Mary, the excursionists hastened back to Grimsby, to visit the Docks, by special invitation. Here a very pretty sight presented itself, every vessel in the Dock being gaily decked out with the colours of all nations, and flags floating from the summit of the lofty

hydraulic tower, 320 feet high, in honour of the Society's visit; while below were seen decorations formed of evergreens, among which the word WELCOME, in large letters, was conspicuous. Here Mr. Adam Smith, the talented resident engineer, to whom so much of the successful issue of the whole Dock works is mainly attributable, received the numerous visitors, explained to them something of the nature of this great undertaking, and presented a considerable number of his treatises on the same to the leading members of the Society present.

After having duly thanked Mr. Smith for his great attention to the representatives of the Society, and their friends, the party adjourned to the Corn Exchange, where the Society's usual public dinner took place, under the presidency of the Mayor, Dr. BELL, which was very largely attended.

THE EVENING MEETING.

The Corn Exchange was crowded in the evening, the greater number of those present belonging to the working classes, and it was exceedingly gratifying to notice the interest which they evinced throughout the proceedings.

Sir C. ANDERSON presided, and introduced Dr. Latham to the meeting.

R. G. LATHAM, Esq., M.D., F.R.S., after some preliminary remarks upon the connexion between the history of Havelok and the town of Grimsby, including a notice of the change that names undergo in passing from one age, or language, to another, as well as one upon the extraordinary way in which legends get intermixed and changed, considered the chief details of his subject from a double point of view. He first took the latter forms of the legend, and traced them backwards. He then took the earlier, and brought them downwards. He concluded that in the story of Havelok, the Dane, we had, at least, two separate stories. The latest form is, of course, that of the present tradition, adopted and believed in by the people of Grimsby itself as to the origin of their town. This is as follows: a fisherman of the name of Grim, Grime, or Ghrime, found a boat at sea, in which a young child was exposed. This child he fostered and brought up, until his excellence in manly games and other accomplishments betrayed a royal origin. He threw a heavy stone further than any competitor, which stone is now to be seen near Grimsby, and named Havlok's stone. But there was another such stone at Lincoln. Eventually the thrower turns out to be the son of the king of Denmark, who, grown to man's estate, requites Grim for his kindness by obtaining advantages for Grimsby. According to some accounts Grim was no fisherman. According to others he was neither merchant nor fisherman, nor a pirate. Upon the whole, however, the previous narrative is the one generally current—one in which there are only two names—Havlok and Grim; the latter perhaps the more conspicuous of the two. The story is unwritten, *i.e.*, it is a Grimsby tradition or legend. In the time of Queen Elizabeth we find a poem of some beauty and importance, devoted to the following story, a story connected with a name which at first conceals its real nature, and has at least no direct connection with that of Havelok. This change of name, the story remaining the same, is no less remarkable than the opposite phenomenon, namely, identity of name with difference of narrative, both of which appear over and over again in the history of fiction. And here Dr. Latham said that he must draw largely upon the attention of his audience; because his wish was to connect certain apparently different legends, and to show that, notwithstanding discrepancies of name, sex, time, and place, they were essentially the same. His wish was to *unsettle* the minds of his hearers, and to leave the question in an unsatisfactory state! He stated this much off hand, his desire being to stimulate rather than satisfy curiosity. The latest definite form of the story is that, he said, in the poem entitled *Argentile and Curan*, wherein Curan, a cook or scullion, falls in love with Argentile, the king's daughter, who, (in her turn) flies from her father's palace, and finds Curan disguised as a shepherd, whom, in this capacity, she marries. Curan proves to be the son of the king of Denmark. This is the form of the story in Warner's "Albion's England." Up to this point we have the names of Argentile, Curan, Havelok, and Grim, with no apparent connection. In more than one of the metrical (as well as the prose) chroniclers, we have allusion to all these names—sometimes as separate, sometimes as connected. Until lately these notices were but fragmentary and incomplete. Some years ago, however, Sir Frederick Madden edited, for the Roxburgh Club,

the text of two long poems—one in Old English, one in Norman-French—bearing the name of *Havelok the Dane*, alike in the main but different in details. The English work treats of Havelok and Grim, Havelok marrying Goldeburg, the daughter of England's king; the story of Grim being conspicuous—conspicuous also the exposure of the boy in the boat. The French, on the other hand, gives the names of Curan and Argentile, saying nothing about Goldeburg, but saying specially that Curan was another name of Havlok. We now see our way to the bearing of the first named poem upon the other two.—The speaker then entered upon the consideration of some minute letter changes, which justified him in supposing that where the Danes used *v* the Saxons used *g*, illustrating his case by the present names (along with other instances) of the capital of Denmark. In English it is "Copenha*g*en"—in Danish, "Krobenha*v*n." Such being the case, he held it probable that the name which the Danes sounded Ha*v*elok might be in Anglo-Saxon Hi*g*elac. If so, a new field opened on us. The Anglo-Saxon of Beowulf opens with the story of Sceaf, a wondrous being, exposed in a boat, even as Havelok was. He appears in other narratives, *i.e.*, as the founder of Sleswick, and as the head of the Lombard line of kings. One of his descendants is *Higelac* (Havelock), and one of the queen's female characters *Hildeburg* (Goldeburg.) He fights against one Ongeontheow, and is slain in battle by the Frisians. Such is the Anglo-Saxon story. Meanwhile, in Norse, king Hugleok is slain in battle at Fyris-vold, or the Frisian field. And now comes a piece of actual history. According to Gregory of Tours, an unexceptionable witness, a Danish pirate, named Chocilagus, effected a descent upon the coasts of Holland and Friesland, A.D. 1015. Hence, notwithstanding the changes of name and place, certain characteristic features common to all these stories justify us in identifying Chocilagus, Higelac, Hugleik, Havelok, word for word. If so, from the historical descent of a Norse pirate upon the shores of Friesland, we get a semi-historical Hugleik, a heroic or mythical Higelak, Havelok, connected with Grim, the founder of Grimsby; and a Havelok, in the French romance, identified with Curan, and in the poem of Warner absolutely replaced by him—for in the poem of Warner the name Havelok is non-existent. More than this, the Havelok identified with Curan is, even as a legendary hero, a different person from the Havelok identified with Higelak. A curious series of clerical errors, pointed out by Sir F. Madden, give us good ground for believing that the true form was *Anelaphus*. We find, for instance, in different MSS., Anlaphus, Anelok, Hanelok, and Hauelok. Though the different legends made Havelok the son of some dozen different individuals, some of whom were separated from one another by more than 800 years, they all agreed in making him a descendant of a king whose name in Anglo-Saxon was Garmund, and in Danish, Gorm. He was also called occasionally War-mund. As War-mund he is called the founder of Warwick; as Garmund that of Godman-chester; as Gorm that of Grimsby. At any rate, Grim and Gorm are, probably, the same words; and in Beowulf, Higelac is the son of Garmund. In Chocilagus we have history; all beyond is speculation, confusion, an intermixture of heterogeneous legends, and an attempt, by means of them, to give an appearance of history and system to what is merely fiction. At the same time, it is probable that a historical Gorm, Garmund, or Grim may have had some connection with Chocilagus; and that his occupancy may have been the site of the present Grimsby.

A vote of thanks was proposed by the Rev. G. Gilbert, and seconded by Mr. W. E. Bott, in a manner that must have been most gratifying to the learned lecturer. Afterwards, Sir Charles Anderson called upon the Rev. Edw. Trollope, to read a paper on the *Shadows of the Past, connected with the History of Grimsby;* at the conclusion of which he received the thanks of the meeting, as proposed by the Rev. G. Atkinson, and seconded by Mr. Ed. Bannister. A vote of thanks to the Chairman terminated the proceedings of the evening, which appeared to give the highest satisfaction to the vast numbers assembled in the Corn Exchange.

Before dispersing, a request was made on the part of the audience that the Society's Secretary would be so obliging as to give one more lecture on the following evening—viz., an explanation of the contents of the Society's temporary museum, which had been previously conditionally promised.

This he consented to do; and, aided by Sir Charles Anderson, he took a rapid survey of the varied relics of many past centuries, commencing with the valuable collection of Egyptian antiquities exhibited by the Rev. W. Frankland Hood, the

Indian and other Eastern articles, &c.; and then, commencing with the Celtic period, took in succession the Roman, Saxon, and Mediæval illustrations, concluding with pointing out the most instructive or the most beautiful of the numerous paintings, photographs, drawings, engravings, rubbings, &c., with which the whole of the Corn Exchange walls were entirely covered.

The MAYOR, who presided on this occasion, in addition to thanking Sir Charles Anderson and Mr. Trollope for their united services, took this final opportunity of expressing his gratitude to the Lincoln Diocesan Architectural Society, for the instruction and the pleasure it had afforded him; a feeling, which he felt sure was participated in by the inhabitants of Grimsby generally; and this sentiment was endorsed by loud and universal acclamations, concluding with prolonged cheering.

The Society's autumnal meeting was held at Stamford, on the 6th and 7th of September, in most cordial conjunction with that of the Archdeaconry of Northampton; but as the proceedings of the two associated Societies for the most part took place beyond our Lincolnshire boundary, we shall only briefly allude to them.

The MAYOR of Stamford, O. N. Simpson, Esq., received and welcomed the members of the two Societies in the Townhall; after which he presided over the opening meeting, and called on the Rev. T. JAMES, the accomplished secretary of the Northampton Archdeaconry Society, to read an inaugural address, entitled *An Architectural Review and Prospect for* 1859: in which he alluded to the greatly increased strength and numbers of such societies as those present, and the good they effected; reviewed a certain number of buildings of general interest—such as the Houses of Parliament, St. George's Hall, Liverpool, Doncaster Church, All Saints Church, Margaret-street, London; entered into the question of the battle of styles, now raging in the architectural world; commented on the works of church restoration in Stamford; welcomed the establishment of Mr. Blashfield's terra-cotta works in the town; and, finally, expressed his desire of seeing improvements effected in the appearance and plans of labourers' cottages, &c., &c.

A visit was then made, chiefly under the able guidance of the Rev. G. A. Poole, to the churches of Stamford, and the terra-cotta works of Mr. Blashfield.

After a public dinner at the George Hotel, an evening meeting took place; when, in accordance with the proposition of the MAYOR, the Rev. EDW. TROLLOPE was requested to preside; who, after briefly alluding to the objects the societies had in view, and how desirous their members were of imparting information in a popular manner, called upon the Rev. G. A. POOLE to read a paper on *Picturesque Building*—expressing his confident belief that the lecturer would not treat the subject in the matter-of-fact manner that a mason would adopt, nor with the dryness of an ordinary architect; but that, with the knowledge of both, he would at the same time invest his remarks with a painter's skill, and such a poetical phase as would be sure to give much pleasure to the meeting.

At the conclusion of the paper, Mr. Poole received the unanimous thanks of the assemblage, as proposed by Dr. HOPKINSON, and seconded by the MAYOR.

The PRESIDENT then announced that the next paper would be read by Mr. BLASHFIELD, who, having studied in the classical schools of Greece and Rome, had proved that he had successfully done so, by the exposition of a beautiful selection of his works of art arranged at the other end of the Assembly room.

At the conclusion of the paper, which was on *Ancient and Modern Terra-cottas*, the lecturer received the thanks of the meeting, at the hands of the Rev. G. ATKINSON, and the Rev. E. TOWERS—an able representative of the Leicestershire Society. The evening's proceedings closed with the usual vote of thanks to the President.

On Wednesday, the 7th, the members of the two Societies and their friends started on an excursion, comprising visits to *Whittering*, with its Saxon features; *Elton;* the beautiful Early English church of *Warmington*—perhaps one of the most charming specimens of that pure style; *Fotheringhay*, replete with its sad history of fallen and suffering Majesty; and *Wood Newton.* But the great point of attraction was *Apethorpe;* partly from the desire generally felt of visiting that fine old mansion, but more especially from the great and general interest felt in the discovery of a Roman villa close by, and in consequence of a most kind and liberal invitation to inspect the same, issued by the late Earl of Westmoreland. The

excavations had been rapidly carried on until the last moment, as were the extensive preparations for the hospitable entertainment of the very large party of visitors.

After a most hearty reception offered to these in the fine old gallery, and an inspection of its numerous paintings and works of art, &c., the whole company descended to the corridor below, where a sumptuous repast was ready for all; at the conclusion of which the party proceeded, through the garden, to the Roman Villa, where, by a few judicious arrangements, ably carried out under the superintendance of his Lordship's agent, all could see this newly revealed relic of the Roman occupation of Britain without injuring its fragile features, and all distinctly hear the address, describing their character, &c., that was delivered by our Secretary from a platform covered with carpeting, erected at one end of the Villa enclosure. On this platform were arranged the smaller Roman articles resulting from the excavations, such as coins, glass, pottery, &c.; besides numerous drawings and prints, illustrating the various features and details of Roman houses in Britain.

It was a most picturesque sight to witness so large an assemblage of persons of all ranks, from peers to peasants—that were assembled together on this occasion, amidst the verdant glades and ancient oaks of Apethorpe park; and also most pleasing to observe that all seemed to be really desirous of profiting by the explanatory remarks of the speaker, to whom a very cordial vote of thanks was accorded, as proposed in most flattering terms by the Rev. W. ELWIN (the editor of the *Quarterly Review*) and seconded by LORD ALWYNE COMPTON.

Thanking their noble entertainers most heartily for the general kindness and the very sumptuous entertainment they had received at their hands during their visit to Apethorpe, the members of the associated Societies and their friends gradually withdrew to their carriages. On their way back to Stamford they paid a short visit to All Saints church, Cliffe, where they much regretted that they could not have the pleasure of seeing its venerable rector, Archdeacon Bonney, from the infirm state of his health.

The evening meeting was presided over by LORD ALWYNE COMPTON, when a paper was read on the *Apethorpe Villa* by our honorary general Secretary, for which he was thanked on the part of the assembly by the Rev. H. MACKENZIE, in his usual able manner, and by Sir CHARLES ANDERSON; next he explained the contents of the Museum; and concluded by making a strong appeal to the public in favour of Croyland Abbey, whose remains were stated to be in the most imminent danger. The hearty thanks of both Societies were then offered to the local Committee, and especially to its active Secretary, the Rev. C. NEVINSON, for the services they had rendered on the occasion of this Stamford meeting, and which had so materially tended towards its success.

Church Restorations.

St. James's, Great Grimsby. Although in our last Report we made mention of the substantial repairs, and the excellent alterations that have lately been made in the fabric of this church, as the Society has this year paid it a visit, and carefully examined its details, we cannot refrain from making some allusion to it again.

So far as the work of restoration has advanced, it has met with our entire approbation; but no one who enters the portals of this church can fail to contrast, most unfavourably, the incongruously frightful aisle windows, the mutilated western one of the nave, and the low disfiguring roof, with the more ancient features of the original design. As a proof of the Society's desire to aid the future progress of the still needful restorations of this church, it offered to insert a new aisle window, of an appropriate design, and to fill it with stained glass—as a memorial of its visit to Grimsby—in the hope that, by degrees, the other aisle windows might be taken in hand, either by generous individuals, or by others desirous of erecting memorials to the dead. As, however, this proposition was found not to be in accordance with the wishes of the Incumbent, it was eventually determined by your Committee to raise a special fund of £50, to be applied towards the re-erection of a western window or windows, should the work of restoration be recommenced within a reasonable time. This offer was gratefully

accepted by the Vicar and Churchwardens; and that sum is now lodged in the hands of your Treasurer, ready for use when demanded.

Trinity Church, Clee. This exceedingly ancient church—valuable alike to the ecclesiologist and the historian—was in the act of undergoing the process of a partial restoration, when the Society visited it. The modern seating is good, and an immense improvement upon the ricketty old pews of all shapes it has replaced; but we much regret that the zeal and exertions of the Vicar (the Rev. W. P. Jones), in behalf of the fabric, have not been sufficient to effect more. The plain —and far too light—timbers of the new aisle roof, so ill according with the solemn solidity of the grand old arches and pillars below, were viewed with regret; also the non-renewal of the nave, and especially the chancel, roofs, which are—both as to character and condition—totally unworthy of covering so deeply an interesting fabric. We believe that the architect employed has done his duty well, as far as the means placed at his disposal would allow of; nor must he be held responsible for some smaller modern works which had been effected before he was called in.

St. Giles's, Scartho. The tower of this church may be regarded as the twin brother to that of Clee, both of which form such valuable illustrations of one of the most ancient links of our Anglican ecclesiological chain. It was with some anxiety, therefore, that the Society heard of an intention of carrying out extensive reparations here. At one time, we believe, it was contemplated to pull down all but the tower of this church—a church still retaining its original very early form, and some features of considerable interest. Happily, however, the Rector, the Rev. R. P. Williams, strengthened by the opinion of the Society, which was very freely given and expressed, has been enabled to save the fabric from such an act of Vandalism, and to see the necessary reparations carried out by Mr. Fowler in a right and conservative spirit; so that we are enabled to congratulate the Rector upon the successful exercise of his taste and knowledge, and his parishioners upon the preservation of their church.

St. Mary's, Ludborough. The difficulties the Rector of this church has had to encounter, in saving its entire fabric from destruction, were extraordinary. His uninterested exertions were looked upon with the dullest indifference, if not with opposition; and but few connected with the parish were ready to fulfil the duty of maintaining the fabric of their parish church. The generous offers of the Rev. A. Gedge were obstinately refused; and a mere pittance was offered on the part of the whole parish, in reply to his urgent and reiterated appeals. Consequently the nave roof first became so bad as to preclude the further continuance of divine service there, and then the chancel was reduced to the same ruinous condition, ending in exhibiting the disgraceful sight of a church in Lincolnshire that could no longer shelter Christian worshippers, so that the only place left available for public prayer was the Rectory dining room! Happily, however, Ludborough stands alone in such an unenviable position; and, still better, this stigma on its character is removed, for we are most happy to be able to state that the necessary repairs have now been effected. The north arcade and aisle have been rebuilt, preparatory to the erection of a good high-pitched nave roof. The chancel arch and its eastern gable have been rebuilt; in the last of which a very pretty little new oval window has been inserted, over the two original lancets below; and the chancel, like the nave, has been entirely re-roofed, the latter with plain red tiles, the former with red and cream-coloured ones in horizontal stripes. At a distance these roofs, for the present, have rather a glaring appearance; but the effect when near is not bad now, and presently will be very good. The insertion of pieces of green sandstone, as alternate voussoirs, &c., in the walls of this church, produces an excellent result, and the porch is exceedingly pretty.

In the lower splay of one of the chancel windows a very fresh and perfect specimen of mediæval mural painting was disclosed, on the removal of an outer coat of plaster. It forms a very pleasing scroll design, worked out in garnet colour and buff tints, well worthy of imitation. We should not omit to observe that the seating is entirely new and appropriate.

St. Peter's, Barton. We must not leave the northern portion of the county without alluding to the extensive and, on the whole, satisfactory restoration that has been bestowed upon this venerable church, at a cost of above £1,400. The old organ gallery has been removed, a hideous ceiling formerly in the nave is now no more; both the nave and chancel have been handsomely re-seated, their floors are

now paved with Minton's tiles, and the organ, pulpit, prayer desk, and font are all new; the last, the offering of the vicar, is a beautiful specimen of modern carving.

The great feature of this church, it will be remembered, is its celebrated Saxon tower; but while we congratulate the architect, Mr. Broderick, on his having exposed to view its arch communicating with the nave, and the small doorway above it, we much regret that he has allowed both of these to be too much tampered with by his masons, the features of the former having been scraped pretty deeply, and the arch of the latter having been renewed; we also protest against the insertion of a new doorway, made as far as possible to assimilate with the very ancient work around it; because such a proceeding is very likely to deceive persons hereafter as to what is original, and what ingenious—but not judicious—additions of the 19th century, in the features of this especially valuable example of Saxon architecture.

St. Helen's, Little Cawthorpe. A small, but pretty, brick church, has lately replaced a mean and dilapidated predecessor at Little Cawthorpe. It consists of a nave, surmounted by a small spirelet, chancel, a south porch, and vestry separated from the chancel by an open arcade only. This church is an encouraging example of what may be done with bricks for ecclesiastical purposes, in brick districts, the designs for which were furnished by Mr. R. T. Withers, of London. We could have wished that base mouldings—or even a basement set-off of the simplest form —had been given, the absence of which is always to be regretted, also that the windows had been splayed internally. The black bricks used for linear ornamentation are of a too intensely black hue, and are apparently not likely to stand, from their indifferent quality. The red ridge tiles contrast rather too coarsely with the remainder of the roof, and the slate base of the spirelet has too flat and smooth an appearance, so that we should have preferred the use of shingle work. The erection of this church is entirely due to the exertions of the Rev. E. Huff, the Incumbent of Little Cawthorpe, and we are glad to find he has been able to build so pleasing a church as this at so small a comparative cost.

St. Helen's, Kirmington. Much has been done here, in the way of restoration, under the superintendence of Mr. Teulon. Nothing could well be worse than the previous condition of this church. Robbed of its aisles, with a gallery in a most improper situation, a bad roof, no vestry, and miserable internal arrangements, it was calling aloud for aid—aid which it has now, happily, received. The aisles have been rebuilt, but we regret that the northern one is scarcely more than a nominal aisle, from its extreme narrowness; the nave has been re-roofed, and the tower-arch opened; to these new features have been added a vestry, and heating apparatus by Simpson; costing, altogether, about £800. Nor will the chancel be left in its present forlorn condition, the substantial features of which will be repaired by Lord Yarborough (the Impropriator), and its fittings, &c., by the parishioners.

St. Peter's, Limber Magna. Some additions and ornaments of a charming character have been made to the chancel here, partly through the liberality of the Rev. J. Browne, aided by Mr. Butterfield, and partly by the insertion of some memorial windows. An Early English triplet east window, whose lights are divided internally by detached shafts, has been erected, and filled with stained glass by Wailes, as a memorial, by the Nelson family. Below this, a handsome *reredos*, of alabaster and encaustic tiles, now enriches the space above and on each side of the altar, to which have been added sedilia, a credence, an altar-rail, and encaustic paving within the space this last encloses. Two new southern windows are also to be inserted, and filled with stained glass, by another family, now resident in Hull.

St. Nicholas's, Searby. This church has been entirely cleared of its old pews, which are now replaced by solid oak benches in the nave, and by stalls in the chancel, both of good design. A new light screen now very judiciously serves to indicate the division between the chancel and the nave, as there is no chancel-arch here.

We have much pleasure in alluding to the zeal of the Vicar, the Rev. T. J. M. Townsend, who—after the manner of St. Hugh of Lincoln—has very materially aided with his own hands in the restoration of his church, by the execution of the carving that now beautifies the fabric. The altar rail, on which festoons of grapes with ears of corn are carved, and the ornamentation of the bench ends, are evidences of Mr. Townsend's skill in oak-carving.

St. Cuthbert's, Brattleby. An entirely new church has here replaced a very poor predecessor, excepting the lower stage of the tower and the arcade; a good

work, which has been effected through the liberality of the Rev. W. Wright, in conjunction with the Rector, the Rev. J. Carr, who has rebuilt his chancel.

It was originally contemplated to build a vestry, which, together with a porch, would have made the fabric far more complete, as the only entrance at present is through the tower, whose inner arch is rather narrow.

We congratulate the parishioners on the great gain they have secured through this exchange of old things for new, obtained for them by Mr. Wright, and through the services of Mr. Fowler, the architect of this church.

St. John's, Washingboro'. The chancel has been restored, its roof renewed at a higher pitch than before, and its east window is now better seen, which formerly presented a decussated appearance. These changes have been effected through the liberality of the rector, the Rev. H. W. Sibthorp. The east window, however, although relieved above, has again been partially interfered with below by the upper portion of a reredos, of good workmanship but indifferent design, that has also been added here.

Holy Trinity, Hagworthingham. This church was in a most dilapidated condition; in fact, nothing but a patched up worn out representative of the original fabric remained; but now, with the exception of the old tower and north arcade, the whole has been rebuilt by Mr. J. Fowler, and even in that feature new belfry lights have been inserted, very much to its advantage. All the new works are well carried out in the Early English style; and here, as at Ludborough, besides a good porch, a good chimney adds much to the character of the design; that which was once so carefully concealed, now often being found most useful in breaking the lines of a roof and giving variety to the composition. The broad low tower of this church would be greatly improved by the addition of a spirelet, covered with lead or shingles. The mixture of sandstone with the white freestone dressings has here, as in other instances, a pleasing effect.

St. Edith's, Anwick. Through the exertions of the Rev. H. Ashington, this church has been properly re-seated, its tower arch opened, and an offensive gallery, previously in front of it, removed, under the directions of Mr. Kirk.

On opening a doorway that had long been closed, formerly leading to the rood-loft, a statue of the Virgin and Child—still bright with the varied hues that had been applied to its surface—was exposed to view; also three small pillars of a late Norman period, each differing as to its details from the others. These probably served as altar supporters in a church or chapel of a much older date than the present fabric, and of which they are the sole remaining evidence. A fragment of the chancel here alone exists, and that in such a wretched condition as sadly to mar the restored beauty of the nave. We trust, however, that at no distant time this will be rebuilt in its original entirety, one bay having been most improperly abstracted from its eastern end.

St. Martin's, Ancaster. This valuable little church, which still preserves its original Norman ground plan, and much of its superstructure, has been most mercifully relieved from its very incommodious and trumpery old seating, in lieu of which solid and appropriate benches have been substituted. Besides this good work, others have been carried out. The alternate clerestory windows, before closed, have now been opened and restored; an organ, and other encumbrances, no longer block out from view the tower arch and its beautiful little two-light window; the chancel arch has received due attention, one of whose pillars had been grievously mutilated; the nave has been re-paved, and a new stone pulpit, carved oak lectern, and prayer desk of a very pleasing design, take the places of mean old predecessors. We trust that the present very lamentable condition of the wall plaster throughout this church will soon be rectified, and that the works so well begun here under the direction of Messrs. Kirk and Parry, will be extended to the chancel, whose appearance contrasts so very disadvantageously with the simple, but sufficiently handsome fittings of the nave.

St. Peter's, Foston, was until lately in a most deplorable condition, the stability of its old tower having been reasonably doubted, and its north aisle propped up by mean brick buttresses. This last, however, has now been rebuilt and widened so as to give increased accommodation; the west end of the south aisle has also been rebuilt, and a porch added. In the interior, the nave, cleansed from whitewash, is re-seated with neat benches, and supplied with a new oak pulpit. This good work, carried out by Messrs. Kirk and Parry, has been chiefly effected by the Rev.

G. Welby and his friends, aided by the parishioners. It is now a melancholy sight to look beyond the old Norman chancel arch of this church into the chancel and adjoining south chapel, for whose reparation Earl Dysart is responsible, but where no improvement at present is likely to take place.

St. Nicholas', Barkstone. Through the persevering efforts of the Rev. Ed. Wills, a chantry attached to this church, that was in a ruinous condition, has been completely restored. During this operation an interesting mural painting was disclosed of St. Christopher, bearing the infant Saviour through the traditional river, by the aid of his palm-tree staff.

St. Andrew's, Ingoldsby. The north aisle has been re-roofed here, and its interior, as well as that of the chancel, has been renovated, much to its advantage.

St. Andrew's, Irnham, has been entirely re-seated; but it is most unfortunate that such an earnest desire as has evidently existed in the hearts of the restorers of this fabric should have been marred for want of an efficient architect, or even of some competent unprofessional person to guide their counsels. The seating, &c., is not very happy as to its arrangement; and two things have been done here which we had trusted we should not have again witnessed, now that the knowledge of what is correct, and what incorrect, in carrying out church restorations, is so very general. A fine old Easter Sepulchre has been wantonly, and we believe in profound ignorance, removed from its original and proper position, to be placed at the east end of the north aisle or chantry, whereby half its interest is destroyed; while the wall plaster throughout the church has been *scored* in imitation of fine ashlar work, instead of being left in its natural condition as honest plaster.

St. Margaret's, Braceborough. This church originally consisted of a nave, aisles, and chancel; but by injudicious mutilations, at a period when church architecture was in a state of deep abasement, the whole fabric was remodelled so as to form one large meaningless space, covered with a plaster ceiling. It has now been again remodelled by Mr. Kirk, by whose advice a proper timber roof, of good pitch, has superseded the previous ceiling, and an eastern apse, or small chancel, has been added beyond a new chancel-arch; this consists of five sides of an octagon, lighted by three early Decorated windows. By the demolition of a gallery at the west end, the tower-arch is opened to view; the nave has been re-seated, its alleys paved with tiles, and a good carved oak pulpit, prayer desk, &c., complete the requirements of this church. It is touching to reflect that he who had so much pleasure in contemplating this good work, and at whose sole charge it was effected, did not live to see its completion—we allude to the late Dr. Willis. Braceborough church will now, however, serve as a monument of his liberality, although not the only one, as his other numerous acts of kindness and generosity will long be remembered in the hearts of his neighbours, amongst whom he lived for so long a period.

St. Michael's, Langtoft. Until lately, the promising external appearance of this church, with its fine spire, only led to disappointment when it tempted strangers to visit it, the whole of its interior presenting as forlorn, cold, and wretched a sight as could well be conceived. But now, all the aged and always mean—fittings, including a most disfiguring gallery, have been swept away, and replaced by commodious open seats, a new pulpit, prayer desk, and font. In addition to this, the south chantry has been rebuilt, and a new vestry erected on the north side of the chancel. This, last, also, has received the much required gift of a new east window; whilst the opposite western one has been restored, and the whole stonework of the fabric been purified from numberless coats of whitewash. These excellent alterations have been made under the surveillance of Mr. Browning; and we sincerely congratulate the Vicar, the Rev. J. Warren, on the success that has at last crowned his zealous labours, and rewarded his anxious desire of seeing the church with which he is so intimately connected, assume an appropriate and a comely form.

Lound Church, Notts. This is an interesting example of what may be done in the way of building a church for very little money. It is homely, but at the same time comely, and therefore would be well adapted for labourers or artizans, where no large sums can be raised for church purposes. The exterior, of red brick with stone facings, is in good proportion throughout; and with its simple bell-cot and exceedingly pretty half-timbered porch, is a really very pleasing edifice, capable of accommodating one hundred and fifty persons. We understand that it has been

built almost entirely through the benevolent exertions of one excellent lady, Miss A. W. Burnaby. The architect is Mr. J. C. Weightman, of Sheffield, to whom this specimen of his skill does much credit. The cost, we believe, was something under £480.

All Saints, Babworth, Notts. We are glad to be able to announce that further works have been carried out here since the issue of our last Report, and very much to the further improvement of the fabric. The chancel has been well re-roofed, to correspond with the nave; a new east window, filled with stained glass by Bell and Clayton, has most happily replaced a very inappropriate transparency, forming part of a most extraordinary memorial of the last century; and below this a fine reredos of alabaster, thickly inlaid with insertions of coloured marbles. This last is a very beautiful work of art, but it would have been improved by shafts or breaks to relieve its uniform flatness; it ought to be observed, also, that the uneven distribution of the veins in the alabaster selected, which would have had an excellent effect if plain, now, in conjunction with its surface inlaying, gives it a patchy appearance. The chancel has been pleasingly re-paved with encaustic tiles of varied patterns; but we regret that, when such extensive and judicious repairs were in progress, a chancel arch was not added to the fabric, which would have greatly enhanced its beauty.

Normanton Church, Notts. Certain repairs have been carried out here. The north aisle has been rebuilt, the chancel re-roofed, the whole seating renewed, and an east window inserted; but a most disfiguring west gallery has been retained, and the timbers of the new roof have not even been chamfered, or otherwise neatly finished.

Schoolhouses.

The first school establishment we shall allude to is one connected with a chapel in the parish of *Tydd St. Mary*, to which the term of "Mission House" has been very happily applied, because it is devoted to Christian prayer and preaching, as well as to the instruction of the young, the means of which have been generously and thoughtfully provided by the rector, the Rev. H. Mackenzie, *from a distance.* The Mission House is four miles and a half from the parish church, and consists of a large upper room, forty-three feet long by twenty wide, fitted up for divine worship and for scholastic purposes, over rooms for a Mistress, &c. Externally it is a pleasing brick building, surmounted by a spirelet, pointing in the direction whither it would direct the thoughts of the scattered fen population around it. The architect was Mr. Hakewill, of London.

A new group of buildings on a larger scale, but dedicated to a similar use, has been raised on *Bunker's-hill, Nottingham*, under the auspices of the Rev. T. M. Macdonald, the Incumbent of Trinity church. It consists of a chapel of a novel design, and of a spacious well ventilated school-room, over reading rooms below; the whole built of red brick with stone dressings, &c. Where an uncostly church is required, this chapel would perhaps offer some useful suggestions to architects, as its galleries are so connected with the roof timbers, &c., as to render them as little offensive as possible; the pulpit and reading desk, however, and above all the altar rail, are all not only so inappropriate but so unpleasing to the eye, as to constitute a lamentable blemish to this chapel. Externally, its principal façade, consisting of a tower and gable, is certainly at first sight pleasing, but afterwards it loses ground from a want of congruity in its design, in which a Venetian type has apparently been intermingled with one of native produce.

An exceedingly pretty schoolhouse, including all its required adjuncts, has been erected at *Caistor*, indicative of the combined taste of the vicar, the Rev. H. Maclean, and the architect, Mr. Fowler. This building is a very pleasing example of what may be done with red bricks properly diversified and shadowed by the character of its elevation. The schoolroom is seventy-five feet long and sixteen feet wide; besides which, there is a class-room and a good master's house.

At *North Kelsey*, a pretty schoolhouse has also been built by Mr. White, of London, for the use of that parish; it is of red brick, relieved by an admixture of white brick.

A schoolhouse and master's dwelling have been built at *Mattersey*, through the aid of the vicar, the Rev. Vernon Musgrave. It is of red and yellow bricks, with a slight admixture of stone details. The long open timbered roof of the schoolroom has a very good effect, but we did not observe any ventilators in the same, which would be most desirable for sanitary purposes; nor is there any class-room. The large traceried window in the gable has more of a church than a school character about it, but the porch is very pretty; and, on the whole, both the school-house and the adjoining dwelling form an agreeable architectural group.

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS,

For the year 1859.

RECEIPTS.	£	s.	d.
Balance in Treasurer's hands, from last Account	125	8	2
Entrances	12	0	0
Compositions	15	0	0
Subscriptions	76	0	6
Interest at 4 per cent., allowed by Treasurer on £100	4	0	0
	£232	8	8

PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Quaritch, for Dugdale's Monasticon	14	15	0
Expenses of Grimsby Meeting	4	18	6
Ditto of Stamford Meeting	5	0	6
Messrs. Brooke, for Reports, &c., as per bill	51	2	6
Mr. W. Edwards, as per bill	5	12	11
Rent of Room, to March 1859—One Quarter	10	0	0
Fires for ditto	1	18	0
Curator's Salary	5	0	0
Subscription to Archæological Institute	1	1	0
Ditto to Papworth's Dictionary	1	1	0
Parker's Architecture, &c.	1	10	0
Spring Programmes, and Postage	3	3	0
Postage, Carriage, Advertisements, &c.	3	11	0
Paper, Envelopes, & Stamps, per the Secretary	2	0	0
Engrossing and Engraving	1	5	0
Balance in the Treasurer's hands	120	10	3
	£232	8	8

RULES.

1. That the objects of the Society be to promote the study of ecclesiastical architecture, antiquities, and design, the restoration of mutilated architectural remains, and to improve, as far as may be, the character of ecclesiastical edifices to be erected in future.

2. That the Society shall bear the title of "The Architectural Society for the Diocese of Lincoln."

3. That the Society be composed of patrons, president, vice-presidents, treasurer, and secretaries; honorary and ordinary members.

4. That new members be proposed and seconded by two members of the Society, either by letter or personally, at one of the committee meetings, and balloted for at the next meeting by the members present: one black ball in five to exclude. That honorary members be elected at the general meetings, on the nomination of the committee only.

5. That each member pay ten shillings on his admission, as an entrance fee, and an annual subscription of ten shillings, to be considered due on the 1st of January in each year. But that the committee have power to dispense with the entrance fee, in cases where it may seem advisable to do so. That any member paying ten pounds in one sum be considered as a life member, and freed from all further payments. If any member's subscription be in arrear for one year, his name may, after due notice given, be removed from the lists of the Society; and no member shall be considered as entitled to his privileges as a member whilst his subscription is in arrear.

6. That the affairs of the Society be conducted by a committee, composed of the officers of the Society; all rural deans being members of the Society; all professional architects being members; and not less than twelve ordinary members, who shall be chosen at the annual meeting, and of whom one-third at least shall have been members of the committee of the preceding year.

7. That the funds of the Society shall be under the control of the committee, who shall apply the same, first, to the discharge of the necessary expenses of the Society; and afterwards, to the increase of the collections of the Society, or in particular cases in aid of the restoration of some church.

8. That no grant be made to any church of which the plans have not been laid before the committee, and sanctioned by them; and that no grant of money be made, except where notice shall have been given at the previous committee meeting that such a grant will be proposed.

9. That the committee meet at Lincoln, on the first Friday in January, and on the same day of every alternate month throughout the year, at 1 o'clock. That three members be a quorum; and that the committee have power to add to their number, and also to make and amend bye-laws.

10. That the Society hold two public meetings, one in the Spring, and the other in the Autumn of each year. That the committee have power to fix the places of meeting, and to make all necessary arrangements for that purpose.

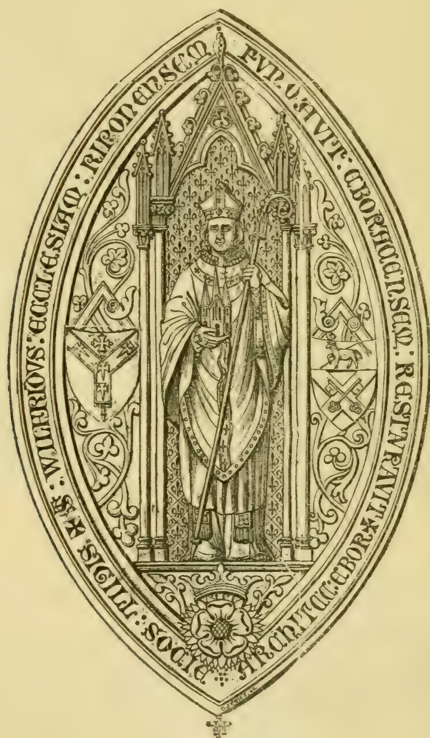
BOOKS, &c., RECENTLY ADDED TO THE LIBRARY.

Chronologie der Deutsch Mittelalterlichen Bankunst. Folio. 2 nos.
Missal Painting, Manual of.
Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Proceedings of. 3 pts. of vol. 2. sm. 4to.
Dugdale's Monasticon Anglicanum, enlarged by John Caley, Esq., Sir Hy. Ellis, and the Rev. Bulkeley Bandinel. 8 vols. folio, with plans, &c.
Archæological Journal. No. 63. 1859.
Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute. Vol. 3, No. 1.
Archæologia Cantiana, or Trans. of the Kent Arch. Society. 8vo., cloth.
The East Anglian. Jan., 1860.
Domestic Architecture of the Middle Ages, from Rich. II. to Hen. VIII., by the Editor of the Glossary of Architecture, in 2 parts (or vols.) 8vo., cloth. The first part is arranged in subjects, as the *Town House*, the *Hall*, the *Chapel*, the *Gate-house*, &c.; the second part being a topographical arrangement—in Counties—of the various existing Remains, with descriptions. The above two parts constitute "Vol. 3" of the series, as commenced by Mr. Hudson Turner.

THE EIGHTEENTH REPORT

OF THE

YORKSHIRE ARCHITECTURAL SOCIETY.



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Sharp, Rev. J., Horbury, Wakefield
Sharpe, E., Esq., M.A., Lancaster
Sidgwick, R. H., Esq., Skipton
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Sugden, John, Esq., Howden
Sunter, Mr. R., York
*Swann, Rev. R., Brandsby, Easingwold
Tate, Rev. James, Richmond
*Tempest, Colonel, Tong Hall, Bradford
*Tennant, J. M., Esq., Leeds
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Vale, Rev. W. H., Tideswell, Derbyshire
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Wilkinson, Joseph, Esq., Coney street, York
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Wood, J. W., Esq., Monkhill House, Pontefract
Woodd, Basil, Esq., Conyngham Hall, Knaresborough
Wray, Rev. Canon, Leven, Beverley, *Rural Dean*
*Wylie, R., Esq., Beverley
Yate, Rev. C., Holme on Spalding Moor, Market Weighton
Yeoman, Rev. H., Moor Monkton, York, *Rural Dean*
York, His Grace the Archbishop of, Bishopthorpe
*York, Hon. and Very Rev. the Dean of, Deanery, York
*Zetland, Right Hon. the Earl of, Aske Hall, Richmond

The Report,

Adopted at the Annual Meeting, held in York, Jan. 18th, 1860.

At no period since its commencement has the Society experienced such great difficulties as during the year that has just closed. Your Committee feel it their duty to commence their Report by stating, explicitly, those peculiar circumstances of trial with which they have had to contend.

At the last Annual Meeting, the Rev. G. F. Pearson was appointed Treasurer, in the room of Mr. Scriven; and an examination of the accounts followed, when it was found that the late Treasurer was indebted to the Society to the amount of about £140, which he was unable to repay. Every exertion was used on the part of the Committee to bring about a settlement of the matter, so that, if possible, some portion of the balance in favour of the Society might be obtained to meet its existing claims; and the Committee desire particularly to express their thanks to the Venerable Archdeacon Creyke, for the active and useful part which he took in that very painful and distressing affair. The result, however, was not satisfactory, so far as concerned the present recovery of any part of the money; but the investigation issued only in the promise that, at some future day, the whole of the balance should be restored to the Society.

The immediate difficulty, therefore, which the Society had to face, was the total want of funds, together with the burthen of expenses already incurred, which the balance in the hands of the late Treasurer ought to have been ready to meet.

It seemed necessary, under these trying circumstances, at once to stop any increased expenditure; and amongst other things, it was very reluctantly, though, as it seemed, necessarily, decided, that for the coming year the Society should take no part in the publication of the Annual Volume; and this decision was at once communicated to the Rev. Edward Trollope, the Secretary of the Lincoln Architectural Society, who is also the General Secretary of the Societies associated for the purposes of publication. Mr. Trollope immediately wrote in reply, that it ought not to be permitted that the Yorkshire Architectural Society, which had now for so many years ably fulfilled the object for which it was organized, should be obliged to withdraw from joining in the annual volume for want of the small sum of some five and twenty pounds, which would be required for that purpose. Mr. Trollope, therefore, proposed that he, as General Secretary, should under-

take to raise special donations; in the first place to enable the Society to take its share in the annual volume; and in the next place, if more money could be raised than was required for that purpose, to assist the Society in meeting its existing claims; concluding his very kind and considerate proposal, with the very liberal offer to make himself responsible for the whole expense of the Society's share in the volume, in case the special donations did not flow in so rapidly as he anticipated.

It is scarcely necessary to state that your Committee accepted this proposal with much gratitude; and they desire here to record the strong feeling which they entertain of Mr. Trollope's kindness and liberality, without which it must have been a matter of the greatest difficulty to clear away the clouds that hung around the Society's horizon. And not only has this timely aid in the matter of funds proved essentially valuable, but the testimony which has thus been borne by the sister Society of Lincoln to the Yorkshire Society's useful labours, and the interest thus shown in its welfare, have been thankfully received as an encouragement to increased exertions, and a ground of hope for future years of extended usefulness.

This appeal for special donations, the particulars of which will be given in the Treasurer's Report, has already produced £67; and it is confidently hoped that considerable additions to this sum will yet be made, so as to enable the Society to persevere without hindrance in its useful labours.

On Wednesday and Thursday, the 25th and 26th of May, the Society joined the Lincoln Society in an Excursion Meeting at Great Grimsby, where there was a very large and influential gathering, presided over by the Lord Bishop of the diocese. As all the particulars of this meeting will be given in the Report of the Lincoln Society, which will appear in the annual volume, and will so come into the hands of all the members of the Yorkshire Society, it is only considered necessary here to express the thanks of those members who were present on that occasion, for the friendly and hospitable manner in which they were received by the sister Society and the inhabitants of Grimsby, and for the very agreeable and profitable gathering in which they were permitted to take a part.

Feeling the great need and the great importance of a better style of architecture than that which has hitherto been adopted for the public buildings of this country, and convinced that Gothic Architecture, if rightly adapted, has strong claims of preference to any other, your Committee unanimously decided to memorialize Lord John Manners and the House of Commons in favour of Mr. Scott's design for the proposed new Government offices; and to the former of these memorials a very courteous reply was returned.

Several works of restoration have been going on during the year. Richmond church has been restored and partially rebuilt under the able superintendence of Mr. Scott, who—no doubt against his wish—has been obliged to consent to the erection of galleries.

Canon Johnstone having applied to the Society for advice in the restoration of his church of Feliskirk, a sub-committee was appointed to visit and examine the church, which is a small building of considerable architectural interest, having had formerly a Norman apsidal chancel, and which had fallen into a very dilapidated condition. A report was drawn up, embodying the suggestions of the Committee, and the church is now being carefully restored in accordance with its original design.

A resolution was passed, thanking the Dean of York for his very liberal proposal to restore the exterior of the Chapter House of York Minster, entirely at his own cost, and offering some suggestions respecting the restoration. A sub-committee was afterwards appointed to meet the Dean and Chapter, to examine the building, especially with reference to the repairs which have taken place in past years; and the Committee are glad to be able to record their opinionof the satisfactory way in which the restoration of the Chapter House is now progressing.

A proposal having been made by some members of the York City Council to pull down the Barbican of Walmgate Bar, the only one now remaining of the four which formerly existed, your Committee prepared a memorial, strongly urging that this valuable relic of antiquity should be preserved. This memorial, which was signed on behalf of the Society by the Archbishop of York, as Patron, was presented to the City Council, together with several other memorials from similar societies, and it happily resulted in the preservation of the Barbican being carried by a very large majority.

Of new churches built during the year there are many of which honourable mention might be made, and there is one which pre-eminently claims remark, viz., that erected at Halifax, from the designs of Mr. Scott, and through the great liberality of Mr. Ackroyd.

Two beautiful casts of foliage, from the Chapter House at York, have been presented to the Society by Mr. J. G. Swallow.

The Committee have had pleasure in adding to the list of honorary members the names of Mr. G. G. Scott, and the Rev. Edward Trollope.

ABSTRACT OF THE TREASURER'S ACCOUNTS,

For the Year ending 31*st Dec.*, 1859.

RECEIPTS.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions for 1856-7-8-9, received by Mr. Sunter......				11	10	0
Subscriptions for 1859, received by Mr. Sunter..............	7	0	0			
Ditto, received by Messrs. Swanns & Company	7	10	0			
Ditto, by Rev. J. Sharp	9	10	0			
Ditto, by Rev. G. F. Pearson	48	0	0			
Total Subscriptions for 1859...				72	0	0
Special Donations, received by the Rev. G. F. Pearson, 1859				64	2	0
				£147	12	0

PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Sunter's Account for 1856-7-8-9, Books, Printing, Stationery, &c.	22	17	0
Willison's Account	1	0	0
Sedgwick's (Joiner's) Account	2	15	4
Brookes' Account for Society's proportion of Joint Report, for 1857........................	23	8	0
Brookes' Account for 1858 ...	23	5	0
Yorkshire Gazette Account ...	4	10	0
York Herald Account	0	10	0
Rent of Room (1858)	5	0	0
Cash to Messrs. Swanns and Co., Bankers, on account of Interest and Debt............	7	10	0
Secretary's (Rev. J. Sharpe) Expenses for 1858-9.........	6	12	3
Carriage and Postages	1	7	3
Petty Disbursements	0	10	4
	£99	5	8
By Balance of Cash in the Treasurer's hands	48	6	4
	£147	12	0

General Cash Statement, 31*st December*, 1859.

ASSETS.	£	s.	d.
To Balance brought down in the Treasurer's hands	48	6	4
To Balance of Cash owing by the Society, estimated at ...	35	5	0
	£83	11	4

LIABILITIES.	£	s.	d.
Cash owing to Messrs. Swann and Co., Bankers	35	11	4
Accounts owing by the Society	48	0	0
	£83	11	4

York, 16*th Feb.*, 1860.

G. F. PEARSON, Treasurer.

The above Accounts audited by us—
WM. A. WIGHTMAN,
GEO. L. CRESSEY.

THE FOURTEENTH REPORT

OF THE

ARCHITECTURAL SOCIETY

OF THE

ARCHDEACONRY OF NORTHAMPTON.

Patron.

THE LORD BISHOP OF PETERBOROUGH.

Presidents.

THE MARQUIS OF EXETER, K.G., *Lord Lieutenant.*
THE ARCHDEACON OF NORTHAMPTON.

Vice-Presidents.

THE DUKE OF BUCCLEUGH, K.G.
THE MARQUIS OF NORTHAMPTON.
THE EARL OF POMFRET.
THE EARL SPENCER.
THE EARL OF GAINSBOROUGH.
THE REV. LORD ALWYNE COMPTON.
THE LORD SOUTHAMPTON.
THE LORD LILFORD.
THE LORD BATEMAN.
THE LORD OVERSTONE.
THE LORD HENLEY.
THE BISHOP OF ADELAIDE.
THE HON. FRED. C. VILLIERS.
THE HON. GEO. W. FITZWILLIAM.
THE HON. AND REV. A. G. DOUGLAS.
THE HON. H. NOEL.
THE HON. AND REV. H. G. STUART.
THE HON. AND REV. P. A. IRBY.
THE HON. AND REV. L. C. R. IRBY.
THE HON. AND REV. C. G. VERNON.
SIR CHARLES E. ISHAM, BART.
SIR HENRY E. L. DRYDEN, BART.
SIR CHARLES KNIGHTLEY, BART.
THE REV. SIR G. S. ROBINSON, BART.
T. P. MAUNSEL, ESQ.
R. KNIGHTLEY, ESQ., M.P.
THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF PETERBOROUGH.
THE VEN. H. K. BONNEY, D.D., Archdeacon of Lincoln.
THE VEN. T. K. BONNEY, M.A., Archdeacon of Leicester.
THE REV. W. WALES, Chancellor of Peterborough.
THE REV. J. P. LIGHTFOOT, D.D., Rector of Exeter College, Oxford.
THE REV. M. ARGLES, Canon of Peterborough.
THE REV. HENEAGE FINCH.

Committee.

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THE PRESIDENTS.
THE VICE-PRESIDENTS.
THE RURAL DEANS.
THE OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY.

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M. H. BLOXAM, ESQ.
REV. LORD ALWYNE COMPTON.
LANGHAM CHRISTIE, ESQ.
W. MACKWORTH DOLBEN, ESQ.
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REV. C. F. WATKINS.

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Rev. N. F. Lightfoot, Islip, Thrapston.
Rev. H. De Sausmarez, St. Peter's, Northampton.
Rev. William Wales, Uppingham.
Rev. H. L. Wingfield, Market Overton, Oakham.

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Rev. David Morton, Harleston.

Auditors.

Rev. Christopher Smyth.
Rev. G. Howard Vyse.

Librarian.

Rev. H. J. Bigge, Rockingham.

Curator.

Rev. C. F. L. West, Northampton.

Assistant Resident Librarian.

(To whom all books, parcels, &c., should be sent.)

Mr. Wright, Gold-street, Northampton.

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George Gilbert Scott, Esq., 20, Spring Gardens, London.
Sir Charles Barry, London.
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Miss Agnes Blencoe, E. Walton, Lynn.

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*(Those marked thus * are Life Members.)*

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*Exeter, Marchioness of.
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Irby, Hon. and Rev. Llewellyn, Whiston.
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Isham, Rev. C. E., Polebrook, Oundle, R.D.
Isham, Rev. R., Lamport.
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Nethercote, H. O., Esq., Moulton Grange.
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Peterborough, the Very Rev. Dean of.
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Stopford, Mrs., Drayton House.
Stopford, Rev. F. M., Peterborough.
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Thornton, Rev. T. C., Brockhall.
Thornton, Rev. W., Dodford, Weedon.
Thring, Rev. E., the Hospital, Uppingham.
Trotman, Rev. F. S., Dallington.
Twopeny, Rev. J. N., Casterton, Stamford.
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Villiers, the Lady Elizabeth.
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Watson, Rev. J. D., Guilsborough.
Watson, Rev. W., Cotterstock, Oundle.

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West, Rev. C. F. L., Northampton.
Whitten, E. J., Esq., Ditto.
Wickes, Rev. C., Boughton.
Wingfield, Rev. H. L., Market Overton, Oakham.
Woolcombe, Rev. W. W., Wootton.
Yard, Rev. T., Ashwell, Oakham.
Young, J., Esq., Stanwick, Higham Ferrers.

RULES.

1. That the Society be called THE ARCHITECTURAL SOCIETY OF THE ARCHDEACONRY OF NORTHAMPTON.

2. That the objects of the Society be, to promote the study of Ecclesiastical Architecture, Antiquities, and Design, and the restoration of mutilated Architectural Remains within the Archdeaconry; and to furnish suggestions, so far as may be within its province, for improving the character of Ecclesiastical Edifices hereafter to be erected.

3. That the Society be composed of a Patron, Presidents, and Vice-Presidents, and of ordinary Members, to consist of Clergymen and Lay Members of the Church.

4. That Members of the Society be privileged to propose new members, either by letter or personally, at the Committee Meetings; and that Honorary Members be elected only on the nomination of the Committee.

5. That Rural Deans within the Archdeaconry of Northampton be *ex-officio* Members of the Committee, on their signifying an intention to become Members of the Society.

6. That each Member shall pay an Annual Subscription of TEN SHILLINGS, to be due on the first day of January in each year.

7. That any Member may compound for all future subscriptions by one payment of £10.

8. That the affairs of the Society be conducted by a Committee, composed of the Patron, Presidents, Vice-Presidents, Rural Deans, and eighteen ordinary Members, (of whom five shall be a quorum), who shall be elected at the Annual Meeting, and of whom six at least shall have been Members of the Committee of the preceding year.

9. That the Committee have power to add to their numbers, and to elect out of their body the requisite number of Secretaries.

10. That the Members of the Committee in any neighbourhood may associate other Members of the Society with themselves, and form Committees for local purposes in communication with the Central Committee.

11. That the Public Meetings of the Society be holden in the Spring and Autumn of each year, at such times and places as shall have been appointed at the Autumnal Meeting of the preceding year.

12. That the Committee meet at the times and places which they may themselves appoint, and that their Meetings be open to the Members of the Society and their friends, after the despatch of routine business.

13. That the Secretaries be empowered, on any urgent occasion, with the sanction of the Patron, to call a Special Meeting of the Society.

14. That Donations of Architectural Books, Plans, &c., be received; that the Committee be empowered to make purchases and procure casts and drawings, which shall be under the charge of the Librarian, at the Society's room, Gold-street, Northampton.

15. That when the Committee shall consider any paper worthy of being printed at the expense of the Society, they shall request the Author to furnish a copy, and shall decide upon the number of copies to be printed, provided always that the number be sufficient to supply each Member with one copy, and the Author and Secretaries with twenty-five copies each. All other questions relating to publishing plans and papers, and illustrating them with engravings, shall be decided by the Committee.

16. That the Central Committee be empowered to provide, at the Society's expense, Working Plans for any Member who may request them, for repairing any Church in this Archdeaconry with which he is connected, provided that the expense so incurred by the Society in any one year

shall not exceed one-third of the funds; and that no such grant shall be made unless the majority shall consist of six Members.

17. That the Central Committee shall every year publish for circulation among the Members, Transactions, to contain descriptions and papers connected with the objects of the Society; and that the illustrations to be given in such Transactions, shall, for the present, depend on the voluntary donations which may be given to the Society for that purpose.

18. That on application being made to any Member of the Committee, or to the Committee collectively, for the advice of the Society in the restoration of any Church, a Sub-Committee be appointed (of which the Incumbent or Resident Minister to be one) to visit the Church, and submit a Report in writing to the General Committee.

19. That all Plans for the building, enlargement, or restoration of Churches, Schools, &c., sent for the inspection of the Committee, be placed in the hands of one of the Secretaries of the Society, at least one week before the Committee Meeting, for the Secretary to prepare a Special Report thereon.

20. That no sum exceeding Thirty Shillings be voted towards the objects of the Society, without notice being given at a previous Committee Meeting; such notice also to be inserted in the circular calling the meeting at which the sum will be proposed.

The Report,

Read by Rev. T. James, on Monday, October 10th, and adopted.

As our public autumn meeting has already been held at Stamford, when it would have been inconvenient to read our annual Report, I have reserved it for this committee meeting; purposing to make it as brief and business-like as possible, and dispensing with those flowers of speech which, in our usual routine, you are good enough to allow me to interweave with it. Yet I have a great deal to say in a few words. The past year has shown no slackening in our work, and the correspondence which has fallen on your secretary greatly exceeds that of any former year.

Since our last Report, Oakham and Finedon churches have been opened, though they yet await some further internal decoration, which is being gradually introduced. Plans have been laid before us, and approved, for Hazlebeech and Loddington churches; the former by Mr. Slater, the second by Mr. Christian, jun. Both these churches have also been opened for divine service. At Loddington, there has been a most careful preservation of the old woodwork, both in seats and screens, a parclose between the chancel and south chancel aisle being retained, and the base of the old wood screen under the chancel arch still marking the division between nave and chancel. Within, are two stalls and prayer desks for the clergy, the remainder of the chancel being properly reserved for the choir. This occupation of the chancel for the only use for which it was intended or is fit, is now becoming the rule, instead of the exception, in the restored churches of this archdeaconry; nor do I conceive that any re-arrangement of a church will be found really and finally satisfactory where this reasonable plan is not carried out. The plans for Naseby church, still in the hands of Mr. Slater, were approved by your committee, though much additional work has since been imposed upon the parish, by the unsafe condition in which the tower was found. It was deemed necessary to take the whole of it down, but it will be rebuilt stone for stone; though whether the spire will be completed, or left in its former truncated condition, is yet an open question. It would be ungracious to mention the works at Naseby church without acknowledging the zeal with which Captain Ashby has devoted himself to the uncoveted duty of collecting subscriptions for carrying them out. As a layman he deserves double thanks for having undertaken the office of almoner in this behalf. Mr. Slater's plans for the Easton Maudit church, to be executed mainly at the charge of the Marquis of Northampton, have embodied all the suggestions of this committee; and the restoration, or, rather, conservative repair, will prove, it is hoped, an example to this neighbourhood. The monuments which defaced and

blocked up the chancel have been carefully removed into a side chapel, and the chancel dedicated to its rightful use. The proposed low screen and properly arranged stalls and desks will render it fit for the reception of the clergy and choir. The main feature however, of this church hereafter, already interesting from its connection with Bishop Percy, will be the new pavement, in which Lord Alwyne Compton will have free scope for the display of his uncommon knowledge in this branch of ecclesiastical art. Though it is on a different system from that at Theddingworth, there can be little doubt but that it will prove equally successful.

The design for the new church of S. Mary's, Peterboro,' by E. Christian, Esq., was laid before this committee, and they report that, with many commendable features, they could not recommend it as suited for a town church. They trust, however, that they have secured the width of seats for which they contended. A new south aisle has been added to the church of Tiffield, at the expense of Lord Southampton, aided by a small grant from the Reformatory committee of the Educational society of the county. The design is by Mr. E. F. Law ; the object, to provide seats for the officers and boys of the Reformatory school ; and the architect has, simply but effectively, carried out a wish long entertained by the reformatory committee, of giving their institution the advantage of convenient church accommodation, but which, without the spontaneous liberality of one of their members, they could not have hoped to achieve. Improved plans for Gilmorton church, by Mr. W. Smith, have been laid before the committee. Mr. Smith purposes yet further alterations, and there is every hope that, before another year, we may have to report on their execution.

The plans for the chapel of the Lunatic Asylum were referred to your secretary, and by him exhibited to the committee, who greatly aided him in the suggestions embodied in his report to the Asylum Chapel committee. This matter is one of great delicacy and care, but it is also one of such paramount importance, that there can be no doubt that the only obstacle which at present hinders the commencement of the work—lack of money—cannot much longer stand in the way of so necessary and excellent a work.

Plans for the chancel of Aldwinckle St. Peter's, by Mr. Slater, and for the restoration of Bradden church, by Mr. White, also obtained the approbation of the committee.

Higham church remains incomplete; though, if the sum now in hand were devoted to the restoration of the existing woodwork, and to the pavement of the whole church (except the alleys) carried out with wooden blocks, chairs or moveable benches might be introduced, even if only temporarily, and the church recovered at once to its sacred uses. The grand effect of the interior, as it is at present, unencumbered with fittings of any kind, must be seen to be appreciated. Some fine sepulchral crosses have been discovered and carefully preserved.

A committee has been appointed to visit Kingsthorpe church, at the request of the rector; and a new local committee has been formed to carry out, in conjunction with the old committee, the greatly-needed enlargement and long-expected restoration of S. Sepulchre's, in this town.

The design for Freeman's school, at Wellingborough, by Mr. Warren, was approved by the committee, and is now complete.

Of smaller works referred to us are the designs for a new east window, of painted glass, for Market Harborough, by Mr. Hardman; for an alabaster pulpit, by Mr. Slater, given as a thank-offering to the same church; for the reglazing of All Saints, Northampton, by Mr. E. F. Law; for a sun-dial for Wicken churchyard; for tiles for the altar steps, Theddingworth; for the organ for S. Peter's; a memorial screen in S. Giles'; and a memorial window at Upton; besides several drawings for memorial crosses, and smaller details.

The first plan, for a new chapel at Catesby was disapproved, and new designs are being now prepared by Mr. W. Gillett, of Leicester, who also exhibits to-day a drawing for the new bell turret for Mowsley church, the original one having been destroyed.

The plans for the new Training College of Peterborough have been revised by Mr. Scott, and have been recommended for adoption by the joint committee of the Educational and Architectural Societies.

Of our meeting and excursion at Stamford, the newspapers of the week gave such ample details that it is not necessary to speak of it, beyond recording its

entire pleasantness and success; and to repeat our thanks, given at a special meeting of our committee, to the Earl of Westmoreland, for the great courtesy and hospitality with which he received the members of the society on that occasion.

A more limited party was formed to visit Catesby Abbey, on the invitation of the proprietor, Mr. Attenborough, previous to the contemplated destruction of the building. Notwithstanding the extreme wetness of the day, a most agreeable party was assembled, who surveyed the relics of the abbey, under the able guidance of Mr. Bloxam. A paper on its history was read on the spot by one of your secretaries: and there is every reason to hope that the recommendations given respecting the preservation of the old fabric, and the rebuilding of the new chapel, will not be unheeded by the present owner. Photographs of the most interesting portions of the present building have been taken by Mr. Jennings, at the expense of the society, and copies may be purchased by members at a reduced rate.

At Loughborough, where the society was invited to meet the Leicestershire Architectural Society, a very interesting assemblage and reunion took place; and within a fortnight from the day of meeting £5000 was promised to carry out the restoration of the fine parish church.

A memorial and petition in favour of the Gothic style for the new public offices was signed by upwards of a hundred members of the society; and a subsequent meeting of the committee has authorized the secretaries to take such further steps as they may deem necessary to promote the adoption of our national architecture for our national buildings.

The society have subscribed to the London Society for the improvement of Labourers' Cottages, and have also appointed a sub-committee to carry out the like object in our own counties.

Three most liberal offers have been made, through your committee, of valuable collections, in case a county museum can be established in this town. The matter is too large and important to be worthily treated of in the limited space I have allotted myself in this Report; but it will demand the active attention of your committee, and is recommended to your discussion to-day.

The funds of the society have admitted of unusually important purchases for the library. Among the most notable additions are the third series of Parker's Domestic Architecture: the beautifully illustrated works of Viollet le Duc: and the curious fac-simile, edited by Professor Willis, of the Sketch-Book of Villars de Honnecourt, a French Architect of the thirteenth century.

Some important resolutions have been passed relating to the establishment of sub-committees for special departments of the society's work. The members of the several committees have not yet been appointed, but it is proposed to invite by circular the members of the society generally to join that committee in which their knowledge and interest in the subject would make them most useful. The following have been proposed:—1. Church Music. 2. Bells and Belfries. 3. Parochial History and General Antiquities. 4. Warming and Lighting. 5. Labourers' Cottages. 6. Pavements and Tiles.

The following resolutions were passed.

1. That each sub-committee consist of not more than five, of whom one to be secretary.

2. That the communications to the general secretaries for advice on any of the special subjects be referred to the secretary of the sub-committee to which the subject is assigned, who, after communication, by letter or otherwise, with the members thereof, shall transmit their opinion for the consideration of the next general committee meeting, except in such cases as may require an immediate answer.

3. That the several sub-committees be requested to transmit to the general secretaries a list of such books on this special subject as they would recommend to be added to the society's library, and that the general committee order these from time to time as their funds will allow.

With reference to the preservation of records of buildings about to be destroyed or altered, the following resolution has been passed:—

"That in case of the contemplated destruction or restoration of any church or other ancient building in the archdeaconry, it is desirable that accurate views of it, by photographs or otherwise, be taken in its present condition; and that the secretaries be requested, and are hereby empowered, to procure, at the expense of the society, such general views and details as they may deem advisable."

The colouring of the choir roof of the cathedral is now complete, and is, with justice, generally admired. The tentative meeting of parish choirs at Peterborough proved most successful, and the Dean and Chapter purpose to repeat the meeting next year,* with greatly improved preparations and opportunities. Already kindred societies are inviting us for the coming year, and a large congress of the architectural societies of the kingdom is projected at Cambridge, in Whitsun week; and another at Rugby, in the autumn of 1860.

With this bare, but not barren, statement of facts, I may conclude by congratulating the Society on their progress during the present year, and their promising prospects for the year to come.

* It will be held on May 24th, 1860.

TREASURER'S REPORT,

From Oct. 9, 1858, *to Oct* 5, 1859.

RECEIPTS.	£	s.	d.
Balance from last account	100	4	7
Subscriptions, Arrears, & Life Subscriptions	99	0	6
	£199	5	1

PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Messrs. Brooke, Printing Reports	31	9	6
The "Builder," 1856-9	3	15	5
Books, as by Librarian's account	11	0	0
Birdsall, for Binding	1	1	0
Advertising in "Mercury," 1857-9	2	15	0
Ditto in "Herald," 1856-9	4	11	3
Insurance, 1856-8	1	4	0
Packing-case	0	12	0
Carriage and Postage	0	6	11
Ditto and Sundries, by Secretary's account	6	5	3
Sundries, by Librarian's account	1	0	0
Subscription to Theddingworth Church	10	0	0
By Subscription returned	0	10	0
	74	10	7
Balance in hand	124	14	6
	£199	5	1

D. MORTON, Treasurer.

ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY SINCE LAST REPORT.

(For a full List see Report for 1857. *)*

Domestic Architecture of the Middle Ages, 14th century.
——————15th century, 2 vols.
Colling's Details of Gothic Architecture, 4to., vol. 2nd.
Shaw's Glazier's Patterns.
Boutell's Monumental Brasses.
——— Christian Monuments.
Dolman's Ancient Pulpits.
Sir C. Anderson's Ancient Models.

Remarks on Christian Gravestones, by D. A. Walker.
Bloxam's Gothic Architecture, new ed., presented by the author.
Dolman's Ancient Domestic Architecture, in parts.
Schools and Schoolhouses, by J. Clarke.
The Blazon of Episcopacy, presented by Rev. M. Gregory.
Violet le Duc, Dictionnaire de l'Architecture, vol. 4.
——————du Mobilier, vol. 1.
Villars de Honnecourt, Scrap-book of, 14th century, 4to.
Essay on Terra Cotta, by Mr. J. M. Blashfield, presented by author.
Architecture of Sweden, oblong folio.
Three Engravings of the Bronze Gates of the Baptistery of Pisa, presented by Rev. G. A. Robbins.
—— Doncaster Church.
Photographs of Catesby, by Mr. Jennings.
View of Chichester Cathedral, interior. } Presented by W. Slater, Esq.
—— Kilmore Cathedral, exterior. } Presented by W. Slater, Esq.
Transactions of Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, vol. 10.
East Anglian, series of Nos.
Transactions of the Norfolk Archæological Society.
The Ecclesiologist, vol. 20.
Proceedings of Somersetshire Archæological Society.
Transactions of Architectural Institute of Scotland.
Report of Royal Dublin Society.
——— of Ecclesiological Society.
Fragments of Encaustic Tiles from Finedon Church, presented by Rev. G. W. Paul.
Specimens of Stencilling on Deal, by Mr. Lea, Lutterworth, presented by Rev. T. James.

THE FOLLOWING WORKS HAVE BEEN PUBLISHED UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE SOCIETY.

Churches of the Archdeacoury of Northampton, 1 vol.; Parker, Oxford.
Sepulchral Brasses of Northamptonshire, by Franklin Hudson, 1 vol., folio. £5.
Reports and Papers, since 1844.

RESTORATION OF THE ROUND CHURCH OF ST. SEPULCHRE, NORTHAMPTON.

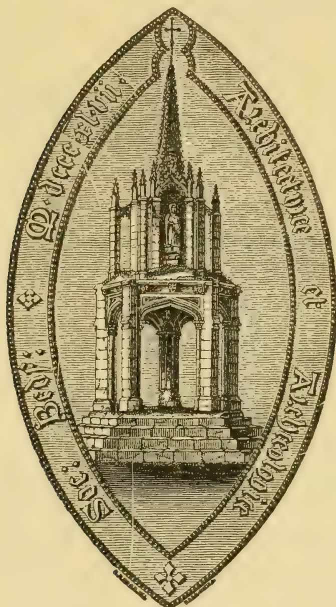
This work is now commenced. Subscriptions may be paid into the Uuion Bank, Northampton; or to Mr. J. Eddis Gray, Hon. Sec., Northampton; to whom communications on the subject may be addressed.

TWELFTH ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

BEDFORDSHIRE

ARCHITECTURAL AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.



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In consequence of the time of holding the Annual Meeting having been altered from November to April, the Report for 1859 *has not yet been issued.*

TREASURER'S REPORT

For the year 1859.

RECEIPTS.	£	s.	d.
Balance from 1858	15	16	4
Subscriptions	37	1	0
	£52	17	4

EXPENDITURE.	£	s.	d.
Timæus, Rent	10	0	0
——— Binding, &c.	1	14	7
——— Advertisement	0	7	0
Thompson, Printing, &c.	7	18	0
Subscription to Institute	1	1	0
Excursion Expenses	1	5	0
Share of Annual Volume	13	2	11
Lithography for "Notes"	1	14	0
Balance in hand	15	14	10
	£52	17	4

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RULES.

1. That this Society be entitled "The Worcester Diocesan Architectural Society."

2. That the objects of the Society be to promote the study of ecclesiastical architecture, antiquities, and design, by the collection of books, casts, drawings, &c., and the restoration of mutilated architectural remains within the diocese; and to furnish suggestions, so far as may be within its province, for improving the character of ecclesiastical edifices hereafter to be erected or restored.

3. That the Society be composed of a patron, president, vice-presidents, two or more secretaries, a treasurer, librarian, honorary and ordinary members; to consist of clergymen and lay members of the Church of England.

4. That the Lord Bishop of the Diocese, for the time being, be requested to accept the office of patron.

5. That the business of the Society be transacted by a committee, consisting of the patron, president, vice-presidents, secretaries, treasurer, librarian, the rural deans of the diocese, (being subscribers), and not exceeding eighteen ordinary members to be elected at the annual meeting; and that three do constitute a quorum.

6. That the committee have power to supply vacancies in their own body, provisionally, until the next annual meeting; and that members of the committee in any neighbourhood may associate other members with them, for local purposes, in communication with the central committee.

7. That every candidate for admission to the Society be proposed and seconded by two members, and balloted for at a meeting of the committee, or at a general meeting.

8. That on the election of a member the secretaries send him notice of it, and a copy of the rules.

9. That each member shall pay an annual subscription of ten shillings, to be due upon the first of January in each year.

10. That any member may compound for all future subscriptions by one payment of five pounds.

11. That all persons holding the office of churchwarden in any parish of the diocese, be entitled, without payment, on the recommendation of the clergyman of their parish, being a member, to all the privileges of membership except that of voting.

12. No one shall be entitled to his privileges as a member of the Society whose subscription is in arrear.

13. That the annual meeting shall take place at Worcester in the autumn; and that the ordinary meetings of the Society, not less than four in the year,

be held at such times and places as the committee may appoint; and that the committee meet once a month.

14. That honorary members may be elected, upon the nomination of the committee only, at a general meeting of the Society.

15. That each member be allowed to introduce a friend at any general meeting.

16. That all books, drawings, papers, and other property of the Society, be vested in trustees, to be appointed by the committee, and kept by the secretaries for the use of members; and that no person ceasing to be a member of the Society shall have any claim upon, or interest in its property.

17. That no new rule be passed, and no alteration be made in any existing rule, unless notice of the proposed new rule or alteration shall have been given at the preceding general meeting.

The Report,

Presented by the Committee at the Annual Meeting, held at Worcester, on the 29th of September, 1859.

In presenting their Sixth Annual Report, your Committee have the gratification of announcing the unabated success which has hitherto attended their efforts to promote the study and advance the cause of Christian art.

A considerable increase has taken place in the number of members during the past year; but it was hoped that a still greater accession would have resulted from the abandonment of the entrance fee, in accordance with a resolution passed last September.

The Committee have the mournful task of recording the loss by death of two of their most active and valued members. The Rev. Francis Dyson had, from the formation of the Society, taken a great interest in all its proceedings, besides being a liberal benefactor to its library. The Rev. W. H. Helm, though a more recent addition to our ranks, was a zealous and active coadjutor; and filled the office of Librarian and Curator, to which he was elected at the last annual meeting.

The annual volume of Reports and Papers for 1858, to which our Society contributed five papers, has been distributed amongst the members, and will be found to equal its predecessors in interest and importance. It is indebted, in a great measure, for the numerous illustrations with which it is enriched to the liberality of individuals. The Rev. E. Trollope, and other members of the Lincoln Society, presented the plates for the papers contributed by that body; and several of our own members gave donations and drawings for illustrating the papers of this Society. Our best thanks are especially due to the Rev. Edward Trollope, to whom, as General Editorial Secretary, the Associated Societies are indebted for the careful and accurate manner in which the volume is produced.

The last annual meeting was held on the 27th of September, under the presidency of Lord Lyttelton. After the transaction of the ordinary business of the meeting, Mr. J. Severn Walker read a paper on the churches of Worcester, and afterwards conducted the party over the more interesting of them.

The conversazione in the evening was attended by a very numerous audience. Mr. W. J. Hopkins read a paper "On Architectural Competition and its attendant evils," on which a short discussion took place. An able paper "On Church Music" was then read by the Rev. Thomas Helmore. This was illustrated by the performance of Motetts, Hymns, and other examples of ancient church music, Mr. Done and the members of the cathedral choir kindly giving their services on the occasion.

On the following day an excursion was made, in conjunction with the Midland Counties Archæological Association, to the neighbourhood of Droitwich, including the churches of Salwarpe, Hampton Lovett, Dodderhill, and S. Peter's and S.

Andrew's, Droitwich, and Westwood Park. The objects of architectural and historical interest were described by the Rev. Wm. Lea, Mr. W. J. Hopkins, and Mr. J. S. Walker.*

At Salwarpe the party were hospitably entertained at breakfast by the Rev. W. W. Douglas.

The examination of the highly-interesting Elizabethan mansion at Westwood afforded great satisfaction to the Members of the Societies, who, together with their friends, were regaled at luncheon by Sir John Pakington.

Dodderhill Church consists of the chancel and transepts of a cross church, the nave having been destroyed during the civil wars. It has been so mutilated and disfigured that but little of the original work can be distinguished; and the arrangement of the interior is unusually bad. The pulpit and desks stand against the middle of the *west* wall, which all the seats are made to face.

The proceedings of the day terminated with a dinner at Droitwich, which was preceded by a paper read by Mr. Gutch, entitled "Notes upon Archæology, and its connection with Architecture and Sculpture."

The first excursion for this year took place on the 7th of June, with the usual accompaniments of fine weather and a numerous company. The members and their friends assembled at Fladbury, where they were most hospitably received at the Rectory by Mrs. Gauntlett, in the absence, through indisposition, of the Rector. The party then proceeded to Wyre-Piddle, Throckmorton, Bishampton, Rouse-Lench, and Church-Lench. At Rouse-Lench Manor House, Sir Charles Rouse Boughton, Bart., kindly provided refreshment for the excursionists, who afterwards attended evening service at Church-Lench, when it was gratifying to observe so large a number of parishioners present.

Fladbury Church is interesting on account of the monumental brasses which it contains. One representing John Throckmorton and his wife—date 1445—occupies the top of a remarkably fine altar tomb of polished Purbeck marble, in the centre of the nave. The modern fittings, though of good substantial oak, and evidently put up with the best intentions, are very objectionable. The nave, aisles, and chancel are filled with high pews, and two lofty pulpits stand under the chancel arch.

The chapel of Wyre-Piddle is noteworthy, from the fact of its chancel arch and the lower part of the bell-turret being supposed to be the only Saxon remains in the county. The work does not, however, so far as the plaster and whitewash will allow of its being examined, exhibit any peculiarity of construction to distinguish it from many plain early Norman examples.

Throckmorton Chapel is one of the five Worcestershire churches having the tower between the nave and chancel, without being cruciform. It is chiefly early Middle-pointed, with traces of Norman. The western arch of the tower has the peculiarity of springing at some distance *below* the corbels; and the pipes forming the water drains of the fonts, both here and at Wyre, project from the side, instead ofpassing through the shaft into the ground.

Bishampton Church, like many of of the churches near Evesham, is without aisles, having a transeptal chapel on one side only. Examples of Norman and Middle-pointed work occur; and yet the lofty west tower, containing a good ring of bells, is of the Third-pointed style. The hour-glass stand remains attached to the wall near the pulpit. This church calls loudly for restoration, the fittings being of the most unsightly description, and the architectural features sadly mutilated and disfigured.

Rouse-Lench Church is a small structure, but possessing many points of interest. The doorways are excellent examples of enriched Norman, and over the one to the south, is a niche containing a figure of our Blessed Lord in the act of benediction. A somewhat similar sculpture occurs over the north door at Leigh church. This edifice is also in a very dilapidated and unseemly state, but it was gratifying to hear that it is likely to be restored ere long.

Church-Lench Church is principally in the Third-pointed style. When the present rector was appointed to the living, it was in a most dilapidated condition; but thanks to his exertions, aided by the liberality of the parishioners and others, it

* These gentlemen have prepared notes on four of the churches visited on this occasion, which are inserted in another part of the present volume.

has been sumptuously restored under the superintendence of Mr. Preedy. The chancel was almost entirely rebuilt, a new vestry and south porch erected, and the structural portions of the building made sound and good. All the windows in the chancel, and several in the nave, are filled with stained glass, the former being Mr. Preedy's first efforts in that branch of art. There is a considerable amount of colour on the roof and at the east end of the chancel, but the effect cannot be said to be entirely successful. The altar-plate by Keith, the metal standards supporting the altar rail, the corona, and the oak eagle lectern by Rattee are very good. An elaborately carved font, surmounted by a lofty oak cover, stands at the west end of the nave, which is fitted with open seats, remarkably well adapted for *kneeling*. There is a good lichgate at the entrance to the churchyard; and upon the opposite side of the road is a mound, formed of the soil removed from the churchyard, and surmounted by a stone cross.

A correspondence was entered into with the local Hon. Secretaries residing in Warwickshire, for the purpose of fixing a time for the meeting usually held in that portion of the diocese. But upon its appearing that our most active members were from home or otherwise engaged, and would therefore be unable to take part in such meeting, it was thought desirable to abandon it for the present year; especially as the members of this Society would have an opportunity of joining the excursion of the Midland Counties Archæological Association to Warwick and Kenilworth in the month of July.

Your Committee have but few new buildings to report upon as having been completed during the past year. The only church consecrated since the presentation of our last Report is S. Clement's, in the district of S. Matthew, Birmingham. It comprises chancel, nave with aisles and transepts—the latter containing small galleries for children—and is in the Middle-pointed style, from the design of Mr. J. A. Chatwin.

New churches are in the course of erection at King's Heath, and at Selly Oak, near Birmingham; the former from the designs of Mr. Preedy, the latter of Mr. E. Holmes. A chapel of ease, designed by Mr. Street, is also being built at Blakedown, in the parish of Hagley.

Mr. G. Row Clarke has designed good simple schools at Eldersfield and Upton-on-Severn; and a picturesque half-timbered school has been erected at Leigh, under the direction of Mr. Hopkins.

A mural monument of original design, by Mr. Truefitt, has been placed in S. Clement's church in this city, to the memory of the late Rev. John Davis; and Mr. Hopkins has designed an excellent coped tomb, with floriated cross, ornamented with ball flowers, and adoring angels at the angles, for Severn Stoke churchyard.

Several restorations of consequence have been brought to a close since our last Report, the most interesting of which is the parish church of Bromsgrove, restored under the superintendence of Mr. Scott. It previously presented a combination of almost every disfigurement that could be inflicted upon a building—such as galleries round three sides, pews of every size and shape, plastered roofs, whitewashed walls, and windows deprived of their tracery; whilst a huge "three-decker" with a sort of Chinese sounding board, stood in the middle of the nave. All these have been swept away, and the sacred edifice brought back to its original comeliness and beauty; the architectural features being scrupulously adhered to, and restored, stone for stone, where necessary. The work was one of great difficulty, owing to the dilapidation and decay of the building, from mere lapse of time; and to the dangerous way in which the fabric had been weakened by successive mutilations. This was especially the case with the pillars, which had been cut into in many places to furnish supports for the galleries. The open oak seats, for rich and poor alike, are very massive and of excellent design, the ends and arm rests being enriched with varied carvings of natural foliage. The chancel ceiling is of panelled oak, with carved bosses at the intersection of the ribs. The roofs over the aisles are of deal, also divided into panels with bosses, &c. Stained glass windows by Clayton and Bell have been presented by the Rev. J. D. Collis, and the Maund family; and the colouring on the eastern bay of the nave roof has been renewed. The alabaster reredos is very beautiful when closely examined, although it is not at all effective when seen from the body of the church. More stained glass and additional polychromatic decoration is much wanted, to relieve the somewhat cold and cheerless effect pre-

sented by the interior, notwithstanding the solidity and beauty of the fittings. We also think the large 17th century monument, which encumbers the south side of the sanctuary, should have been removed to a less obtrusive position, and its place snpplied by proper sedilia. The entire expense of the restoration has been upwards of £5400. This includes a new organ by Nicholson, gas standards of beautiful design by Skidmore, and heating apparatus. The successful carrying out of this good work is in a great measure due to the indefatigable exertions of the Rev. J. D. Collis, who acted as one of the Honorary Secretaries; and who not only zealously aided in procuring the necessary contributions, (including one of £500 from the Baroness Windsor), and in carrying out true principles of arrangement and decoration, but was also himself a liberal contributor. He was likewise instrumental in procuring the erection of a handsome and lofty monumental cross in the new cemetery adjoining the churchyard.

The improvements at Hanley Castle Church were carried out under the direction of Mr. Street, and at the cost of Sir E. A. H. Lechmere, Bart. The chancel, tower (which stands between the former and the nave), and the chancel aisle supply interesting and valuable examples of the existence of a feeling for Gothic art—though with debased details—at as late a period as 1674. This portion of the building had been entirely shut out from the nave and its aisle by wooden partitions; the loss of room thus occasioned being provided for by the erection of galleries—south-west, north, and east—in the latter portion of the sacred edifice. The tower is now fitted up for the choir. Parclose screens separate this as well as the chancel from the aisle, and a low wooden screen divides them from the nave. The roof of the nave has been opened, a new oak roof erected over the chancel, and a deal one over the nave aisle. The open seats have been copied frcm old ones, which were ejected some twenty years ago to make way for deal pews. A new open-timbered porch has been erected on the north side, and a stone one on the south. Middle-pointed windows have been inserted in the chancel, the eastern one being placed very high up in the wall to allow of the erection of the reredos. This latter is a beautifully designed composition of alabaster, inlaid with crosses, &c., of marble; the crocketted canopies being supported by shafts of polished marble. The walls on each side of the reredos are lined with the same rich materials. The only material point of doubtful expediency in this restoration is the substitution of an early Middle-pointed east window in place of the original debased Gothic one; for, although the former window was very inferior in itself compared with its successor, it harmonized *externally* with the rest of the chancel, which the new one does not; and *internally* the whole of the former window was visible from the nave, (as is still the case with the east window of the aisle, when viewed from the nave) whilst the lower part only of the present one can be seen through the arches of the tower. The pulpit is partly of open work, and not very successful; but neither the promoter of the restoration nor the architect is responsible for the heavy and unnecessary prayer desk at the east end of the nave. In the churchyard is an elaborate coped tomb, designed by Mr. G. Row Clarke, to the memory of the late Sir E. H. Lechmere, Bart.

The restoration of Hampton-Lovett Church has been carried out under the superintendence of Mr. Perkins, the expense having been defrayed by the Right Hon. Sir J. S. Pakington, Bart., G.C.B. New roofs have been provided for the chancel and north chapel, a vestry erected, the interior of the walls denuded of plaster, and the window tracery and other stonework made good. An arch has been opened between the nave and chapel, in order to render the latter available for congregational purposes. The chancel has been furnished with new fittings, and a richly carved stone pulpit and open seats placed in the nave. The old bench ends have been used up in the chapel, which is seated in oak. The east window and one on the side of the chancel which had been blocked up, have been filled with stained glass by Hardman. We missed the old chancel screen, which, though of late date and cutting awkwardly into the chancel arch, was an interesting relic of the past; and the removal of ancient work from our churches is always to be deprecated.

No further restorations have been effected at the cathedral; but a design for the stained glass east window, together with a panel of the glass itself, has been prepared by Messrs. Hardman and Co., and you will have an opportunity of inspecting the latter at the cathedral to-day. The subscriptions promised, however, do not amount to more than will be required to fill the five upper lights.

The interesting church of Cow-Honeybourne, which the Society was mainly instrumental in rescuing from desecration, still remains in a ruinous state; but the energetic curate of the parish is now making a vigorous effort to raise the necessary funds for its thorough repair, plans for which are being prepared by Mr. Hopkins. And the Committee would urge upon the members of the Society the desirability of aiding the proposed good work.*

Amongst the works contemplated or in progress, may be mentioned the restoration of Alvechurch (by Mr. Butterfield), Shelsley Walsh (by Mr. Truefitt), Doverdale, Rock, and South Littelton (by Mr. Preedy), Malvern Priory Church (by Mr. Scott), Upper Sapey (by Mr. Hopkins), and the enlargement of S. Matthias', Malvern Link (by Mr. Scott), Wick (by Mr. Dawkes), Headless Cross (by Mr. Preedy), and St. Paul's Schools, Worcester (by Mr. Hopkins.)

Your Committee feel that no architectural society, having for its aim the development of the true principles of art, should pass over unnoticed the present controversy respecting the most suitable style for the proposed Government offices. For upon this in a great measure depends the question as to whether we shall aid the attempt to promote a truly national and original style of our own, adapted to the climate as well as to the requirements of the present age; or rest contented with the long tried futile attempt to introduce a foreign style, such as the Greek, Roman, or Italian, into our country.

When we contrast the fruitless endeavour of the last three centuries to evolve from these foreign styles an architecture suited to our wants, with the successful efforts of those who, within the last few years, have applied themselves to the study of *true principles* of art; and when again we compare the costliness, repetition, and want of originality of the classical designs in the late competition, with the life, energy, and originality of the revivers of Mediæval architecture, we are induced to hope that the voice of those who have devoted their attention to these questions may still prevail against the off-hand and unconsidered expressions of those who, till now, have never bestowed any thought on the subject.

Upon the decision of the late Government in favour of Mr. Scott as architect of the Foreign Office, your Committee passed a resolution congratulating him on his appointment; and they earnestly exhort the members generally, and especially the more influential of them, to use their best endeavours in behalf of Mr. Scott's design, and thus promote those principles of Christian art, which it is the object of this Society to encourage and support.

The Committee recommend that a memorial in favour of the adoption of a Gothic design for the proposed Offices be drawn up and signed by the members previously to the meeting of Parliament, and that those members who have seats in the House of Commons be requested to use their influence in carrying out the object of the memorial.

It is very gratifying to the Committee to be able to record the fact that since last November the nave of the cathedral has been freely open to the public, by order of the Dean and Chapter. This had been strongly recommended in our former Reports; and we cannot but express our gratitude for this advance towards allowing a free access to all parts of the venerable edifice.

The desirability of holding a General Congress of Architectural Societies at Worcester, was suggested in the last Report, and your Committee hoped to have arranged for its taking place in the course of next September. They have, however, heard that preliminary arrangements have been made for a gathering of Societies next autumn at Rugby, which, being within the sphere of this Society's operations, the contemplated meeting at Worcester had better be again postponed to a more favourable opportunity.

* An account of this desecrated church will be found in "Reports and Papers" for 1856, p. 65.

The Treasurer in Account with the Worcester Diocesan Architectural Society, for the year ending August 31*st*, 1859.

Dr.	£	s.	d.
Balance from last year's account	15	9	4
Subscriptions and arrears	62	10	0
Sale of publications	0	9	10
Amount received on account of Fund for Illustration of Annual Volume for current year	4	7	6
	£82	16	8

Cr.	£	s.	d.
One year's Rent of Society's Rooms, 51, Foregate-street	10	0	0
Further expenses on account of Stratford Meeting, held last year	3	12	9
Paid for Cleaning Committee Room, Coals, Firewood, &c.	2	3	0
One year's Subscription to Photographic Association	1	5	0
Expenses on account of Fladbury Meeting	0	11	2
A Balance due on account of Annual Meeting, 1857	6	0	0
Expenses of Annual Meeting, 1858	18	16	3
Postage Stamps, Stationery, &c.	5	7	2
Printing and Advertising	17	3	6
Carriage of Parcels, and other small items	1	15	1
Balance to next year	16	2	9
	£82	16	8

RICHARD CATTLEY, *Hon. Treasurer.*

Audited and found correct:

HYLA HOLDEN.

LIST OF OFFICERS AND MEMBERS

OF THE

LEICESTERSHIRE

ARCHITECTURAL AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY,

1859.

Patrons.

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF RUTLAND.
THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF PETERBOROUGH.

Presidents.

THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE EARL HOWE.
THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE LORD BERNERS.
SIR G. H. BEAUMONT, BARONET.
THE VENERABLE THE ARCHDEACON OF LEICESTER.
THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE LORD JOHN MANNERS.
SIR ARTHUR GREY HAZLERIGG, BARONET.
W. P. HEYRICK, ESQ.
E. B. HARTOPP, ESQ., M.P.

Committee.

The PATRONS
The PRESIDENTS
All RURAL DEANS (being Members)
All PROFESSIONAL ARCHITECTS (being Members)
HALFORD ADCOCK, Esq.
ROBT. BREWIN, Jun., Esq.
Rev. S. G. BELLAIRS
Rev. ROBT. BURNABY
Rev. JOHN DENTON
EDWARD FISHER, Jun., Esq.
Rev. J. M. GRESLEY
JOSEPH HAMES, Jun., Esq.
Rev. J. H. HILL
THOMAS INGRAM, Esq.
RICHARD LUCK, Esq.
G. C. NEALE, Esq.
G. H. NEVINSON, Esq.
T. NEVINSON, Esq.
T. T. PAGET, Esq.
The Hon. and Rev. JNO. SANDILANDS
JAMES THOMPSON, Esq.

Honorary Secretaries.

The Hon. and Rev. J. SANDILANDS
The Rev. J. M. GRESLEY
G. C. BELLAIRS, Esq.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

Bloxam, M. H., Esq., Rugby
Compton, Lord Alwyne, Castle Ashby
Dryden, Sir Henry, Bart., Canons Ashby
James, The Rev. Thos., Theddingworth
Poole, The Rev. G. A., Welford
Petit, The Rev. J. L., Bumbledike Hall, Lichfield
Potter, T. R., Esq., Wymeswould
Scott, G. G., Esq., 20, Spring Gardens, London

ORDINARY MEMBERS.

Adcock, Halford, Esq., Humberstone
Adcock, The Rev. H. H., Humberstone
Adcock, W. Esq., Melton Mowbray
Beaumont, Sir G. H., Bt., Coleorton Hall
Bellairs, Rev. S. G., Goadby Marwood Rectory
Bellairs, G. C., Esq., Narborough Hall
Berners, The Rt. Hon. Lord, Keythorpe Hall
Bingham, Henry Corles, Esq., Wartnaby Hall
Bonney, The Venerable Archdeacon
Brewin, R., Jun., Esq., Leicester
Briggs, — Esq., King's Newton, Derbyshire
Bright, E., Esq., Melton Mowbray
Browne, T. C., Esq., Leicester
Buller, G., Esq., Ashby-de-la-Zouch
Burnaby, Rev. F. G., Barkstone Rectory
Burnaby, Rev. Robt., Leicester
Cooke, T. F., Esq., Belgrave
Clarke, E. H. M., Esq., Melton Mowbray
Cooper, Rev. E. P., Little Dalby Rectory
Cox, W. P., Esq., Leicester
Cox, S. W., Esq., Market Harborough
Davis, H. J., Esq., Leicester
Denton, Rev. John, Ashby-de-la-Zouch
Ellis, Alfred, Esq., Belgrave
Fenwick, Rev. G. C., Blaston
Ferneley, Claude, Esq., Melton Mowbray
Fisher, E., Jun., Esq., Ashby-de-la-Zouch
Fisher, G. H., Esq., Market Harborough
Fletcher, Rev. J. W., Leicester
Freer, C. T., Esq., Billesdon Coplow
Gatty, W. H., Esq., Market Harborough
Gillett, Rev. G. E., Waltham Rectory
Gillett, W., Esq., Leicester
Goddard, H. Esq., Leicester
Goodacre, R. T., Esq., Leicester
Gresley, Rev. J. M., Over Seile Rectory
Hames, Josh., Jun., Esq., Leicester
Harris, J. D., Esq., Ratcliffe Hall
Hartopp, E. B., Esq., Little Dalby Hall
Hazlerigg, Sir A. G., Bart., Noseley Hall
Herrick, W. P., Esq., Beaumanor Park
Heygate, T., Esq., M.D., Market Harborough
Hickson, Thos., Esq., Melton Mowbray
Hickson, Josiah, Esq., Melton Mowbray
Hill, Rev. J. H., Cranoe Rectory
Howe, The Rt. Hon. The Earl, Gopsall Hall
Ingram, T., Esq., Leicester
Jacques, J., Esq., Birstall
Johnson, Rev. F. P., Market Harborough
Johnson, J.W., Esq., Melton Mowbray
Jones, Rev. T., Leicester
Joyce, M. J., Esq., Blackfordby
Joyce, W., Esq., Blackfordby
Knight, Rev. G., Hungerton
Latham, W., Esq., Melton Mowbray
Luck, R., Esq., Leicester
Macaulay, C. A., Esq., Leicester
Manners, The Right Hon. Lord John, Belvoir Castle
Martin, Rev. R., Ansty
Millican, W., Esq., Leicester
Moore, Rev. W. B., Evington Vicarage
Neale, G. C., Esq., Skeffington
Nevinson, G. H., Esq., Leicester
Nevinson, Thos., Esq., Leicester
Norman, G., Esq., Goadby Marwood Hall
North, Thos., Esq., Leicester
Oldham, F. J., Esq., Melton Mowbray
Ordish, F., Esq., Queneborough
Osborne, Rev. M., Kibworth Rectory
Packe, Rev. A., Walton on the Wolds
Paget, Thos., Esq., Humberstone
Paget, Thos. T., Esq., Humberstone
Paget, John, Esq., 7, Gordon-place, Gordon-square, London
Palmer, Geoffrey, Esq., Carlton, Northamptonshire
Peterborough, The Lord Bishop of, Peterborough
Phillips, J. E., Esq., Kibworth
Rutland, His Grace The Duke of, Belvoir Castle
Sandilands, The Hon. and Rev. John, Coston Rectory
Shaw, G., Esq., M.D., Leicester
Small, the Rev. Nath. Pomfret, Market Bosworth Rectory
Stephens, Rev. J. O., Belgrave
Stokes, Thos., Esq., New Parks
Stone, Rev. Arthur, Hoton Parsonage
Thompson, James, Esq., Leicester
Thorpe, Rev. F., Burton Overy
Tower, Rev. Ernest, Earl Shilton
Ward, T., Esq., Melton Mowbray
Webster, Rev. M., Nether Seile
Whetstone, Josh., Esq., Leicester
Wing, Rev. John, Leicester
Wing, Vincent, Esq., Melton Mowbray
Wood, R. W., Esq., Stoneygate
Woodcock, Rev. E., Thurmaston
Woodhouse, J. T., Esq., Over Seile

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS,

For the year 1859.

RECEIPTS.	£	s.	d.
Balance from last year	5	18	1
Subscriptions paid, 1859......	31	0	0
Arrears paid, 1859	7	0	0
Overpaid at Loughborough meeting	2	2	0
	£46	0	1

PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Advertising	5	15	6
Expenses of general meeting at Loughborough............	6	15	1
Expenses of Report and Papers for 1858	15	6	5
Postage stamps, carriage of parcels, and sundry small expenses	4	5	5
Balance	13	17	8
	£46	0	1

THE SEVENTEENTH REPORT

OF THE

ARCHITECTURAL SOCIETY

FOR

THE DIOCESE OF LINCOLN.

President.

The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Lincoln.

Patrons.

His Royal Highness the Duc d'Aumale.
His Grace the Duke of Rutland.
His Grace the Duke of Newcastle.
The Most Hon. the Marquis of Bristol.
The Right Hon. the Earl of Yarborough.
The Right Hon. Lord Willoughby d'Eresby.
The Right Hon. Lord Aveland.

Vice-Presidents.

The Right Hon. Sir J. Trollope, Bart., M.P.
The Right Hon. R. A. N. Hamilton,
The Right Hon. C. T. D'Eyncourt.
The Hon. and Rev. R. Cust.
Sir C. H. J. Anderson, Bart.
Sir Glynne Earle Welby, Bart.
The Rev. Sir C. Macgregor, Bart.
Sir Montague John Cholmeley, Bart., M.P.
Sir Edw. S. Walker, Kt.
The Very Rev. the Dean of Lincoln.
The Venerable the Archdeacon of Lincoln.
The Reverend the Subdean of Lincoln.
The Reverend the Precentor of Lincoln.
The Reverend the Chancellor of Lincoln.
G. E. H. Vernon, Esq.
J. Banks Stanhope, Esq., M.P.
G. T. W. Sibthorp, Esq., M.P.
G. F. Heneage, Esq., M.P.
W. H. Barrow, Esq., M.P.
C. Turnor, Esq.
G. K. Jarvis, Esq.
R. Milward, Esq.
H. Sherbrooke, Esq.
Rev. Dr. Moore.
Rev. Dr. Parkinson.
Rev. B. Beridge.
Rev. F. C. Massingberd.
Rev. R. Miles.
Rev. T. J. Peach.
Rev. C. C. Beaty Pownall.
Rev. W. Smyth.

Honorary Acting Secretary.

The Rev. Edward Trollope, F.S.A.

Honorary Local Secretaries.

Rev. A. Floyer,
Rev. E. Moore,
Rev. H. Maclean,
Rev. C. Terrot,
Rev. G. Gilbert,
John Ross, Esq.
(For the Archdeaconry of Lincoln.)

Sir C. H. J. Anderson, Bart.,
Rev. G. Atkinson,
Rev. Irvin Eller,
(For the Archdeaconry of Stow.)

Rev. J. F. Dimock,
Rev. E. H. H. Vernon,
Rev. C. D. Butterfield,
Chas. Baily, Esq.
(For the Archdeaconry of Nottingham.)

Treasurer.

Rev. Wm. Smyth, Elkington Hall.

Librarian.

John Ross, Esq.

Curator and Sub-Treasurer.

Michael Drury, Esq.

Committee.

The President.
The Patrons.
The Vice-Presidents.
The Rural Deans (being Members.)
The Officers of the Society.
Rev. J. Browne.
Rev. T. G. Bussel.
Rev. J. Byron.
A. Trollope, Esq.
Rev. W. J. Jenkins.
Rev. F. Laurent.
Rev. J. White.
M. Drury, Esq.
J. Fowler, Esq.
C. Kirk, Esq.
Rev. W. F. Hood.
Rev. H. R. Lloyd.
Rev. S. W. Andrews.

NEW MEMBERS,

Elected 1860.

Rev. C. Trollope Swan, Welton-le-Wold, Louth.
Rev. C. F. Newmarch, Leverton, Boston.
Rev. T. F. Stuart, Kirton-in-Lindsey.
Rev. W. Spranger White, Potterhanworth, Lincoln.
Rev. Stafford Bateman, South Scarle, Newark.
The Lord Foley, Worksop Manor, Worksop.
Hon. and Rev. C. J. Willoughby, Wollaton, Nottingham.
Rev. W. Bridgeman Simpson, Babworth, Retford.
Thomas Moxon, Esq., Kirton-in-Lindsey
John Vessey Machin, Esq., Gateford, Worksop.
William Champion, Esq., Bridge House, Worksop.
Samuel Worth, Esq., Worksop.
Mr. John Miller, Worksop.
The Viscount Galway, Serlby Hall, Bawtry.
The Very Rev. the Dean of Lincoln, Lincoln.
Rev. J. Fowler, Grammar School, Lincoln.
W. J. Picken, Esq., Whitmoor, Ollerton.
Rev. W. C. Meek, Welby, Grantham.
Mr. Theophilus Smith, 16, Cemetery Road, Sheffield.
Mrs. Miles, Firbeck Hall, Rotherham.
Rev. George Kershaw, Egmanton, Tuxford.
Rev. Horatio Spurrier, Sleaford.
Rev. J. Dodsworth, R.D., Bourn.
The Dowager Countess of Westmorland (Honorary).
W. D. Hoyle, Esq., Aughton Hall, Rotherham.
Rev. John Stacye, Shrewsbury Hospital, Sheffield.
John R. D. Tyssen, Esq., 9, Lower Rock Gardens, Brighton.
Henry Smith, Esq., Horbling, Falkingham.
J. Compton Lawrance, Esq., Dunsby Hall, Bourn.
Rev. W. H. Pengelley, Bourn.
Rev. Samuel Sheen, Middle Rasen.
Thomas Laxton, Esq., Stamford.

The Report.

YOUR Committee has again reason to congratulate the Members of the Society in general on its present condition and future prospects, because the application of each test of prosperity has in every instance produced a favourable result. As to numbers, we have to announce an increase of thirty new members, besides thirteen others who have been elected provisionally. Among the former we have had the pleasure of numbering those of the Dowager Countess of Westmorland, Mrs. Miles of Firbeck Hall, the Viscount Galway, Lord Foley, the Dean of Lincoln, and the Hon. and Rev. C. J. Willoughby. As to the Society's financial position, although its expenses have been heavy, its balance-sheet still presents a satisfactory appearance; and as to the value and character of the Papers contained in this volume, these, in our estimation, may be safely compared with those preceding them, as well as their illustrations, especially the portrait of the noted Elizabeth Hardwick, afterwards Countess of Shrewsbury, generously presented to the Society by one of its Patrons—the Duke of Portland. The Minute-book of our Committee Meetings, and the unceasing correspondence of our Secretary in chief on subjects of general or individual interest connected with Architecture, Archæology, History, and sometimes, Geology, clearly point to the utility of the Society's labours ; but the point on which we are inclined to dwell with the highest satisfaction is the manner in which the Society is always received in the various localities in which it holds its Public Meetings,—these now assuming the character of a general *fete*, rather than the simple assemblage of a few scientific gentlemen, as was originally the case. Year after year the Society's character has become better known, attracting in proportion a greater amount of public sympathy towards it, until it now feels confident of receiving a warm welcome wherever its assemblages are held, but on no previous occasion has it experienced more respectful attention or more generous hospitality than at *Worksop*.

The Society's Public Meeting was held in that town on Thursday and Friday, the 7th and 8th of June. After divine service in the ancient church of Worksop, which was attended by a crowded congregation, the features of the fabric were described by the aid of a large plan of the same, prepared for the occasion by Mr. F. Bury, one of the Society's Local Secretaries; after which the numerous party gradually assembled round the attractive Gatehouse of the old Priory, from the front of which our Secretary shortly explained to the Society's members and their friends the architectural features and the history of the picturesque old building before them. The repeated calls of the Bugler then announced that it was high time to commence the Excursion to various places in the vicinity of Worksop, which had been carefully arranged; and a long train of carriages in waiting was soon filled with ladies and gentlemen, eager to start upon the road to Steetley church, situated in Derbyshire, but close to the counties of Nottingham and York.

STEETLEY

is now represented by a small but most beautiful Norman structure of about 1120-30. It formed a distinct parish church, and was attached to a rectory connected with the Staveley estate, but is now roofless and deserted; around it was a churchyard, indications of which were distinctly disclosed in 1828. The church consists of a nave and chancel, terminating in an apse, the whole being 56 feet long. Externally, the doorway on the south, in a slightly projecting porch now heavily mantled with ivy, is very beautiful. Its arch is composed of zig-zag and beak-head mouldings, and its shafts are richly carved with twining foliage interspersed with the signs of the Zodiac. On the outer capital of the western one a syren is represented—a very rare subject in England, but not unfrequently found in France. This is supposed

by the Abbè Voisin to point to the attractive character of souls purified by baptism. In the cloister of St. Aubin, at Angers, there is a syren holding a fish in the left hand, and a knife in the right, the one pointing to Christianity, the other to the power of the Divine word. A very beautiful flat string enriched with foliage runs round the apse below the level of the windows; and the basement mouldings, often wanting in buildings of this date, are good here. It will be observed that a Decorated window has been inserted in the southern wall of the chancel. Internally, the highly enriched arches of the chancel and apse cannot be beheld without admiration; on two of the capitals of the pillars supporting the former is an extremely curious carving of St. George and the Dragon, and on one of the latter an equally curions one of the Fall of Man. Traces of painting may still be discerned upon the capitals and mouldings of the apse, as well as upon the ribs supporting its vaulting. This last fell in some years ago, but was carefully rebuilt by the Duke of Norfolk, the then possessor of this charming relic of a by-gone age.

The ancient family of the Vavasours were the original possessors of the parish; next, the Musard family, whose heiress married a Frecheville, members of which were presented to the rectory in 1348, 1355, and 1370. In their time the church was deserted, but the estate did not pass into the Wentworth family until the year 1370. Subsequently it became parcel of the Worksop estate, and belonged to the Duke of Norfolk, who sold it to the Duke of Newcastle in 1842.

After a short drive in a southerly direction through a thickly wooded and picturesque country the party arrived at the pleasantly situated village of

WHITWELL.

The manor of Whitwell was given by Wulfric Spott, in the reign of Ethelred, to Burton Abbey; but it had passed into the hands of Ralph Fitzherbert when Domesday book was compiled. Robert de Meynell, afterwards one of its lords, was a benefactor to Welbeck Abbey, as were also the De Ryes until 1563, when Edward Rye sold his estate here to Richard Whalley, whose grandson disposed of it to John, afterwards Sir John Manners, who died in 1632. Sir Roger Manners lived and died at Whitwell, and his wondrous excellencies are rehearsed upon his monument within the church as follows:—

"A living academie was this knight;
Divinity, the Arts, the Tonges, what might
In learned schools exactly be profest,
Tooke vp their lodginge in his noble breste;
Till death, like chvrch despoilers, did pvll downe
Manners' trve fabricqve and the Arts' renovne."

The church, dedicated to St. Lawrence, exhibits features of two distinct periods, the first belonging to an early date in the 12th century, such as the Norman doorway and corbel-table without, and the chancel arch within. There is here a founder's tomb in the north transept, and on the slab filling in the old credence is a small brass plate, containing a quaint inscription. A fragment of the Norman chancel doorway tympanum was recently dug up, and is now lying on the outside of the church.

The next object visited was one of natural beauty, and afforded an agreeable change in the day's proceedings, viz.,

MARKLAND GRIPS.

Here, three diverging glens, adorned by the charms of a lively little streamlet, and grotesque rocks sometimes peeping out from masses of foliage, and sometimes strangely grasped by the roots of old yews and ivy, found many admirers; while others examined the trench cut across the neck of a peninsula formed by two of the valleys for defensive purposes. From the discovery of Rcman coins in its vicinity, we may at least assume that some of that great people had stationed themselves on this spot, which nature had done so much to defend, although it is quite possible that it may have been previously occupied by a British tribe.

The next point proposed to be visited was one of a very different character, viz.,

BOLSOVER CASTLE.

Here the members of the Society were courteously received by the Rev. J. Hamilton Gray, the incumbent of Bolsover, who pointed out to them the various

features of the Castle, especially the earthworks around it, and the many objects visible from the summit of its lofty walls. Within, besides the peculiar architectural features and arrangements of the Castle, the large collection of Etruscan vases and other objects collected by Mrs. Gray in Italy, and which are principally the fruit of her own explorations, were regarded with much interest. After as long a visit as it was possible to make to the Castle, and an especial inspection of the famous riding-house built by the first Duke of Newcastle (who was the author of that curious old work the *General System of Horsemanship*), the Church, dedicated to St. Mary, was shortly examined. Besides several monuments to the Cavendishes, it possesses few points of interest—excepting an Early English tympanum over the chancel door, on which is carved the Crucifixion, and a piece of sculpture of the Nativity, formerly (apparently) placed at the back of an altar, and of about the commencement of the 15th century.

ALL SAINTS' CHURCH, SCARCLIFFE,

was next visited, where the general attention was chiefly directed towards a singular monumental effigy of a lady and child, to whom a fabulous history has been attached, through ignorance of the real personage here represented. Her gown is fastened at the neck by a large circular *fibula* or brooch, and her waist is encircled by a girdle. A mantle hangs behind, fastened with a band across the breast by means of a "fermail" on either shoulder, and held by the two fingers of the right hand; the skirt of the mantle is gathered up gracefully under the right arm. The hair, which is elaborately braided, is surmounted by an enriched circlet. The head reposes on a couchant lion, and the feet on another animal, either a second lion or a dog, but more probably the latter. The little boy she holds is bareheaded, and clad in a simple tunic, with sleeves which fit close at the wrists. His right hand is raised to his mother's face, and in the left he holds a scroll, bearing a long inscription, reaching down to her feet. Supporting the child's nude left foot is a tuft of stiffly sculptured foliage of the Early English period. This monument appears to belong to the middle of the 13th century, and not improbably represents the lady of one of the baronial family of Frecheville, which settled here for a considerable period, until the manor of Scarcliffe was forfeited to the Crown in 1275, by Adam de Frecheville, who here joined the barons against Henry III. The inscription on the scroll is in Leonine verse, in Lombardic capitals, but it is much injured. It has, however, been thus interpreted by John Ashbridge, Esq., of Trinity College, Cambridge:—

"*Hic sub humo strata, mulier jacet tumulata*
Constans et grata, Constancia jure vocata;
Cū genetrice data proles requiescit humata;
Quanquam peccata capiti ejus sint cumulata,
Crimine purgata, cum prole Johanne beata
Vivat prefata Sanctorum sede locata.—Amen.

In the instances of the effigies of Isabel d'Angouleme, wife of King John, and of Eleanor de Guienne, Queen of Henry II., at Fontevraud, as well as in that of Berengaria, Queen of Richard Cœur de Lion, at l'Espan near Mans, we find the same kind of circular "fibula" fastening the vent of the "camise" and the gown encircled by a girdle. In the 13th century, representations of sculptured monuments of a child with its parent were very uncommon; another instance, however, will be found in Anston church, of the same period, but of rude execution. In that case the parent is a male. In Bredon church, Worcestershire, is a monument of the 14th century, on which a child is sculptured on the right of the effigies of its parents. The next object of attraction was

CUCKNEY CHURCH.

It is chiefly of the Perpendicular period, but, has a fine Norman doorway; this, however, is not a relic of the first church here, as one is known to have existed at Cuckney before the Conquest. Afterwards the vicarage was acquired by Worksop Priory. A Saxon knight named Gamerbeer held two caracutes of land in the parish, of the king, for the service of shoeing his majesty's palfrey when he was at Mansfield. If he found all the nails he was to have a palfrey with four marks, or the king's palfrey for five marks, but was fined five marks if he pricked or mis-shod the palfrey in any way.

The early proprietors at Cuckney were Svein, Alric, and Ulsi. These were succeeded by Hugh Fitz Baldric; afterwards, Roger de Busli was lord of the manor,

and Joceus de Flemangh was a proprietor of some of the land. Here, Thomas de Cuckney, the founder of Welbeck Abbey, built a castle, *temp.* Henry II.; but there are now no remains of it.

Hence the party drove to Welbeck Park, famed for its vast oaks and grand forest scenery, where much regret was expressed at seeing so many gigantic trees prostrate that had successfully braved the storms of past centuries, but had at length succumbed before the terrific violence with which the wind had lately assailed them. Mingled with these, the lovely fresh green of the ferns—in combination with sheets of delicate blue from the flowers of the harebell, partly in shade, and partly sparkling in the light—elicited general admiration. Happily the famed Greendale oak withstood the abovenamed storm, although it has been pierced by an aperture 10 feet 3 inches high and 6 feet 3 inches in width, chiefly by nature, but partly by the present Duke of Portland's grandfather, who enlarged the cavity in 1724 for the purpose of driving a coach and four through it. The circumference of the bole above this aperture is 35 feet 3 inches.

Passing Welbeck Abbey, the Duke's residence, built on the old foundations of the original monastery established there, the new buildings were inspected under the polite guidance of the architect of the same. These consist of steward's offices, stables on an enormous scale, poultry houses, and a charming dairy lined with glazed tiles, and kept cool by an ever-playing *jet d'eau* in the centre. Driving hence through the wooded shades of Worksop Manor, now occupied by Lord Foley, the Excursion party reached the town of Worksop once more, in time for a large table d'hote dinner.

THE EVENING MEETING

was held in the upper room of the Corn Exchange, and was very numerously attended, the Right Hon. C. Tennyson D'Eyncourt occupying the chair, in the unavoidable absence of Sir Charles Anderson, Bart., who was to have presided.

The Rev. J. Appleton, the vicar of Worksop, then, in the name of the local committee, announced to the Right Honourable Chairman that an address to the Society had been prepared by the inhabitants of Worksop. This was read in an admirable manner by H. Heming, Esq., as follows:—

"TO THE LINCOLN DIOCESAN ARCHITECTURAL SOCIETY.

"We the inhabitants of the town of Worksop, beg to bid you heartily welcome.

"It is now four years since you held a public meeting in this county, and we "assure you that we are exceedingly gratified that you have fixed upon Worksop "as the place of your assemblage for the present year, now that you are paying "another visit to Nottinghamshire.

"We cannot offer to your notice so vast or so splendid a specimen of Gothic "architecture as our Diocesan Cathedral Church. We cannot call your attention "to such ancient evidences, referring to the Roman rule in Britain, as you ex-"amined at Horncastle; nor can we invite you to look upon a district abounding "with reminiscences of the Danes, and their fearful ravages, as were presented to "you at Grimsby. But still we possess some objects in our town which we trust "it will afford you much gratification to examine.

"It is with the greatest pleasure that we have already thrown open to your "inspection and study our ancient Priory Church; and we are rejoiced to find that "—in accordance with our expectations—its old Gate-house also has received a "very careful and critical examination from your body. The site of the once "lordly residence of the great house of Lovetot, will likewise, we are assured, be "regarded by you with much interest.

"We have endeavoured to place at your service such articles as we have "deemed to be illustrations of history, indicative of the past progress of architecture "and the arts, for exhibition in your temporary museum.

"We shall gladly join in the excursions you propose to make to various places "of interest in the vicinity of Worksop, and take part in your social proceedings; "but it is chiefly from the lectures and explanatory observations of your various "members, some of whose names are widely known as authors, and still more for "their knowledge of the history, archæology, and architecture of our native coun-"try, that we are expecting to derive the most permanent advantage.

"Knowing how much your Society has done to elucidate the history of such "localities as it has already visited, we feel confident that it will confer the same

"advantage upon our town and neighbourhood, through the medium of its annual "illustrated volume.

"Again assuring you of the gratification we experience from your present temporary sojourn at Worksop, which we trust will give you pleasure in all respects, "we beg to tender you our hearty co-operation in all your proceedings, and greet "your body with the utmost cordiality."

The following reply was next read by the Rev. E. TROLLOPE, the Society's honorary secretary:—

"TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE TOWN OF WORKSOP."

"We, the members of the Lincoln Diocesan Architectural Society, beg to "thank you very sincerely for the gratifying mark of attention you have offered to "us by the presentation of so flattering an address.

"By varying the locality in which we hold our annual public meetings, very "different classes of instructional objects are in turn placed before us, and thus the "individual tastes of all our members are at least sometimes gratified.

"The inspection of some specimens of ancient or modern architecture is "always expected by our body on such occasions, and you have responded well to "this demand, by presenting to our notice your fine old Priory Church, and its "interesting Gate-house; while, in the neighbourhood you will display to us, during our stay with you, specimens of every period of Gothic architecture, not excepting even the Saxon. Rich in historical associations, your town possesses the "power of raising up the shadows of events now long ago enacted, but still inseparably linked with the illustrious names of Lovetot, Furnival, Nevile, Talbot, and "Howard; while a great and good one is still happily connected with the ancient "manor of Worksop,—that of the noble house of Pelham.

"To these sources of attraction you are enabled to add some scenes of sylvan "and natural beauty, well calculated to give additional pleasure to our excursions.

"We thank you much for your kindness in aiding us to exhibit in our temporary museum a collection of works of art, which, from its varied character, is well "calculated to promote our general instruction.

"It will be a source of much gratification to us, if we find that you have in "any way derived benefit from the various lectures or addresses delivered by our "members during our stay with you.

"Such portions of our proceedings as may be considered worthy of record, "will in due time be printed in our annual volume, and the name of *Worksop* will "most assuredly assume the prominent place throughout its pages.

"Grateful to you, both for the honourable reception you have so kindly offered "us, and for the heartiness of your exertions to promote the success of all our proceedings, whether scientific or social, we beg to thank you very respectfully for "this and those other marks of attention which we have already received at your "hands."

The CHAIRMAN then called upon the Rev. Hamilton Gray to read his paper on "*Bolsover Castle*."

A vote of thanks was unanimously passed to the Rev. H. Gray for this able and interesting treatise.

The CHAIRMAN next called upon Mr. Trollope, the Society's hon. secretary, to read his paper on "*Monastic Walls and Gate-houses;*" when, after the usual vote of thanks for such productions, and a few appropriate observations from the Chairman, the vast assemblage gradually dispersed, apparently greatly pleased with their day's intellectual amusement combined with instruction.

On the following day, the Society, accompanied by a numerous concourse of friends, proceeded on an excursion to the following places, commencing with

THORPE SALVIN,

a village about six miles from Worksop. This parish formed a portion of the Earl Edwin's manor, surrounding his residence, at Laughton-en-le-Morthen. Soon after the Conquest it passed into the hands of the family of Salvyn, or Silvanus, whence it derived its distinguishing second name. It has a Norman church, to which some subsequent additions have been made, the chancel, aisle-arcade, tower-arch, and doorway, all being of that period—perhaps of the date of 1140. The pointed arch in the tower is well worthy of observation. The southern side of the

nave has been re-built—apparently about the commencement of the 15th century, its flat-headed windows being of that period. The bold bosses of the roof, and the little shafts carved out of the solid timber of the springers, are worthy of notice. The windows of the late Decorated chapel here are similar to those in Whitwell church. Here also is a low side window; but the most remarkable object in the church is the font, famed for its beauty, and we believe also for the unintelligible character of its sculptured subjects. These appear below a beautiful band of flowing foliage. The first is undoubtedly meant to represent the sacrament of baptism. The four next we think allude to the four seasons, pointing to the periods of human life; sowing, indicating spring; riding abroad, summer; reaping, autumn; and the little old gentleman crouching over a fireplace, winter; or perhaps they point to the varying character of life itself in its progress. But a still greater difficulty attaches itself to the interpretation of the remaining device. This at first might appear to be simply an ornamental arch of an usual Norman type, but it is surmounted by a head, and terminates on either side below with other heads. May not this device be emblematical of the Holy Trinity, in whose name we are baptized, and before whom we shall have to stand when our present lives are ended? On a leaden font at St. Evroult de Montfort (Orne), between large figures of the four evangelists, within arcades, are represented the various occupations characteristic of the different months of the year, with the corresponding signs of the Zodiac over them, but not in their regular order, and some are repeated more than once. February is indicated by a person in a cloak and hood seated over a fire, and August by a reaper. So also on the sculptured tympanum of the Porte St. Ursin, at Bourges cathedral; February is represented by a cloaked and seated figure crouching over a fire, July by a reaper, and August by a thrasher; each of these being under an arcade, with the names of the months they indicate subjoined. In the chancel of this church is a monument erected in memory of Hearsie Sandford and Margaret Copley his wife; also another of Mary their daughter, the wife of Sir Roger Portarlington. One front only of the adjoining old hall, built by the said Hearsie Sandford in 1550, now remains, in addition to a small gatehouse. When entire a few years ago, it was thus described by Hunter:—"We first enter a very "spacious rectangular court, in which are various offices of different periods. From "this we pass into an inner court, also square, each side being equal to the front of "the house, which forms one side of it. The entrance to this court is through a "gateway, with a chamber over it for the porter; and this gateway is decorated "with shields of arms, intended to announce the ancestorial pretensions of the pro-"prietor of the mansion. They exhibit the arms of *Sandford* with several impale-"ments, amongst which is *Copeley;* and it is this impalement which guides us to "the period when this house was erected. These shields have suffered much by "long exposure to the weather; still a motto is very plainly to be read '*Beo Me* "'*Gre*,' the meaning of which is very obscure. The house is quadrangular, with "circular turrets at each corner. In two of these turrets were the staircases. The "others contained small circular apartments opening into the larger. The design "of the interior was a passage through the centre, with two apartments on each "hand. One was the dining room, as is manifest from the marks of the dais in the "wall. The second front looked into another square court, also surrounded by "walls, and about the same extent with the inner court through which we approach "the principal entrance."

From the Sandfords, this hall passed to the Nevile family, from whom it was purchased by Sir Edward Osborne in 1636, who was originally an ordinary apprentice; and from him it has passed by descent to the Duke of Leeds.

Having just passed by the Anston stone-pits, the Society's Secretary here made the following observations on the same. "The examination of such building mate-"rials as present themselves to our notice is always of practical use to lovers of archi-"tecture as well as to architects; and the Anston quarries are especially interesting "as having furnished the greater part of the materials for the Houses of Parliament, "whose condition is now causing considerable anxiety. One of the reasons that "induced the commissioners to recommend this stone was its supposed durability, "as exemplified by the fabric of Southwell Minster; but it has now, I believe, been "ascertained that the materials of that church really came from Mansfield Wood-"house. Some of this last named stone has been used in the construction of the "Houses of Parliament as well as the Anston stone—and this has stood well—but

"elsewhere signs of premature decay are exhibiting themselves generally and very "plainly; at the same time it should be remembered that there are very different "qualities of stone procurable from the Anston quarries, as in many other cases, "and that had the best quality been always carefully selected, the evil alluded "to might not have been experienced."

From Thorpe Salvin, the excursionists proceeded to the small solitary church a little to the south of Laughton-en-le-Morthen, called

ST. JOHN'S.

Externally, this church is not at all attractive. The Norman doorway, however, within its porch is good, and invites visitors to make a further inspection. Within is an Early English arcade and chancel-aisle, the remainder of the fabric is Perpendicular. The bench ends of the last named period are good, but it is miserable to see that there is nothing but the natural earth between these, no paving or boarding having ever been apparently placed there. Here are several sepulchral memorials, including one of extraordinary beauty, of about the date of 1280. Its deeply cut and gracefully carved ornamentation, supporting a cross on its ridge, is well worthy of admiration; this is in the chancel, where there is also a small cross commemorating the Right Hon. John Moleverer, of Lettwell, in Yorkshire, and a rude marble slab erected in memory of John Covel, Master of Christ's College, Cambridge, and Chancellor of York Minster, who died in 1700, and clearly esteemed himself to have been a restorer of this church, from the tenor of his epitaph; but whose works are nowhere to be seen now. In the nave is a good incised slab to the memory of Robert Dinnington, and another in the north aisle. In the porch also have been inserted two sepulchral slabs of the 14th century. On the font, of the Perpendicular period, is this coat:—barry of six, in chief a lion passant. Some maidens' garlands are suspended from the chancel arch—formerly termed "crants," such as were granted to Ophelia instead of the shards, flints, and pebbles, usually cast upon graves of suicides,—

"Yet here she is allow'd her virgin crants."
Hamlet. Act 5, Scene 1st.

This custom however is still more ancient, and is referred to by St. Jerome, St. Austin, Gregory Nyssen, and Damascena. Sometimes the garlands are made of coloured horn, but usually of paper in a circular form, enclosing a piece of paper cut like a glove or in a heart shape, on which the name of the deceased, and occasionally some verses, are written. In some localities these memorials were touchingly hung over the seats usually occupied by the young girls whose decease they pointed to, as emblems of the immortal crowns it was hoped they had become heirs to in heaven.

LAUGHTON-EN-LE-MORTHEN.

The name Laughton is probably derived from "Laghton" or Law-town, pointing to some peculiar privilege it enjoyed under its former Saxon Thanes. Afterwards it was termed "Lactona" in deeds, &c. Its adjunct "en-le-Morthen," denotes its situation near the moorlands, by which it is partly surrounded. We cannot, therefore, admit the truthfulness of the more popular derivation of the nomenclature of this place, namely, "Lightning in the Morning."

No church is spoken of here until 1107; but we have clear evidence that there was one at a much earlier date, from the undoubted Saxon feature incorporated in the present fabric towards its north-western end, viz., a doorway nearly resembling that at St. Peter's, Barton-on-Humber. Within this, an Early English successor has been constructed; and to the left, a small portion of the original basement set-offs and quoins, so faced as to receive the edge of a coating of plaster, will be observed. In the interior there are some Norman features, viz., the north aisle pillars, excepting their abaci, the western bay of that aisle, and a small fragment on the north side of the chancel. But the greater portion of this church is of the Decorated period, and of a date about 1380, such as the north aisle arches and the southern arcade. The feathered angels holding labels, and supporting the roof timbers, are curious. There was a chantry at the east end of the north aisle, as evidenced by the remains of a screen there, and the height of its eastern window. This manor originally belonged to Edwin, Earl of Mercia; then, in succession, to Roger de Busli, Balesme, Lord cf Shrewsbury, and Adeliza, the second queen of

Henry I. The ecclesiastical revenues were given by that king in 1107 to form the Chancellor's prebend at York. In 1322, John de Mowbray, of the Lancaster faction, plundered this village and church, and carried off all the spoil to a stronghold he had in the Isle of Axholme. A stipendiary priest was maintained here by the liberality of the parishioners, and he was probably connected with the chantry before alluded to, as the above-named fact is recorded in Archbishop Holgate's return of the chantries within his diocese. *(Dodsworth's MSS. Bib. Bodl., vol.* xcii., *f.* 143.)

Hence the party adjourned to a grass field immediately adjoining the churchyard, for the purpose of examining the conspicuous earthwork it contains, where the following observations were made respecting its origin by the Society's Secretary.

"As great liberties have been taken with the name of this parish, we shall not "be surprised to find that these liberties have also extended to the earthwork now "before you. This has been termed a Roman camp, a British stronghold, and a "Saxon moot-house. It consists, as you will at once see, of a circular mound and "an irregular adjoining entrenched enclosure. This may have been originally a "British earthwork; but afterwards it certainly marked the residence of a great "Saxon prince, termed 'a hall' by the Saxons, and 'Aula' by the Normans, a "round tower or steep rising above the detached mound, and the actual hall oc"cupying the remainder of the site. But we may go a step further, and declare "*who* was the former owner of this hall—namely, one of the most celebrated of the "Saxon patriots—no less a personage than Edwin, Earl of Mercia, brother to Mor"kar, Earl of Northumbria, son of Alfgar, and grandson of Leofric, Earls of Mercia. "Edwin is first heard of in history as aiding his brother Morkar to establish him"self in Northumbria after the expulsion of Tostig from that province, and then, in "concert with Morkar, driving out the said Tostig from the vicinity of the Humber "when he afterwards landed in Lincolnshire. After the death of Harold, Edwin "and Morkar, his brothers-in-law, were supported in their pretentions to the crown "by Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Eldred, Archbishop of York, against "Edgar, the Confessor's nephew; and afterwards these princes hoped to hold out in "the north at all events against the Conqueror, but when London had fallen, "Edwin and Morkar submitted for a time to William of Normandy, until, gather"ing fresh hope, they returned from his court and raised the standard of revolt at "York. Thence they were driven out by William, and were forced to fly to Scot"land in the first instance, and then to the celebrated camp of refuge near Ely, "whence Morkar was inveigled and thrown into prison. Edwin was finally be"trayed into the hands of the Normans, and fell bravely fighting against his "foes when attended only by a very few followers, escape having been prevented "by the swollen condition of a small stream. His head was cut off and taken to "King William, who is said to have deeply lamented the fate of this brave Saxon "chief. His sister Lucia then became the heiress of the family: she was married "to Ivo Taille-bois, the Norman scourge of the Saxon monks of Holland. Another "Saxon hall—that of Waltheof, Earl of Northumbria, formerly existed at Sheffield, "giving rise to the name of the manor of Hallam, in which that town is situated."

The next place of interest at which the visitors alighted was

ROCHE ABBEY,

the remains of which lie in an extensive valley about eight miles to the north of Worksop, and the natural attractions of the place are sufficiently great to justify the many pilgrimages made to it, independently of its ancient or modern associations, in both of which, however, it is rich. The principal valley extends to the village of Old Coates on the one side, and Maltby on the other. On the north it is partly closed in by perpendicular crags (similar to those at Markland Grips), and at the lower end a small stream works a mill. Another valley runs from the first one at right angles, and contains a lake, formed in 1785. The abbey of St. Mary of the Rupe, or of the Rock, was founded, in the year 1147, by the lord of Maltby and Hooton, Richard de Busli, and Richard Fitz-Tingis, or de Wichersley, jointly. It appears, from charters still existing, that before the date of its erection, a colony of Cistertian monks, from Cisteaux, near Dijon, settled themselves here, as being a secluded spot, sheltered from the bleak north winds by a screen of nature's formation; whence it derived its distinguishing name, and which, from its close propinquity to the abbey church, must have thrown a very deep shade over

its interior. Its features are principally of the semi-Norman or transition style; but to these, after-additions were made during the Decorated period, of which style also is the gatehouse. This last attracted a good deal of attention, from the comparison that was naturally invited between the *town* example—offered by Worksop—and the one that formerly gave access to the abbey in this beautiful rural valley.

The stone of which Roche Abbey is built is famous for its durability; the sharpness of the angles and the distinctness of the tool marks, which may be everywhere met with here, proving how well it deserves its reputation.

On the south wall of the chancel are remains of the sedilia and piscina, and on the north wall are some beautiful fragments of what has, most probably, been an Easter sepulchre. The base of the western entrance has been lately excavated, so as to enable the stranger, standing in front of it, to form a better idea of the original length of the church.

A treatise on the history of the abbey was kindly read to the assemblage by Dr. Aveling. This was of a valuable character, and exhibited so much research that we trust he will fulfil his intention of publishing it in a more extended form.

After the thanks of the Society had been offered to Dr. Aveling for his obliging services, and a due examination of the still imposing remains of the grand old monastic pile that had been the subject of his observations, the party, resuming their carriages, passed by Sandbeck, the seat of the Earl of Scarborough, and, by special invitation, drove through the beautiful grounds of Firbeck Hall, the residence of Mrs. Miles.

The only other place visited on the return of the excursionists to Worksop was

CARLTON LINDRICK.

Here as many as six thanes had manors and halls during the Saxon period. Afterwards, that great Norman monopolist, Roger de Busli, absorbed them all, and placed as his tenant at this place one Turold, a name better known then to historians than now. Ralph de Cheurolcurt founded a monastery here, which he dedicated to the Virgin. It was situated near the river, and was called "St. Mary's of the Park." Externally the present church, dedicated to St. John, although large, has a most unpromising appearance to an ecclesiologist, and internally it is terribly overclothed with a burthen of pews and modern fittings. Some features, however, of the original fine old Norman fabric are here yet displayed, such as the arcades of the aisles and the upper portion of the tower-arch. This last feature is by far the earliest feature of the whole, judging from the character of its bold mouldings and the capitals of its shafts, with a peculiar ornamentation of a loop form, something like that at Stow. A portion of the Norman chancel wall has also been curiously preserved on the north side, still retaining two of its windows. Below these an Early English arch, supported by short shafts, has been inserted, opening into the chantry on this side of the chancel. The tower doorway is well worthy of observation, as another Norman feature; but this is an insertion; there is a Norman tympanum also over the chancel doorway. Unfortunately, the original Norman font is now in the churchyard, but we hope it will soon be replaced in its original place, which could readily be done by the removal of one very small pew. In this church a curious painted alabaster carving of the Trinity was found, similar in character to that on the Worksop Gatehouse.

Soon after the return of the excursion party the Society's annual public dinner took place in the Corn Exchange, at which upwards of one hundred and fifty gentlemen were present, and a certain number of ladies happily represented the fairer sex on the occasion. The Rt. Hon. C. T. D'Eyncourt presided; and as the Duke of Portland had generously contributed two fat bucks to aid the purveyor of the repast, and also a profusion of game and early forced grapes, peaches, and strawberries, &c., in addition to hothouse flowers for the decoration of the tables, and the Duke of Newcastle had contributed largely to the general decoration of the Corn Exchange, an admirable entertainment was the result. After the usual loyal toasts had been drunk, the large assemblage, that had for some time been awaiting the appearance of the Society's representatives above the dining room, were at length admitted, and in a few minutes every seat was occupied, and the most remote corners of the large place of assemblage were closely filled.

Since the publication of our last Report, we are happy to be able to state that the restoration of churches within the diocese has been carried on with at least as much zeal and activity as in any other, as will be gathered from the following notices.

ST. NICHOLAS, CUXWOLD.

This church was until lately in a most dilapidated condition, and scarcely retained any one perfect feature of its former self; but, thanks to the Patron, Henry Thorold, Esq., its appearance has been very greatly improved, under the direction of Mr. James Fowler, and it is now in a substantial state of repair. It has been newly roofed throughout, its square wooden casements have given place to windows filled with geometrical tracery in stone, its tower-arch, similar to that at Cabourn, is open; its seating is new, also the sanctuary rail, prayer-desk, and pulpit, as well as the chancel-pavement, composed of Minton's tiles.

There are evident traces of the former existence of a north aisle, which we regret has not been rebuilt; but on the other hand a new south porch has been added to the fabric, which greatly adds to the general effect of its composition.

ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST, SOUTH CARLTON.

Although this church had been repaired at some considerable cost, in the years 1812 and 1851 (during which last year its north aisle was rebuilt), last year the fabric was again found to be in such bad order that it was thought necessary to rebuild almost the whole, and this has now been effected under the superintendence of Mr. Teulon, and chiefly, we believe, through the liberality of the Rev. W. F. J. Kaye, the Perpetual Curate of the parish. The piers of the original south aisle, previously walled up, have now been most properly restored, and the appearance of the whole fabric is very much improved.

ALL SAINTS, HOLTON BECKERING.

The chancel of this church was restored a few years ago through the liberality of the rector, the Rev. H. F. Hodgson; but most extensive repairs were still evidently required throughout the remainder of the fabric, and these have now been effected under the direction of Mr. G. G. Scott, at a cost of £1200. It was found necessary to take down and rebuild the north arcade, both aisles, and a mortuary chapel connected with the church; also to re-roof the whole, partly with lead, partly with slates. The porch also, and the base-mouldings of the tower have been restored. Within, the new pulpit and seating are of oak; also an elaborate font-cover, highly enriched with iron work. The works have been carried out in a substantial and sober manner by Mr. W. Huddleston of Lincoln, in accordance with the architect's directions.

ST. HELEN'S, KIRMINGTON.

Nothing could have been worse than the condition of this church until very lately. It had been robbed of its aisles; and churchwarden windows—of the meanest character—were inserted in the provisional walls, formed by filling up the destroyed aisle arcades with brickwork. The east window of the chancel was blocked up with a vast copy of the Commandments; and, to make quite sure of its obstruction, the organ was placed before the Commandments, and a platform for the singers before the organ. Very much to the credit, however, as well as to the taste, of two of the principal parishioners, Messrs. Frankish and Hudson, the arcades of this church have been once more opened and repaired, and the aisles beyond rebuilt; in addition to which the new windows of the same have been filled with painted glass. The font, one of the south aisle windows, and the west window (representing St. Helen,) are gifts from the vicar, the Rev. R. C. Brackenbury.

ST. MICHAEL'S, TOFT NEWTON.

This little church always possessed some interest, from its simple Norman form, and some features which it retained of that period, such as the chancel-arch and font; but it had become so dilapidated, that it was found necessary to rebuild nearly the whole of the fabric. This has been effected in the Early English style, in accordance with the date of the old chancel windows. The arcade of a previously restored north aisle has been carefully preserved, in case an aisle should

again become needful. The pulpit, prayer-desk, and seating, &c., are of plain, but substantial oak; the floor is paved with Minton's tiles, and the east window is filled with painted glass by Messrs. Ward and Hughes. Externally, a new and well designed bell-gable and a south porch give character to this edifice; and it is a pleasing task to compare what we may now term the new fabric with the old one. The cost of this good work has been chiefly borne by P. Wilkinson, Esq., the principal proprietor of the parish; but the chancel was restored by the rector, the Rev. H. A. Browne, the whole having been placed under the direction of Mr. James Fowler.

SAINT BENEDICT'S, WOOD ENDERBY.

The nave of this church, previously in a most pitiable condition, has been rebuilt in a creditable manner by Mr. Hackford. Remains of the Early English and Decorated periods existed in the old fabric, and variety has been given to its successor by selecting the earlier style as the dominant one of its composition, while some portions of the later one have been inserted in the new north aisle. Without, the warm tints of the sandstone walls, contrasted with white freestone dressings, cannot fail to please. The new southern windows are of a good bold design, but the base-mouldings throughout are too light and weak. Within, the pillars of the aisle arcade are varied, and are good; but the plaster-covered arches above are by no means satisfactory, as it would have been far better to have shown their real brick constructional features than to have concealed them beneath a false skin. A small tower and spire adds much to the external appearance of this church; and a little vestry conceals—to a certain extent—the miserable character and condition of the chancel.

SAINT BENEDICT'S, SCRIVELSBY.

When the Society visited this church, a few years ago, its plastered ceilings were a subject of comment; but we are happy to say that these have now been removed, that entirely new nave and aisle roofs, of a good pitch, have been substituted for the old ones, and that a new chancel-arch has been added. The external elevation has also been improved by the addition of a tower and spire—the gift of the Hon. Sir H. Dymoke, Bart. The lower part of this feature constitutes a porch, but the Tudor doorway inserted in the new work, presumed to be of the 14th century, is incongruous. It is to be lamented that the spire was not considerably more elevated, as it is of far too obtuse a form, either to correspond with its presumed date or to group well with the other features of the church; and we regret this the more as the donor had every wish to add a graceful feature to this parish church.

ST. ANDREW'S, FALKINGHAM.

It is not often that we have to record a second re-opening of a church, after a second series of reparations within a very limited space; but in this instance the yielding of the nave-pillars—perhaps attributable to the extraordinary gales of last year—necessitated an extensive rebuilding of the fabric. This has now been effected under the directions of Mr. Ed. Browning; and at the same time the ruinous old roofs have been exchanged for handsome new ones, very much indeed to the improvement of this church.

The shabby old east window has been now happily replaced by a new one filled with glass by Messrs. Ward and Hughes. This is of such an unusually good character that it may well bear comparison with any other in the diocese; because, from the skilful distribution of its tints, whether seen from the most distant point in the church, or from the altar rail, it glows with deep but harmonious colouring. It was erected as a Memorial by Mr. Ward, and also commemorates the date of the second re-opening of this church, in the presence of the Lord Bishop of the diocese.

ST. HELEN'S, EDLINGTON,

has been almost entirely rebuilt under the direction of Mr. J. Fowler, and is now a pleasing edifice. Its material is the warm sandstone of the district, with Ancaster stone dressings. The north aisle had been previously pulled down, but happily its arcade was not destroyed, and this has now been carefully extracted from its temporary burial in a provisional wall, and thoroughly repaired against the time when a new aisle may be required.

The architect was compelled to give clerestory windows on one side, instead of small lights, which alone were admissible, for want of due elevation; and the result is by no means satisfactory. Externally, the tower is at present oppressed by the height of the adjoining nave roof; so that the former would be much improved by the addition of a conical roof and an iron finial. The pitch of the aisle roof is too flat, and that of the porch is perhaps too strongly opposed to it. The stove chimney, here as in other cases introduced by Mr. Fowler, forms a pleasing adjunct to the building, instead of being an eyesore, as such modern features were usually considered to be a short time ago.

ALL SAINTS, HORSINGTON.

Until lately, something more like a barn than anything else represented this church; but, chiefly owing to the exertions of the incumbent, Mr. Smith, a comely new fabric has now replaced its miserable predecessor. This consists of a nave, south aisle, chancel, and tower placed at the east end of the aisle in consequence of the character of the site. The whole is built of red bricks and dark mortar, relieved by freestone dressings, including even the spire surmounting the tower. The outline of this last feature is very good, and the effect more pleasing than might have been anticipated from the monotone of its colouring throughout; green slating, however, would have contrasted better with the brickwork than that of the ordinary colour employed. Within, the eastern triplet has rather a bald appearance, and the lights of the western one are rather too far apart, while the little window above it is awkwardly cut by the roof timbers; nevertheless, on the whole this church is very creditable to its architect, Mr. D. Brandon.

ST. VINCENT'S, CAYTHORPE.

The circumstances under which costly works were required here are well known. The spire of Caythorpe church was struck by lightning, December 30th, 1859, when the upper portion fell through the roofs of the chancel and transept below, and the remainder of it was split nearly to the base, so as to necessitate its entire reconstruction. This has now been done, but not without a change of character, that has given great dissatisfaction to some. True, the spire has lost a few feet in height, and much of its original bulge or entasis; but, as the last was excessive, and the first disproportionate to the height of the tower supporting it, although now not quite so conspicuous an object in itself it is really a more graceful and appropriate feature than before.

Besides this work, a considerable enlargement of the church has been effected by the addition of a wide span-roofed north aisle, opening into the nave by means of a new arcade, and giving relief to the appearance of a very lofty and peculiar one running down the centre of this church.

As the character of its features is not only good, but indicates a certain degree of originality of conception on the part of its architect, perhaps it would have been better to have designed the new portion in accordance with the old, although the latter certainly does not exhibit so much purity or such masculine feeling as the former. Externally, the wide buttresses with their long splays, and the simple but solid base-mouldings of the new aisle are most satisfactory, as are the side windows; but here, again, these last do not at all accord with the old ones, and yet one from the old fabric has been selected for insertion in the west gable of the new work.

We make these observations with some reluctance, as Mr. G. G. Scott was the architect employed, whose name most deservedly stands amongst the highest of his professional brotherhood; but in consequence of the extent of his labours, smaller works, comparatively speaking, may not perhaps always meet with that amount of study and attention which they would receive from our local architects, several of whom would have been fully competent to have carried out the works required at Caythorpe in a perfectly competent manner, including the rebuilding of the spire in its original instead of in a new form.

ST. MICHAEL'S, BASSINGHAM.

A very efficient restoration of this church has been effected under the supervision of Mr. J. H. Hakewell, at a cost of £1,200. The north arcade, which was in a dangerous state, and filled in with masonry, was entirely rebuilt, but its Norman portion is incorporated into the new work. New chancel and tower arches have

been erected, new roofs now cover the aisles, and the old oaken nave roof has been thoroughly repaired. The windows throughout have been carefully restored and re-glazed, and one in the chancel opened that was previously closed; a pretty little chantry also now forms a visible portion of the fabric, that was before separated from it internally.

The seating, paving, pulpit, altar rail, doors, and other fittings are all new. Externally, it is to be regretted that the north aisle wall was not rebuilt, as its great inclination outwards renders its appearance very unsightly, although it perhaps may be considered safe; and the new features of the south porch are too heavy. The reparation of the parapets, including the restoration of their pinnacles, has been carefully attended to.

In excavating the earth within the area of this church a very rude and early oblong font, of Ketton stone, was discovered. It is of an irregular shape, but about 2 feet long, and 1 foot 5 inches wide and deep; this rested upon a basement stone, 2 feet 4 inches long and 10 inches thick, both of which are rudely carved with varied interlaced devices and cable mouldings. The drain is in one corner, piercing both the actual font and its base. It is probably of the latter part of the 11th century, and may have been a copy of some better example worked out by a local mason. A charming little double tomb-stone, similar in form to one represented in *Sepulchral Memorials*, plate 8, was found in the wall of this church, but having crosses on it like those of fig. 1, plate 9, of the same work; also a sepulchral slab, bearing the following marginal legend, "Hic jacet Willielmus de Lindesey cujus anime propitietur Deus. Amen."

SUTTON, ST. NICHOLAS.

This church has been judiciously rescued from its former dilapidated condition, as well as from its disfigurement, by the exertions of its present incumbent, the Rev. Edward Bennett, of Sutton St. Mary.

A new porch, on the foundations and after the design of the former porch, has been built to protect the south door; and also a vestry on the north side of the chancel.

A new roof of good design, material, and workmanship, has been put upon the chancel, and the windows throughout the church are now restored after existing models, while the whole of the interior of the church has been completely and appropriately re-arranged.

WESTON, ST. MARY.

We have the pleasure of announcing further improvements in this church, the tracery in several of the windows having been restored of late; and, very shortly it is expected that the whole will be filled with appropriate tracery, of which, until the year 1858, it had been almost entirely denuded. This good work has resulted entirely from the zealous efforts of the vicar, the Rev. Edward Moore.

ST. FIRMIN'S, THURLBY.

Few persons, whether clerical or lay, have exhibited so admirable a spirit in the cause of church restoration as the Rev. C. P. Worsley; and by perseverance, added to great personal liberality in behalf of the church in which he ministers, that fabric now plainly speaks of the success that has crowned his labours. This year the east window of the chancel has been filled with painted glass, by Messrs. Baillie and Co., of London, at the cost of Mr. T. Cooke Hubbard, the lay rector; and beneath, a reredos of carved stone has been erected, the work of Mr. R. Tinkler, jun.; the spandrils of the canopies are enriched with sculptured copies of ivy, oak, and holly leaves, copied from nature, mingled with passion-flowers, roses, lilies of the valley, &c., derived from the same source, indicating powers of adaptation, as well as manual skill, on the part of the sculptor.

ST. MARY'S, STAMFORD.

Considerable improvement has been effected in the chancel of St. Mary's, under the direction of Mr. Edw. Browning. It has been re-roofed very appropriately, and the former incongruous east window has been replaced by a new one in character with the older portions of the chancel; another has also been inserted in its southern wall. These windows are filled with painted glass by Wailes; and below the eastern one a reredos has been erected, of rich materials and good design.

ST. MICHAEL'S, LAXTON.

It is with mixed feelings that we speak of this church, after a careful examination of its features, and their appearance before and after the re-modelling they have undergone.

No one can deny that its walls were in a very precarious condition, or that its interior bore a forlorn, neglected, look, before the late works were commenced; but there was a degree of by-gone grandeur about the whole fabric, recalling the names of Everingham, De Roos, Grey, D' Egville and Longevill, such as Haghe or Werner would have rendered so well; in short, a phase of old historical, as well as of architectural reminiscences that has now been dispelled, as is too often the case, and especially where the means of reparation are limited or fixed, and are consequently insufficient for the purpose. True, we have now at Laxton a church in sound condition, and to a considerable extent in a state of rejuvenescence; but its proportions have been sadly injured by the abstraction of one of its bays, its new aisle roofs are meagre in construction within ; while, without, the stripes of green slates mingled with the others and the red ridge tiles are too fanciful in character for application to so sober an old church; the diagonal buttress of the south aisle also does not fall happily into the general composition, and the tower, excepting as to stability, has sorely suffered by exchanging old things for new. This has now no central buttresses, nor occasional small lights to relieve the heaviness of its appearance, as before. It must be remembered, however, that the sum at the disposal of the architect, Mr. Hine of Nottingham, was quite insufficient for the purpose of effecting the very extensive works required, as he would have wished; and we are certainly much indebted to him for having preserved, and carefully restored, the fine old clerestory of this church and the Early English tower-arch and doorway, as well as for the new east window, which is of a good design, as are the details of the porch.

LOWDHAM.

The church of Lowdham has recently undergone extensive restoration and repair. The roofs and interior had long been in a sadly dilapidated condition; the internal walls were badly plastered, and the church was disfigured by huge high-backed pews and an unsightly western gallery. The latter have been entirely swept away; and by a new arrangement of the floor space, now seated with open benches, a larger number of persons can be accommodated with sittings. An archway has been opened in the tower below the belfrey floor, and Decorated tracery has been added to the new clerestory windows. Arches in the chancel have also been reopened, forming a vestry and organ recess on the site of what was once a mortuary chapel, probably belonging to the Lowdham and Broughton families. The plastering of the walls has here also been removed, and the face of the stone dressed and pointed. A new roof has been added here of a proper pitch, and the nave and aisle roofs have been restored. A large tomb within the altar rails has been removed by permission of a descendant of the family, and the floor inlaid with encaustic tiles at the expense of the vicar, the Rev. Mr. Browne. The cost of the restoration will be about £1500, towards which the late Earl Manvers, the lay impropriator, gave the sum of £700, the remainder having been raised by private subscription among the parishioners.

ST. MICHAEL'S, FARNSFIELD,

was consecrated by the Bishop of Lincoln on the 4th inst. The new edifice is in the style of the fourteenth century, and consists of a lofty nave, aisles, a chancel, with apsidal termination, and a porch and vestry. The body of the church is filled with open benches; and in the chancel there is an organ recess, and seats and desks for the choir. The pulpit is of stone, and the prayer-desk and lectern of pierced and twisted ironwork.

ST. WILFRED'S, MARNHAM.

A new east window has been erected in the chancel of this church, under the superintendence of Mr. C. Baily; and it has also been filled with painted glass, by Messrs. Ward and Hughes, at the expense of the Rev. H. A. Coles, the incumbent. The subjects are the *Crucifixion*, the *Ascension*, and the *Resurrection*, with angel-

harpers in the tracery above; and as the whole has been well carried out, this addition to the church is one of considerable value.

CROYLAND ABBEY.

The condition of Croyland Abbey having been represented to the Committee, it was resolved that the Rev. Edward Moore, of Spalding, should be requested to act as the Society's Special Secretary, in connexion with an appeal it agreed to make to its members and the county at large, in behalf of that valuable example of mediæval architecture. And we are now happy to be in a position enabling us to record the satisfactory result of this movement, which has doubtless been the means of preserving the remains of Croyland Abbey from destruction.

After a careful examination of the west front by that eminent architect, Mr. G. G. Scott, it was found that no part of the original foundations, whether of the Norman or Perpendicular period, had been laid upon the gravel below the fenny surface soil; consequently we cannot be surprised that some portions of its elevation had inclined as much as two feet from the perpendicular, and that wide fissures had ensued.

The only remedy recommended was the supply of new foundations reaching down to the gravel, and a subsequent screwing up of the inclining walls into their proper vertical position; and we are thankful to be able to announce the entire success that has attended these operations; a solid mass, nine feet in depth, has been built beneath the old pile, fully capable of sustaining it, and its inclining features above have been restored to an upright position in such a manner as to exhibit a triumphant instance of modern engineering skill, well directed by the highest professional ability. The sum of £528 was subscribed, in answer to the above named appeal, by this Society and others who had sympathy for such an historical monument when in danger; and now that, through the talent of the architect and the skilled labour of the contractors, Messrs. Thompson and Ruddle, of Peterborough, our wish has been accomplished, we are enabled to rejoice in the success that has attended the very critical operations required, and most sincerely to congratulate not only the inhabitants of Croyland, but those of the county generally, on account of their having been spared the loss of a most valuable monument of antiquity, which misfortune had been pronounced by an eminent architect inevitable. Such a calamity—may we not say, such a disgrace—has been averted through the persevering exertions of the Rev. Ed. Moore, the Society's Special Secretary, who for years past has kept an anxious eye upon the increasing signs of debility exhibited by Croyland Abbey.

It now remains to secure the Norman tower-arch at the end of the nave, which would, comparatively speaking, require only a small sum, perhaps £50; and we trust that such Members of the Society and its friends as have not as yet contributed towards the Croyland Abbey restoration fund, will assist in carrying out this very desirable and final operation.

We cannot omit mentioning the erection of a drinking fountain for public use in Boston, the liberal gift of Mr. T. Garfit to his fellow townsmen. Such fountains are exceedingly difficult to design in an appropriate and pleasing form, but we think that this will well bear comparison with many that have lately been erected in the metropolis and other towns; its general appearance being pleasing, and its colouring agreeably varied by the use of granite mingled with freestone of two tints.

Another fountain has also been erected in the Market-place at Bourn, as a memorial to the late Mr. John Lely Ostler, from the designs of Mr. Edw. Browning. This is also a very favourable specimen of such works of art, now coming into vogue, but not unfrequently assuming either such inappropriate or frightful forms as to be eyesores, rather than ornamental additions to our streets and squares. It consists of a stone canopy, or spirelet, supported by four little pillars, having shafts of red Aberdeen granite, of the best Gothic period; and will doubtless attract the attention of the Members of the Society, at the forthcoming Meeting at Bourn.

Some curious mural paintings have been discovered within the Rochford Tower, Boston, copies of which were presented to the Society by Mr. G. Hackford, of Boston. They represent the *Annunciation*, *St. Anne with the Virgin*, *St. Michael*, *St. Anthony*, and a shield within an oval, surrounded by a foliated border and sup-

ported by two animals resembling rams; above is the upper portion of an angel, but the bearings of the shield are unfortunately effaced. This last painting is over the doorway, and most probably represented the Rochford coat, the tower it adorned having been built by that family early in the 16th century.

Roman vestiges have been discovered at two new points, viz., at Whaplode Drove, and at Claxby; the former consisting of pottery, &c., on land now within the churchyard there; the latter, of a portion of a tesselated pavement, composed of red, white, and grey tessellæ, on the north side of Claxby church, and about fourteen feet from it.

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS,

For the year 1860.

RECEIPTS.	£	s.	d.	PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.
Balance in hand from last year's account	120	10	3	Rent of Room, one year, to March, 1860	10	0	0
Report sold	0	10	0	Curator's Salary to March, 1860	5	0	0
Entrances	9	10	0	Fires for Room	3	15	0
Subscriptions	61	0	0	Expenses of Meeting at Worksop	18	18	0
Interest on £100 at 4 per cent. allowed by the Treasurer	4	0	0	Messrs. Brooke, for Printing Reports, etc.	57	8	6
				Balance in Treasurer's hands	100	8	9
	£195	10	3		£195	10	3

THE NINETEENTH REPORT

OF THE

YORKSHIRE
ARCHITECTURAL SOCIETY.

Patrons.

HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.
THE LORD BISHOP OF RIPON.

Presidents.

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*RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF CARLISLE, *Lord Lieutenant of the East Riding.*

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Right Hon. Lord Feversham
Right Hon. Lord Wharncliffe
*Right Hon. Lord Hotham, M.P.
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*The Ven. Archdeacon Creyke
*The Ven. Archdeacon Bentinck
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The Rural Deans
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Balme, E. B. Wheatley, Esq.
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Carr, Rev. C.
Davies, R., Esq.
Foljambe, T., Esq.
Jessop, Rev. Dr.
Legard, Rev. F. Digby
Ornsby, Rev. G.
Philips, Rev. G. H.
Randolph, Rev. Canon
Rudd, J. B., Esq.
Walbran, J. R., Esq.

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Rev. George Frederick Pearson, York.

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Rev. Thomas Bayly
G. Fowler Jones, Esq.

For Ripon:
Rev. J. Sharp
P. O'Callaghan, Esq.

Auditors.

Rev. G. F. Philips
G. L. Cressey, Esq.

Curators.

Rev. Thos. Bayly
J. C. Swallow, Esq.

Additional Ordinary Members.

Rev. Henry Gardiner
John Naylor Clayton, Esq.
A. B. St. Leger, Esq.
Christopher Sykes, Esq.

The Report.

Adopted at the Annual Meeting, held at York, January 23rd, 1861.

In commencing the Report for the past year the Committee desire, first of all, to record their sense of the deep loss which the Society has sustained in the early departure to his rest of its late valued Secretary, W. H. Dykes, Esq. For many years he had conducted its affairs with admirable diligence and skill; and many of the Society's labours have owed, as well their origin as their successful carrying out to his energetic and assiduous attention. His memory, therefore, will ever live amongst those with whom he has worked; and his simple and unaffected piety, and the religious principle which was the main spring of all his labours, will long be remembered with respect and affection by those to whom he was best known. His death has caused a gap amongst the Society's officers which it will be difficult fully to supply.

With regard to the financial state of the Society your Committee are happy to be able to report that the sum of £70 has been paid by the late Treasurer, and a promise given that the whole of his debt to the Society shall be eventually liquidated. To this sum must be added the contributions which, it will be remembered, originated with Mr. Trollope (the Secretary of the Lincoln Society), and have been collected by him, our Treasurer, and the late Secretary, amounting, at present, to £70 13s. 0d. The Society is thus in a great measure relieved from the serious embarrassments which pressed upon it at the close of last year.

The Society was invited to join the Spring Meeting of the Lincoln Society, at Worksop, an account of which will appear in the Report of that Society; but in consequence of the illness of Mr. Dykes there was no autumnal excursion of this Society last year. The Report, therefore, which is now presented must of necessity be scanty compared with the Reports of previous years. In the absence, however, of such matters of interest, usually supplied by the annual excursions, the Committee would next direct attention to the works of church-building and restoration that have gone on in the county since the publication of its last Report.

The Society are indebted to G. E. Street, Esq., the architect, for the following technical reports of Whitwell and Howsham churches.

1. *Whitwell* church, as being the first consecrated by our venerated Archbishop, since his translation, claims especial notice. It has been built and endowed at the cost of Lady Lechmere, and consists of a nave, 52ft. 6in. by 19ft., and chancel, 29ft. by 18ft., with a tower and spire on the south side of the chancel, and opening into it by an archway. There is a south porch, and a vestry on the north side of the chancel; the church is capable of holding 142 persons.

The tower and spire together measure 118 feet high, containing a peal of six bells, made by Messrs. Warner and Son. The east window is of three lights, and is filled with very brilliant glass, executed by Messrs. Clayton and Bell. There are two other windows in the chancel, one over the sedilia on the south side, and one in the north wall behind, and over the choir-stalls. The window at the west end of the nave is composed of four small lancets, with a circle over, containing four cinquefoils. The shafts of the chancel arch and those of the chancel windows are of Devonshire marble; and there is a rich reredos raised on a *flat*, five steps above the floor of the nave, composed of alabaster-marble, and has in the centre a red marble cross, with a crown of thorns, of alabaster.

The font is close to the south door, and abuts on the west wall, and has inlaid patterns in marble.

The pulpit, which is of stone, is placed at the N.E. angle of the nave, and is, like the font, inlaid with various marbles.

The floor is of Minton's tiles, that in the chancel being very rich, with white marble introduced in places. The stalls and prayer-desk are of English oak; and there is an organ, by Willis, placed in the tower. The lych-gate is of oak.

On the day following (Aug. 22nd) His Grace proceeded to consecrate

2. the church of *S. John the Evangelist*, at *Howsham*. This church has been erected, and an endowment of it for the service of a chapel of ease supplied, by the munificence of Mrs. Cholmley, in memory of her husband.

The style is early middle-pointed, all the tracery being of the most thoroughly geometrical character. It consists of nave, chancel, vestry at north of chancel, with porch and turret at the west end. The material of the whole building is of Whitby stone, relieved with courses of pale red stone from the same district. The walls are finished inside as well as out in the same way, no plaster being used.

The porch (which demands special notice) is a large open structure, supported on detached shafts, and stretching across the west front, save at its northern extremity, where it abuts against the base of a square turret. The porch is roofed with a lean-to roof against the west wall. The shafts which support it have carved capitals, one of them containing the emblems of the four evangelists. The west gable of the nave, above the porch, contains a circular window. The turret, which is square at its base, is octagonal above; and at its upper stage is supported on detached shafts, alternate of red stone and of serpentine, and is finished with a steep pyramidal capping, and a vane. It contains four bells, made by Messrs. Warner and Co.

The nave is a simple parallelogram, filled with moveable oak seats.

The pulpit and font are of stone, adorned with inlaid marble, spar, &c.

The lectern is of oak. The roof is of common rafters all framed together, so as to give a semicircular line inside. The chancel is entered by a chancel-arch, the inner member of which has some bold cusping. The chancel has a semicircular apse, lighted with three two-light windows, whose inside arches are connected in a continuous arcade resting on marble shafts. There is another three-light window on the south side. The altar is of oak, covered with an embroidered frontal and super-frontal, and with a reredos of marble, spar, and stone, richly carved, and with a marble cross in the centre panel.

Double sedilia are formed in the south wall, and a credence in the north. There is an altar-rail of brass and iron, as well as the low stone screen, dividing the chancel from the nave. The vestry opens to the chancel with an arch, under which it was intended by the architect that the organ should be placed, but this is not yet done. The roof of the western part of the chancel is open, but that of the apse is boarded, and very richly painted with an elaborate conventional pattern, and a text at the cornice.

All the windows in the church have been glazed by Messrs. Clayton and Bell, under the direction of the architect. The three apse windows contain subjects from the life of Our Lord: the south window of chancel, the six acts of Mercy: the three-light window near the font has subjects referring to Baptism. The other windows in the south wall of the nave have figures of the four evangelists, and the west window a sitting figure of Our Lord, surrounded by angels. The north windows are glazed with painted quarries.

The chancel stalls are of oak. The floor of the nave is of Minton's tiles, and, in the chancel, of tiles and marble intermixed.

The real merits which these two churches possess seem to justify a somewhat more elaborate account than is usually given in these reports.

Welburn church, near Castle Howard, not yet consecrated, but licenced and opened for public worship, will be noticed in the Report of next year.

The church at *Felixkirk* is the next that claims an especial notice, the restoration of which was the last act of our lamented Secretary, who died, to our common regret, soon after its completion. It is a work which will indeed reflect honour to his memory;—a beautiful, graceful Norman apse, restored to its original proportion, after long ages of neglect, finishes the chancel.

The extreme length of the church is 70 feet, by 47 in width. The chancel is of the Norman style of architecture, and the nave is Early English. The porch is situated nearly at the extremity of the south side of the nave; and the vestry is placed at the north side of the chancel, the entrance to which is by a door at the

east end of the north aisle. The chancel terminates with an apsidal sanctuary, according to the original plan of an ancient church, supposed to be the predecessor of the old church which has been pulled down. The apse has an interesting Norman arcade, the effect of which is something like a reredos, and which adds greatly to the appearance of that part of the church. The arch immediately in front of the apse is cone-ornamented, and the chancel arch, which is about ten feet nearer the nave, has the beak-headed and zig-zag moulding. The flooring of the chancel is paved with Minton's encaustic tiles.

The beautiful tower and spire of *All Saints*', *Wakefield*, are now in course of restoration under the superintendence of G. G. Scott, Esq. The tower has been entirely recased with new stone, and the spire wholly rebuilt, with its beautiful crockets restored. The whole work is admirably done, and, when completed, will be one of the best restorations which has taken place.

Amongst the works of church restoration that have been carried out in the City of York, may be mentioned

Bishophill, *jun.*, which is still under repair (architects, Messrs. Atkinson). The south aisle is partly rebuilt, with new window (decorated) and an entirely new stone porch in lieu of the brick one. The south side (nave and aisle) has been re-slated, the tower-arch thrown open, and the area appropriated to the school-children. The chancel is in the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, who purpose effecting a complete restoration.

The church of *Bishophill*, *sen.*, has been re-seated with open seats, the north aisle re-roofed and slated, and four new windows inserted, retaining the original pattern. The east window is likewise renewed, and the entire windows re-glazed; the ceiling of the nave, put up about fifty years since, cleared away, and the old oak ceiling exposed (it is about the date of 1600). The vestry is removed into the tower.

In *S. Helen's* church, another memorial window, by Hardman, on the north side of the chancel, has been inserted.

And now to pass from church restoration to threatened church destruction. The Committee hear with concern and alarm of a proposal to abandon the church of Holy Trinity, in Goodramgate, and by rebuilding S. Maurice on a larger scale, to make it serve for the use of both parishes. The church of Holy Trinity, besides being the mother church, possesses several features of special interest, architecturally. It contains some remarkably fine old glass. Considerable restoration has been carried out within the last few years. The large west window, and the south west wall (including the new porch) have been rebuilt, and the spacious chantry renovated for the use of the Female Training School. A grant was applied for and given by the Yorkshire Architectural Society towards the restoration of the large west window: so that all which remains to be done to make this church perfectly available internally for the purposes of divine worship, is a better system of pewing, the whole area (excepting the chantry) being blocked up with large, square high-backed pews. Your Committee, therefore, do most earnestly protest against this project of demolition.

The Society are gratified to witness the steps that are being taken to open out the west-front of the Minster.

ABSTRACT OF THE TREASURER'S ACCOUNTS,

For the Year ending Dec. 31, 1860.

Receipts.				£	s.	d.
Balance in hand				48	6	4
Subscriptions and arrears received by the Treasurer......	£ 30	s. 0	d. 0			
Per Messrs. Swann..	10	3	0			
„ W.H. Dykes, Esq.	4	1	0			
„ Mr. Sunter	7	10	0			
Total subscriptions and arrears				51	14	0
Special donations, received by the Treasurer............				7	12	0
April — Cash on account of debt due from the late Treasurer...........................				70	0	0
Sale of Report				0	5	0
				£177	17	4

Expenses.				£	s.	d.
Willison's Account				2	6	0
Account of the late Secretary, W. H. Dykes, Esq.'s expenses, and of various disbursements made by him in behalf of the Society during the years 1858, 1859, 1860				22	10	0½
Mr. Harrison's Account (for Ripon Meeting, 1858)				16	18	0
Mr. Lancaster's Account (for Stationery, 1858)				0	18	0
Grant made by the Society towards the Illustration of the Annual Volume				5	0	0
Account of Messrs. Brooke for share of expenses in publishing the Annual Volume				25	16	6
Account of Messrs. Stanfield (for Circulars, &c., 1856)...				3	7	3
Rent of Room from School of Art (1859)				5	0	0
Account of the Rev. J. Sharpe, Secretary's Expenses, 1860				1	11	6
Balance paid to Messrs. Swann and Co.				35	11	4
Interest on the above				0	19	0
Cheque Book 2/6, Mr. Court (collector) 2/6				0	5	0
Rent of Room from School of Art (1860)				5	0	0
Treasurer's Account for Postage, &c.				0	12	0
				125	14	0
Balance in hands of Messrs. Swann ...	£ 37	s. 13	d. 8			
Do. do. of Treasurer	14	9	0½			
				52	2	8½
				£177	17	4

Geo. F. Pearson, Treasurer.

16th Feb., 1861—Audited by

Gilbert H. Philips.
George L. Cressey.

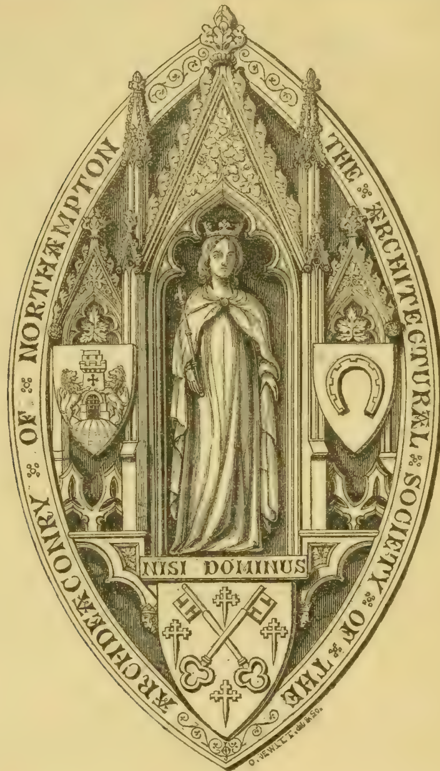
THE FIFTEENTH REPORT

OF THE

ARCHITECTURAL SOCIETY

OF THE

ARCHDEACONRY OF NORTHAMPTON.



Patron.

THE LORD BISHOP OF PETERBOROUGH.

[*For names of Presidents, Vice-Presidents, Hon. and Ordinary Members, List of Books, Rules, &c., see Report of* 1859, *p.* xxxiii.]

NEW MEMBERS.

Buckley, Rev. W. E., Middleton Cheney, Banbury.
Gedge, Rev. Sydney, All Saints, Northampton.
Hodgson, Rev. R., Pilton, Oundle.
Lightfoot, Rev. R. P., Shutlanger, Towcester.
Luxmoore, Rev. H., Everdon, Daventry.
Orger, Rev. J., Cranford, Kettering.
Porter, Rev. C. T., Raunds.
Trevelyan, Rev. W. P. H., Wolverton.
Watson, Rev. G. W., Weedon.

Lord Overstone has become a life member.

The Report

Read at the Annual Meeting of the Society, at St. Sepulchre's Schools, Northampton, on Tuesday, September 11th, 1860, *by* THOMAS JAMES, M.A., *one of the Secretaries of the Society.*

THE object of our present gathering having direct reference to the important nature of the Round Church of St. Sepulchre in this town, I will make my technical report, on this occasion, as short as possible, only begging you not to measure the work and advantages of our Architectural Society by the brevity of the space and the dryness of the matter which I shall this day devote to it; though, with so large an assemblage as I see before me, many of whom I could not expect again to compass within the reach of the net of our annual address, I would willingly have said something more full and explanatory of the nature of our Society, and have begged those who know us only at a distance to come nearer to us and join us, and help to make our Society what I am sure it might be made, with great general advantage—the common ground for both town and county to take on the wide field not only of what relates to architecture, but to archæology and history, the fine and the useful arts.

Of new and restored churches which have come under the consideration of our committee since our last meeting, in October, 1859, are the designs of the new chapel at Catesby, by Mr. W. Gillett; for the new aisle at Tiffield, built for Lord Southampton, by Mr. Law; for the restoration of Owston church, Leicestershire, by Mr. Goddard; the enlargement and re-seating of Uppingham church, by Mr. Pearson; the rebuilding of Gilmorton church, by Mr. W. Smith; the re-seating of the nave of Wellingborough church, by Mr. Law; for a new church of brick, at Leicester, by Mr. Scott; the restoration of Ketton church, by the samearchitect; the rebuilding of Sutton Basset church, by Mr. Goddard; the restoration of Kibworth chancel, by Mr. Slater; for the new Training College of Peterborough, by Mr. Scott (the building of which is for the present postponed,) for a new girls' school, at Weedon, by Mr. Law; new National School, at Islip, by Mr. Slater; and for additions to the school at Holywell. Sub-committees have visited the churches of Stoke Bruerne and Raunds, with a view to projected improvements; and I am happy to be able to announce that the church of Horton is about to be placed for restoration in the hands of your chairman. Of places without the archdeaconry and diocese, many plans have been submitted by Mr. Slater, Mr. Street, and others. Designs for new reredoses at Finedon and Smeeton, both by Mr. Slater; for the beautiful pavement at Easton Maudit, by Lord Alwyne Compton (itself worth a visit); for memorial crosses, by Mr. W. Gillett and others, have been advised upon and generally approved. Most of the churches mentioned in former reports have since been finished and re-opened; and other like works have been going on which have not come officially under our cognizance, but all proving that increased zeal and increased knowledge may flourish amicably together, and that architectural taste, instead of interfering with, has materially helped on, the urgent claims for increased church accommodation. In every case the principles of correct church arrangements have been recognized, and, in most, completely carried out. It would be but repeating an old story to say that, in every instance, low, open, uniform seats have been adopted, galleries discouraged, pulpits simplified, the old reading-pew discriminated into prayer-desk and lectern, and that, wherever practicable, the greatest step of all has been gained, that of placing the choir in their proper place—the chancel. I am happy to inform you that our relations with allied societies (if I may be allowed to adopt the phraseology of Royal speech) continue upon the most satisfactory footing, and that the reception given to the members of our Society who accepted the invitation of the Lincoln Society to their meeting at Worksop, and of the Cambridge Society, to the Architectural congress at Cambridge, was of the most gratifying character; that they were welcomed with the greatest hospitality and attention, and thoroughly enjoyed the very pleasant excursions which were organized mainly with reference to the entertainment of strangers. I think we ought, some day, to return the compliment; and if the town of Northampton will give us any en-

couragement, I can conceive no more pleasant or instructive tour to the architecturalist and the antiquarian than might be organised in an excursion starting from this town.

I have to announce that the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland propose to hold their great annual meeting at Peterborough next autumn; whether they will be able to run on so far as Northampton in their excursions I know not, but their assembling at the diocesan city will be an opportunity which few lovers of art or history will fail to take advantage of, and our committee, appreciating the occasion, has passed a resolution promising all the assistance in their power to promote the success of the Institute's meeting.

During the year a most interesting communication was made to the Society by Mr. Canon Argles, relating to the discovery of a stone sedile and benches, in the Saxon tower of Barnack. A niche in the west wall, formed by a triangular heading of beam-shaped stones, which had greatly puzzled the antiquaries, was found, on the removal of the soil, to be the canopy of a stone sedile, no doubt a seat of great honour in Saxon times, when the fine tower arch opened into the church, and formed, probably, a chapter-house for the ecclesiastics connected with the building, or, possibly, the tribunal of the secular power. But, whatever its use, it must undoubtedly be pronounced the most ancient place of solemn session and conclave existing in this kingdom.

The colouring of the apse of the choir of Peterborough Cathedral has been finished, and, combined with that of the roof and the scraping of the stone work, has tended greatly to remove the cold and cheerless aspect which the east end formerly wore. It can, however, only be regarded as a temporary expedient, awaiting the introduction of some richer material and design, worthy the east end of so noble a cathedral. One new window of coloured glass has been lately inserted in the cathedral, and others are about to be added. Connected with the cathedral of Peterborough, the sub-committee for church music must congratulate the members of this Society on the eminent success of the parochial choral meeting held at Peterborough on the 25th of May last. Seventy parish choirs have already joined the association, of whom 50 at least were represented on that occasion, and the stimulus which this gathering has given to good church music is already felt in every corner of the diocese. Though on these great festivals, in order to give an example of the most perfect form, a full choral service will be sung, it is by no means intended by the association to propose the introduction of such service into our parish churches; but rather, by setting before the choirs and congregation a correct model, to induce each choir to attempt only such portions of the service as they can efficiently execute, and which, by its good execution, would recommend itself to the people; the main object of the association being (as the prospectus states) to introduce really good music into our churches, and to promote general congregational singing.

I may mention that besides the annual meeting of the Church Choral Association at Peterborough, it is proposed to hold local meetings at most of the chief towns of the diocese, and that one will be held in Northampton, in St. Giles' church, on the 4th of October next.

A memorial, of most important bearing, has been drawn up by our Society, and forwarded to the Incorporated Church Building Society of London, and to that of this archdeaconry, requesting the societies to make their grants rather with reference to the extent of the ground-area of new or enlarged churches than to the number of so-called "sittings" shown upon the plan. The effect of this suggestion, if carried out, would be to discourage the erection of galleries, which always spoil as many seats below as they make above; to prevent cramping and crowding seats, which, for the sake of a few extra pounds of grant, the architect often feels himself obliged to submit to; and generally to improve the architectural and ritual arrangements of the church with more real accommodation and convenience to the congregation.

One other most important class of buildings our Society has from the first never lost sight of, though it has had great difficulty, and little external encouragement, in bringing it more prominently forward, viz., that of cottages for the labouring classes. From time to time, without success, we have applied to local agricultural societies, who might be supposed to have even a nearer interest than ourselves in this matter, but have been unable to get them to join with us in offering a prize or prizes for the best model cottage for the midland districts. At length we have

been encouraged in our undertaking by some of our associated Architectural societies; and, having hit upon a plan which seems to us to combine every desideratum of a good cottage, we are about to publish it, with specifications and estimates, for distribution among our members, and possibly also for general sale. If we are really successful in this design, I feel that we shall have accomplished a work not less beneficial than that of the furtherance of correct taste and arrangement in ecclesiastic and scholastic architecture; and shall deserve to be ranked among the practical working societies of the county, if, in addition to handsome churches and good schools, we have done all that externals can do, to give the poor man a comfortable home.

By a rule of our Society, it is our office to procure photographic pictures of all old buildings of any architectural character, before they are destroyed or restored (and I am sorry that the latter word often implies the former). These have already been made for us by the skilful hands of Mr. Jennings, from the originals at Catesby, Sutton, and elsewhere; and, by a recent resolution, we have commissioned the same artist to obtain for us faithful representations of all the ancient bridges on the Nen and other rivers of the county—a class of structures, many of which have great interest and picturesque beauty, but which the tide of modern improvement is soon likely to sweep away.

And one word now on the part taken by our Society with reference to St. Sepulchre's, which shall not interfere with what the secretary of the local committee has to say upon its present prospects, or Mr. Poole on its former history. On the establishment of our Society, some fifteen years ago, the very first application which we received was from the Vicar of St. Sepulchre's, to assist him in carrying out the restoration of his church, and we promised him that assistance; but immediately afterwards circumstances, into which I need not now enter, rendered it advisable that we should first take in hand the restoration of St. Peter's, recommended to us as it was, among other reasons, by the interest which Mr. and Miss Baker took in the work. Mr. Butlin at once gererously postponed his prior claim, on the understanding that when St. Peter's was finished we would immediately set to work with the larger and more important work of the Round Church. Indeed, the rural dean, who issued circulars asking subscriptions for St. Peter's, distinctly stated to each subscriber that he should expect twice as much for St. Sepulchre's when that work was begun. And many so promised, and most have remembered that they did so. Upon the completion of St. Peter's, the claim of St. Sepulchre's was revived, but with little success, till, upon the lamented death of our late most kind and intelligent president, the Marquis of Northampton, a new effort was made, and several additional subscriptions given. It was proposed, at the outset, to have made the whole restoration a memorial to Lord Northampton; and if the London committee had acted in good faith, the work might have been done; but they so delayed and haggled with us, that the time for striking was gone by, and we were forced to throw over the larger scheme and the London committee together, and form a separate local memorial committee, with the more confined object of connecting a memorial of the late marquis with some portion of the round church (in which he took so great an interest), and leaving the greater work of restoration and enlargement to a general committee. The fund for the Northampton memorial the special committee still hold in hand, to the amount of £300 to £400; and when the round part is cleared of its incumbrances, they will be prepared to advise upon the outlay of the sum. A handsome central font and a memorial pavement are probably the objects to which those subscriptions will be devoted. Meanwhile, the many calls for church and school purposes within the town prevented the general committee from pressing the claims of poor "'Pulchre's;" and though a few additional subscriptions fell in, and the money in the banks gained some little interest, yet the cause flagged, and the sum collected was greatly inadequate to the large amount required. Last year a local committee, composed chiefly of parishioners themselves, from whom alone a real living spring of action could be expected, and from whom it ought to come, took the matter in hand in earnest, and, by joining the older general committee, brought the business to the position in which you now find it. Of that position I shall leave the local secretary to speak; but, before I do so, I must be allowed to mention what the committee in their own report would be disposed to omit, how much the parish, and the town and county also, are indebted to the zeal of the vicar and the two churchwardens (Mr. Colledge and Mr. Page), and equally so to two other parishioners (Mr. Rands and Mr. Gray), without whose unwearying exertions little would have been done.

Of course, there is still a want of funds to carry out the entire plan of Mr. Scott, and with less than that I hope you will not be satisfied. After the many postponements, interruptions, lukewarmness, and delays, I feel that it is "now or never" with St. Sepulchre's church. It is not for me to make an appeal in a cause which, if it does not recommend itself to you who are so much more interested in it, would not be enhanced by any formal exhortations from a stranger; but as speaking for our Society, I may say, in the spirit of the words of our resolution, that "we feel the strongest interest in the restoration and enlargement of St. Sepulchre's church, and will continue to promote this object to the utmost of our influence and power;" not only looking to the work as mere antiquarians, but as fellow-Churchmen, wishing to see room made in the Mother Church of so large a parish for that great body of the poorer parishioners, whom the miserable existing accommodation has so sadly debarred from their equal rights in the house of God.

This brief summary of our proceedings will, I hope, show (for by the nature of our present meeting I consider that we are, in a sense, on our trial before the public to-day) that we are not mere dabblers in matters of taste, but that while we keep an eye to the preservation, or, at any rate, the record, of local antiquities, and the promotion of good style in architecture, the greater part of our time and care is devoted to practical objects, bearing immediately upon the religious, educational, and domestic welfare of the people; and that, whether in the church, the school, or the house, the class for whom we labour most heartily, and whose battle we shall be ever readiest to fight, is that of our fellow-workmen, the labouring poor. With that spirit our Society was instituted; in that it has endeavoured to walk; that, in holy words, it has embodied in its adopted motto, (one which we have just had permanently engraved on its new badge and seal, which lie on the table to-day) —"NISI DOMINUS;" and in accordance with which, I trust, it will not be deemed inappropriate for me to conclude my Report, by repeating the whole text already read in St. Sepulchre's churchyard to-day—"*Except the Lord build the house, their labour is but lost that build it.*"

TREASURER'S REPORT

From October 5, 1859, *to Oct.* 1, 1860.

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.
Balance in hand, Oct. 5, 1859,	124	14	6
Receipts from Oct. 5, 1859, to Oct. 5, 1860	116	0	6
	£240	15	0

PAYMENTS.

1859.		£	s.	d.
Oct. 12,	Cheque Book	0	2	0
,, 17,	Harris, Books	5	4	0
,, 18,	Nevinson, Expenses of Stamford Meeting	5	0	0
,, 21,	W. and B. Brooke, Reports, &c.	30	2	3
,, 21,	Weale, Books	2	7	0
,, 29,	Subscription, 1859, Coll. Imp. Society,	1	0	0
Nov. 12,	James, Postage, &c.	4	5	10
Dec. 9,	Wright, Rent, Parcels, &c.	13	19	3
,, 22,	Lawrence, Printing	2	18	4
1860.				
Feb. 14,	Bigge, Advertisements	2	9	0
,, 17,	Thompson, Books.	2	7	3
Mar. 1,	Jennings, Photographs	3	0	0
,, 7,	Trollope, Illustrations	8	0	0
,, 18,	Smith, Bookcase ...	9	6	0
May 5,	Bigge, Bookbinding, &c.	3	14	6
,, 22,	Subscription received in error	1	0	0
		£94	15	11

	£	s.	d.
Gross Receipts	240	15	0
Gross Payments	94	15	11
Balance, Oct. 1, 1860......	£145	19	1

D. MORTON, *Treasurer.*

ADDITIONS TO LIBRARY SINCE LAST REPORT.

(For a full List, see Report for 1857, *p.* xlix., *and Report for* 1859, *p.* xli.*)*

Boutell's Manual of Archæology.
Ellacombe on Belfries.
Wright's History of Rutland.
Metrical Life of S. Hugh of Lincoln, ed. by Rev. J. F. Dimock.
Lukin on Church Bells.
Hewitt's Ancient Armour, 3 vols.
Ockley on Italian Gothic.
Shaw's Ornamental Tile Pavements.
The Treasury of Ornamental Art.
Shaw's Elizabethan Architecture.
Lamb's Ancient Domestic Architecture.
Habershon's Ancient Half-timbered Houses.
Violet le duc, Dictionnaire de l'Architecture, vol. 5.
Transactions of Lincolnshire Topographical Society, 1841-42. sm. 4to.
The Ecclesiologist, for 1859-60.
The Builder, for 1859-60.
Journal of the Archæological Institute, 8 vols., *presented by the Rev. W. Thornton.*
Vol. 1 of the Ilam Anastatic Drawing Society, *presented by the Rev. G. R. Mackarness.*

A cabinet of 264 sulphur casts of seals, illustrative of Architecture and the Archdeaconry, *made by Mr. Ready, Department of Antiquities, British Museum.*

The following Works have been published under the direction of the Society.

Churches of the Archdeaconry of Northampton, 1 vol. (Parker, Oxford.)
Sepulchral Brasses of Northants., by Franklin Hudson, 1 vol., £5.
Reports and Papers, since 1844.

Restoration of the Round Church of St. Sepulchre's, Northampton.

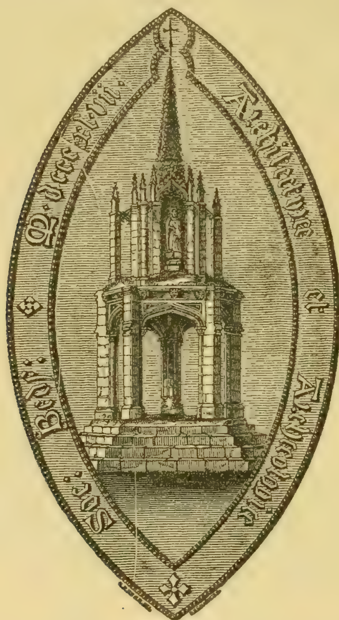
This work is now being carried on under the direction of Mr. G. G. Scott. Subscriptions (which are greatly needed) may be paid into the Union Bank, Northampton; or to Mr. J. Eddis Gray, Hon. Sec., Northampton; to whom all communications on the subject may be addressed.

THIRTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

BEDFORDSHIRE

ARCHITECTURAL AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.



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The Report

For the year 1860.

SINCE the issue of the last Report the Society has sustained a heavy loss in the death of the Earl de Grey, one of its noble Presidents. That event called forth many manifestations of regret, both from the metropolis and from various parts of the provinces: but in this county, where so much was due to his fostering care, his exquisite taste, and his unbounded liberality, the sorrow was universal. The

Earl de Grey was a member of this Society from its foundation, and presided over our first general meeting in the year 1848; and from that period to the day of his decease he gave it his warm and generous support. The Council have now the pleasure to announce that the vacancy thus caused in the joint Presidency of the Society has been filled by the election of the Duke of Manchester, who at once cordially acceded to their invitation to join the Society.

The past year has not been signalized by any great works in church building in this county, and the few which have been carried out must be regarded rather as adapted to meet pressing requirements for increasing congregations, than as true architectural restorations. In one instance an application was made to this Society for aid, but as the plans involved the destruction of the only remaining portion of the original edifice, without any adequate restoration, the Council were unwillingly obliged to decline giving their sanction to the proposal: and they desire again to enforce the importance of preserving as far as possible in our churches all work belonging to the purer ages of ecclesiastical architecture. Nothing is easier than the opposite course, too frequently employed in the present day under the false title of restoration,—a system of utilitarianism which, being hastily adopted, involves the destruction of choice and time-honoured features which can never be recovered. It is doubtless, the fear of running into this error, which has caused the promoters of the restoration of the Saxon church of Clapham to pause, before they commit themselves to any definite plan which may in any way disturb that wondrous memorial of the age before the Norman Conquest. Another proposal of restoration which has long been delayed is now revived, and, it is hoped, to some purpose. The church of S. Paul in Bedford—which has suffered more from the barbarities of churchwardenism than from the tooth of time, and whose interior has been frightfully disfigured—is now under consideration for a complete repair. The plans have not yet been submitted to this Council, but it is hoped that before another General Meeting they will be brought under the notice of the Society.

During the past season various investigations of an antiquarian character have been made by members of the Society, which may at some future time furnish materials for publication: such, for instance, is the examination of the lately-discovered Well at *Maiden Bower*, an account of which, together with the theory built upon the results of that exploration, will be read at the present Meeting. The Council have also to report the success of an extensive as well as agreeable excursion made in the summer of last year, which enabled the members to visit some of the most interesting churches of the north-eastern district of the county, and to investigate the spacious earthworks at Eaton Socon—the reputed strongholds of the Celt, the Dane, and the Norman.

This opportunity is taken of urging upon the Members the importance of making constant examinations wherever excavations and railway-works are in progress, and of reporting all discoveries of coins or other objects of interest to the Secretaries: and it is requested that members living adjacent to the line now forming from Bedford to Cambridge will adopt measures for a general inspection of this nature, and for the preservation of any relics that may be discovered likely to be of assistance to the archæologist and the historian.

The Council have to congratulate the Society on the steady increase of the Library and Museum: and with reference to the latter, they venture to suggest that a little personal exertion on the part of the members might make it a most important local collection. One object to which they direct their attention is that of completing the Society's collection of local Tradesmen's Tokens. Probably many of these little Bedfordshire Tokens are in private hands, and some are occasionally turned up by the plough: they are comparatively valueless when scattered, but most interesting in a historical point of view when arranged in a collection. All gifts of this kind will be most acceptable to the Society.

In conclusion, the Council have the pleasure of announcing that, although the Society has not been so active in archæological researches during the past year as at some former periods, there is a respectable balance in hand—not always the fortune of scientific institutions—to enable them to carry out the purposes of its promoters with vigour at any future occasion.

TREASURER'S REPORT

For the year 1860.

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.
Balance from 1859	15	14	10
Subscriptions, and arrears paid up	64	18	6
	£80	13	4

EXPENDITURE.

	£	s.	d.
Timæus, Rent	10	0	0
" Binding	1	8	1
BedfordTimesAdvertisements	0	10	6
Thompson, Printing, (1859)	7	0	0
Ditto ditto (1860)	4	18	0
Waterlow, Stationery	1	11	0
Messrs. Brooke, share of Annual Volume	18	12	6
Subscription to Institute	1	1	0
Subscription to "Roman London"	2	2	0
A Subscription returned	0	10	6
Balance in hand	32	19	9
	£80	13	4

WORCESTER

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Hopkinson, Rev. F., LL.D., Malvern Wells.
Lambert, Rev. Brooke, St. John's, Worcester.
Lock, Mr., Worcester.
Marshall, Mrs., College Yard, Worcester.
Middlemore, Major, Tything, Worcester.
Rowland, Rev. C. B., Great Witley, Stourport.
Woolrych, Rev. W. H., Crowle, Worcester.

The Report,

Presented by the Committee at the Annual Meeting, held at Worcester, on the 8th October, 1860.

YOUR Committee, in presenting their seventh Annual Report, regret to announce the resignation of Mr. Theodore Galton, as one of the Honorary Secretaries of the Society, on account of his removal to London; and are confident that the members generally will heartily join in the resolution adopted by the Committee on accepting his resignation, and "express their sense of the kind interest he has always "taken in the welfare of the Society, and their thanks to him for his past services in "its behalf." The number of new members elected during the past year has not equalled the Committee's expectations, and they would suggest to the members generally how extremely desirable it is that additional names should from time to time be added to the ranks of the Society, in order to replace those who, from removal or other causes, are withdrawn from us.

The annual volume of Reports and Papers, published by the six associated societies, has been distributed amongst our members. It contains the usual amount of interesting architectural and antiquarian matter, and has been carefully edited by the Rev. E. Trollope.

Several hundred copies of the architectural and historical notes on the cathedral, compiled by Mr. Walker, have been distributed. It is now out of print, but a new edition is being published by Messrs. Deighton, with a plan chronologically shaded, so as to indicate the different styles of architecture of which the building is composed.

The Annual Meeting of the Society was held on S. Michael's day, under the presidency of Lord Lyttelton, when the report of the committee was read and adopted, and the officers of the Society elected. Afternoon service at the cathedral having been attended, a small party dined at the Star and Garter hotel, where Mr. Gutch read a Paper entitled, *A Biographical Sketch of a Prebendary of Worcester*, wherein the many excellent qualities of the worthy Dr. Wm. Hopkins, who flourished during the 17th century, were descanted upon. At the evening conversazione, which was numerously attended, Mr. J. H. Chamberlain read a Paper on *Half-timbered Houses, and the method of their construction.* An interesting discussion afterwards took place "On the comparative merits of the Gothic and the "Classic styles of architecture for secular purposes, with especial reference to the "proposed new Government Offices." The former style was advocated by Mr. Skidmore, Mr. Chamberlain, and Mr. J. Severn Walker; whilst Classic architecture found an able advocate in Mr. Theodore Galton.

The Excursion on the following day embraced the churches of *Belbroughton, Clent, St. Kenelm's,* and *Hagley.* For the first time since the formation of the Society the weather proved most unfavourable, the rain descending in torrents throughout the whole journey. Divine service was attended in the morning at Belbroughton, and in the evening at Hagley; the party being most hospitably entertained by our noble President at Hagley Hall.

Belbroughton church consists of a large Middle-pointed chancel, with an original vestry on the north side; and nave, south aisle, and western tower and spire of the Third-pointed period.

The chancel was restored several years since by the rector; but the nave is in a grievously mutilated and disfigured state. One of the piers between the nave and aisle has been removed, so as to throw two arches into one wide shapeless opening. The tracery of the windows has also been removed, the south doorway blocked up, and ugly dormers inserted in the roof; the whole nave being encumbered by uncomfortable deal pews and an immense western gallery. Mr. Hopkins, having since been consulted as to the safety of the south side, has strongly advised that the arches should be restored to their original state—a process which it is earnestly to be hoped will be applied to the building generally ere long. On the way to Clent an interesting small Norman chapel (now used as a receptacle for lumber), in the grounds of Bell Hall, was examined. It is a simple oblong structure, having a doorway and two small windows on each side; and a 17th century window at each end.

Clent church is of the Third-pointed style, with the exception of the Norman piers and arches in the south side, and a Middle-pointed window at the east end of the same aisle. The present condition of this church is even worse than that of Belbroughton. On the north side is a modern compo'd brick aisle, divided from the nave by cast iron columns running straight up from the floor to the roof. Galleries extend round three sides, completely burying the capitals of the south arcade; chancel and nave being alike blocked up with high pews of all sorts and sizes.

S. Kenelm's is beautifully situated amongst the Clent Hills, upon the spot where the youthful saint is said to have been murdered. The south doorway is Norman, several of the windows belong to the Middle-pointed style, whilst the west end is very late Third-pointed, having a singular recessed arch in the centre, above which rises a small tower, richly ornamented with panelling, large gargoyles, and pinnacles.

The admirably restored church of *Hagley* has been described in a former report. The favourable opinion entertained of the work by your Committee was fully ratified by the members present on this occasion; the only source of regret being the non-erection of the tower and spire on account of the want of funds for the purpose; in fact the debt upon the church itself is not yet liquidated. The contemplated visit to Pedmore church was abandoned in consequence of the unfavourable state of the weather.

An excursion of the Society took place on the 21st of June last, when no less than ten churches, lying to the east of Worcester, were examined, viz., Spetchley, White-Ladies-Aston, Churchill, Broughton-Hackett, Upton-Snodsbury, Grafton-Flyford, North Piddle, Flyford-Flavel, Abberton, and Abbots' Morton.

The excursionists were most kindly and hospitably received at various points of the route, by the Rev. H. M. Sherwood, vicar of White-Ladies-Aston; Wm. Laslett, Esq., of Abberton Hall, and the Rev. T. Walker, rector of Abbots' Morton, who entertained the party at a substantial repast.

Upton-Snodsbury church—one of the seven English churches dedicated to S. Kenelm—is by far the best church in this neighbourhood, consisting of chancel, lofty and spacious nave, south aisle, and porch, and massive western tower of considerable height. The north wall of the nave is First-pointed, the chancel Middle-pointed, and the aisle Debased, being separated from the nave by very depressed four-centred arches. There is apparently a good fifteenth century roof over the nave, but hidden from view by plaster and whitewash. A chancel-arch is wanting, the space above the screen being occupied by an immense painting of the royal arms of the time of George I. A fine tower-arch, however, exists at the west end of the nave.

The other churches visited on this occasion are very small structures, but possessing many objects of considerable ecclesiological interest. At *White-Ladies-Aston* is a lofty octagonal wooden bell turret; and at *Grafton Flyford* the tower is capped by a singular short square stone spire, set diagonally to the tower, with the angles resting on four gables. There are considerable remains of good panelled roofs at *Grafton-Flyford*, *North Piddle*, and *Abberton*. The panels over where the rood-loft stood at Grafton-Flyford are painted with the evangelistic symbols, stars, &c. The rood-screens remain at *Upton-Snodsbury*, and *Flyford-Flavel;* and many

of the old open seats still exist at several of the churches. At North Piddle they are enriched with the linen pattern; at Flyford-Flavel they are of late date, the top rail having a moulding like the half-section of a 17th century window-mullion. Most of the fonts belong to the early pointed period, and are quite plain. The west window at *North Piddle*, and the south chancel window at *Abbot's Morton* are of singular, but not-easily-to-be-described, construction. There is a handsome Third-pointed porch at the former church; also a curious 17th century gallery, but slightly raised from the ground, in the south-west corner of the nave. The altar-tables and rails and the font-covers appear to be all of the same date, and were doubtless executed shortly after the Restoration.

The churches generally are badly arranged, and have been greatly injured by tasteless repairs and alterations. The interiors are for the most part disfigured by high pews and western galleries; whitewash being unsparingly applied alike to plastered wall, carved roof, and sculptured stone. In two instances the *exterior* of the church had just been covered with glaring ochre-wash, and, but for the advice of the Society, another would have soon shared the same fate. It was also observed with regret that the fonts were in many cases made the receptacles of pieces of rope and other rubbish.

Abbot's Morton church was repaired by the rector at a cost of £600, in 1840, a period when church architecture was only beginning to be understood; consequently, the manner in which the work was carried out must not be judged by the same rules of criticism as we should apply to a restoration of the present day. *Churchill* church has likewise been repaired at the expense of the rector of that parish. Though "clean and decent," it has lost much of its architectural interest, the work having evidently been carried out without the superintendence of any one acquainted with ecclesiastical architecture.

White-Ladies-Aston is now undergoing the process of enlargement and restoration, from the designs of Mr. Hopkins. The nave and chancel will be provided with new fittings, a north aisle and vestry added, and lancet-lights inserted at the west end in lieu of the present wooden windows.

The desirability of holding an evening Meeting during the winter had often been suggested to the Committee; and convenient rooms for the purpose at Sansome Lodge having been placed at their disposal by a Member of the Committee and one of your Hon. Secretaries, it was determined to have a conversazione on the 31st of January last. The Meeting was numerously attended, though not by so many of our members as had been anticipated. The Rev. Dr. Collis kindly delivered a lecture on "*The Characteristics of the various Styles of Gothic Architecture*," and Mr. Gutch brought forward the subject of "*Block-printing*." The remainder of the evening was agreeably occupied in examining architectural drawings, photographs, &c., and in general conversation.

The Warwickshire Meeting was again postponed, the Architectural Congress which was to have taken place at Rugby having been unavoidably put off till next Spring. Our Members had an opportunity, however, of attending the Midland Counties Archæological Association's excursion to Tamworth and Lichfield, on the 8th August. The same body also invited the Members of this Society to join their excursion on the 26th of June, when the fine abbey church of Tewkesbury was visited under the guidance of the vicar. The party came to Worcester in the afternoon, and was conducted over the cathedral by Mr. J. Severn Walker. The proceedings of the day terminated in a dinner, presided over by Sir E. A. H. Lechmere, Bart.

A church at King's Heath, in the parish of Moseley, and a chapel at Blakedown, in the parish of Hagley, have been consecrated since the presentation of our last Annual Report.

All Saints', *King's Heath*, was designed by Mr. Preedy. It is in the Early Middle-pointed style, and consists of chancel, with vestry, nave of four bays, south aisle, and tower at the west end of the latter, to be ultimately surmounted by a lofty stone spire. The north wall is so constructed that an aisle may be erected on that side whenever circumstances require it. The arches are constructed of Bath and Bromsgrove stone, in alternate courses.

The ritual arrangements are satisfactory, and the building generally is a favourable specimen of a new church erected at a comparatively small cost.

S. James's, Blakedown, is a simple and appropriate structure, designed by Mr. Street. It will accommodate rather more than one hundred people, the expense of its erection being about £600. The style is plain Early Pointed. A slightly Italianizing element is observable in the windows, the exterior of the lights being pierced at right angles to the wall. There is a low stone chancel-screen supporting, on the north side, a wrought-iron standard, with a book-desk, which serves as a pulpit. On the south side of the sanctuary is a plain recessed arch for Sedilia. Instead of a turret, the upper part of the nave roof projects beyond the west wall, and rests upon stone corbels, between which hangs the bell.

A new school has been built at *Whittington* from Mr. Perkins' designs. It is of Early Pointed character, and comprises school room with lofty open roof, transeptal class room, bell-turret, and porch; the material being red, with a small admixture of blue and white brick.

S. Paul's Schools in this city have been enlarged, under the direction of Mr. Hopkins. The effect of the new buildings is much injured by the non-completion of the turret, and by the juxtaposition of the unsightly old school.

The Ecclesiastical Commissioners having appropriated the sum of £15000 towards the restoration of our venerable cathedral, the works were resumed in the spring, under the superintendence of Mr. Perkins. The east and west walls of the south-east transept have been rebuilt, and the miserable debased clerestory windows on the south side of the Lady-chapel superseded by single lancets, in accordance with the original design, whereby the effect of this portion of the building is greatly improved. The south side of the choir, and the north side of the Lady-chapel are now being proceeded with, as well as the restoration of the vaulting, wall-arcade, &c., in the aisles of Lady-chapel.

During the progress of the works, an interesting wall-painting, representing an angel with a censer, was discovered on the splay of a Norman window in the blocked-up apse of the crypt. It must have been hidden from view ever since the erection of the present choir, at the begining of the 13th century.

Six of the ten lancets comprising the east window, viz., the five upper and the central lower light, have been filled with painted glass by Messrs. Hardman and Co. It is a medallion window, and represents scenes from the life of Our Blessed Lord; the *Crucifixion* occupying the centre of the lower, and the *Ascension* the same position in the upper tier of lancets. The colours are very rich, but not so well arranged as we generally find them in these artists' works. The medallions, as seen from the choir, do not stand out clearly from the surrounding ground-work and borders, the blue tint pervading too uniformly throughout the window. This might have been obviated by the use of more white glass in the spaces between the medallions, and the employment of less blue in the borders. The small size of the groups is necessitated by the architectural character of the window. It is, however, a very fine window, one of which the city may justly be proud, and a wonderful improvement to the general appearance of the interior of the whole eastern portion of the cathedral. The effect would be still better if the side windows of the Lady-chapel were to be partially obscured until such time as they also can be filled with stained glass.

The important structural restoration of *Malvern Priory* church is progressing satisfactorily under Mr. Scott's direction. The roofs and ceilings have been renewed over nearly the entire building; the high-pitched roofs of the aisles having given place to flat leaded ones, thereby rendering the whole length of the clerestory windows visible, to the great improvement of the exterior effect. The outer face of the window-mullions has been removed, and new stone-work substituted. The flat panelled ceiling of the nave has been painted by Messrs. Clayton and Bell in a manner which leaves nothing to be desired. The effect is extremely beautiful, being rich, yet chaste and harmonious; and must be pronounced a most successful example of modern polychromy, and one which augurs well for the more important decorations of the chancel. The modern coats of arms, which filled some of the lower windows, have been worked up into the glazing of the nave-clerestory; and the figures in the windows of the north aisle of the nave would gain, rather than lose in effect, if they were to be removed to a like elevated position.

Upon removing the plaster and whitewash from the interior, it was found that the Norman portion of the walls was constructed of the local Malvern Hill stone; the Third-pointed work being of squared ashlar. The older work has been judi-

ciously preserved, so that the exact line at which the 15th century rebuilding commenced—viz., at a few feet above the nave arcade—may at once be distinguished. A considerable sum of money has been subscribed towards the fund now being raised for the purpose of providing the necessary internal fittings in harmony with the architectural beauty of the building; and the Committee trust that the whole amount necessary for the completion of this noble work will speedily be forthcoming, so that this—after the cathedral and Pershore Abbey—the finest sacred edifice in the county, may be second to none in the beauty and propriety of its fittings and decorations.

The Committee strongly recommend that instead of expensive oak benches, simple moveable seats should be provided for the nave and aisles—at least for the present—in order that the funds in hand may be devoted to the more important fittings of the chancel, which should be of the very best character, both as regards design and execution, which the present state of the arts will allow.

Mr. Scott also designed the additions to the modern church of St. Matthias, *Malvern Link.* These include the lengthening of the nave westward, the widening of the south aisle, and the erection of a tower and spire—as yet only partially built—at the west end of the latter.

The little church at *Wick*, near Pershore, has been re-arranged and enlarged. The old north aisle was curious, and exceedingly small, being but six feet wide, and six feet high to the eaves of the roof, and lighted by a small single-light window at each end only. This has given place to a much larger aisle in the Middle-pointed style, having two-light windows, a good open-timber porch, and a compass roof.

Great Alne church, near Alcester, was enlarged and repaired in 1837; not, as may be imagined, in a very correct manner. It has again been enlarged, and, this time, really improved, under the direction of Mr. Butterfield, who has added a north aisle of two bays, erected a new and wider chancel arch, provided new oak fittings for the chancel, and an oak pulpit and commodious deal seats for the nave. The east window has also been filled with stained glass by Hardman. The aisle, though a useful, is not a very ornamental addition; the side windows are mere plain oblong openings, partaking more of a domestic, that an ecclesiastical character.

The church of *Great Witley* must not be passed without notice, though not of a kind which ordinarily claims or attracts the observation of a church architect. Attached to Witley Court, it looks simply like the gorgeous chapel of that mansion; and in raising the Court to a noble Italian residence, the Earl of Dudley has certainly done well to improve and elevate the church also. It stands near the site of an old 13th or 14th century parish church; and within the last century the modern structure was built by the then Lord Foley instead of the old one, and attached by a corridor to the house. It is probable that the whole design as well as the windows, and paintings by Verrio were removed to Witley from the celebrated *Cannons*, where the Duke of Chandos resided, and Handel composed. All the rich gilding and elaborate mouldings were parts of the original design. Nothing of this kind of ornament has been added during the recent improvements. but large pen-like pews, very ugly and very inconvenient, a mean though spacious reading desk, and clumsy whilst rich pulpit and altar rails, with the north side of the choir transept (if so it can be called) wherein was the family *room* rather than pew, with fire-place, &c., have all been swept away; and most beautiful stalls substituted to the right and left of the choir; and the whole church re-seated with open benches—the ends being exquisitely carved—in a sort of Domestic Gothic style. A very rich pulpit and lectern have also been added; and the altar rails and hand-rail to pulpit are beautiful examples of brass and iron work. A new organ has been supplied, and the whole church certainly rendered more worthy of its sacred purpose, yet still offering an example of the unsuitableness of the style for an English church, however costly and elaborate its ornamentation may be.

The retired and rural little church of *Doverdale*, near Droitwich, underwent considerable alteration in 1832–3, when a gallery and new pews were erected, together with a pulpit and desk. The old font was ejected to make way for a new one, the south porch being converted into a vestry, and a doorway opened at the west end. This latter objectionable arrangement appears to have been frequently adopted about this period, as at Belbroughton, Wichenford, Cleeve Prior, Powick, and other places. Some of the worst of the above alterations were modified and

further improvements effected by the late rector; and we have now the pleasing task of recording the fact of the thorough restoration of the church, under the superintendence of Mr. Preedy. The roofs, east window, western doorway with circular traceried window over, copings, gable-crosses, and bell-turret are entirely new. The turret rises from the west end of the nave roof; it is of oak, and surmounted by a square leaded spire. The chancel arch has been rebuilt, and the interior provided with new seats, prayer desk, &c. Instead of a pulpit, there is a brass desk, resting upon the south side of the low wooden chancel-screen. The plain 17th century square-headed windows have been retained, and furnished with new inner arches. It being impracticable to restore what was the south porch to its original purpose, the modern plan of a western entrance has been retained in preference to opening the blocked-up north doorway, on account of the additional number of sittings which the latter plan secures. All the seats have doors; and in two or three cases, in which two seats are appropriated to one family, a most absurd arrangement has been adopted (not, of course, with the architect's approval) so that a person can pass from the one seat to the other without going into the central passage.

Shelsley Walsh church has been judiciously renovated under the direction of Mr. G. Truefitt.

Though of small size, this sacred edifice possesses several features of great interest. The chancel-screen is one of the most perfect and beautiful in the county. On the south side it is returned into the nave, so as to enclose a small chantry chapel, being one of the only two examples of such an arrangement existing in England. The rood-*beam* also remains; this, as well as the screen, is richly ornamented with the vine leaf and grapes, and a cresting of the Tudor flower. The walls are built of *travertine*, which, now that the plaster and wash have been removed, both from the exterior and interior, has a very good effect. All the old windows—chiefly of First-pointed character—have been renewed; and two or three additional ones inserted, in order to compensate for the loss of light occasioned by the removal of four ugly dormers in the roof. The sanctuary has been furnished with a massive oak altar-table (richly vested with a frontal of green and a superfrontal of crimson velvet) a single sedile, and a credence-shelf, the front moulding of which forms a continuation of that of the piscina, so that future ecclesiologists will be not unlikely to quote it as an example of a 12th century credence. The font and the pulpit are of stone, with alabaster shafts and panels. The roofs have been opened, and that over the chancel painted with violet stars on a light blue ground. Opposite the entrance, beneath a small Norman window, is a quaintly designed open fire-place, a novel but satisfactory method of warming so small a building. The carved work of the screen and rood-beam has been made good, the latter being surmounted by an oak cross, with a range of eight wrought-iron lights on each side. The painted east window, by Wailes, was presented by the Rev. D. Melville; the one in the chantry, by Lavars and Barraud, being the gift of Mr. Joseph Smith.

The exterior alterations comprise a new north porch; a lofty pyramidal roof and other improvements to the bell-turret, and a cross on the eastern gable.

It is to be regretted that sufficient funds were not forthcoming to admit of the new fittings, and especially the porch, being constructed of oak instead of deal. It is also a question whether, in a case where new windows are inserted, they should not be distinguished from the restored original ones, by the use of a different kind of stone, or by making the new ones partake of a somewhat later character.

The successful carrying out of this pleasing restoration is mainly due to the indefatigable exertions of the rector, the Rev. W. Griffiths, who also defrayed a considerable portion of the expense, the Earl of Dudley and Lady Ward contributing towards the repairs of the nave.

The simple and unpretending church of *Upton Sapey*, in the same neighbourhood, has also been thoroughly restored, under the superintendence of Mr. W. J. Hopkins. As much of the old work as practicable has been preserved, including the original windows, and the handsome Norman doorways and chancel arch. The latter now forms an effective feature at the west end, where it does duty as a tower-arch, the new chancel arch being a lofty pointed one, composed of light and dark tinted stones in alternate courses.

The chancel has a new open roof of oak, the nave one of deal. The chancel-screen is of open wood-work, upon which stands the lectern ; the prayer-desk is just within the chancel, on the south side. Simple deal seats occupy the nave, which is paved with blue and red tiles. The chancel pavement was presented by the Addenbrooke family, and is of a richer description. In front of the foot-pace is a row of memorial tiles to the above named family, many of whom are buried in the church. These tiles are made by Minton & Co., and are a very excellent substitute for the ordinary stone slabs, which frequently interfere with the proper arrangement of a tiled floor.

Mr. Preedy is executing a painted window for the east end, which was destitute of any opening before the insertion of the present three-light Middle-pointed window. A striking improvement to the exterior effect of the church is produced by the graceful shingled spire, which now stands at the west end, in place of a mean bell-turret on the roof of the nave. A spacious open oak porch has also been erected over the south doorway.

The belfry floor should have been placed *above* instead of *below* the west window, so as to have admitted more light into that portion of the church, and thus obviating the dark and cavernous appearance which the tower now presents when viewed from the nave.

Your Committee have at length the gratification of announcing that the interesting restoration of *Cow Honeybourne* church is actually in hand, and progressing satisfactorily. At the same time they would call attention to the fact that the funds at present subscribed are insufficient for the completion of the work, or for providing an altar table and other necessary fittings. The importance of the good work has been recognised by the Poor Law Board, in authorizing the Guardians to refund the purchase money of the desecrated fabric in aid of its restoration.

A good design for the restoration of the chancel of *S. Andrew's, Worcester*, has been prepared by Mr. Perkins, who proposes to erect a new open roof, reredos, Middle-pointed east window, &c. A parishioner has liberally undertaken to present stained glass for the new window. The committee cannot conclude their account of new and restored churches without referring to the munificence of Miss Lavender, in building and endowing a new church at *Barbourne*, near this city. The plans have been made by Mr. Preedy, and we doubt not that when completed, Worcester will possess a church of better architectural character and arrangement than any she can boast of at present.

The rumour that the ancient *Guesten Hall*, adjoining the cathedral, had become so dilapidated as to necessitate its entire removal, called forth expressions of regret from all parts of the kingdom that so fine an example of the best period of pointed art should have been suffered to fall into so ruinous a state. The subject was brought before the notice of the Committee, and a correspondence took place between your Secretary and other architectural and antiquarian societies. Memorials, deprecating the destruction of the Hall, were signed by members of the Royal Institute of British Architects, the Society of Antiquaries, and others ; but it being understood that no further steps would be taken by the cathedral authorities, until the practicability or otherwise of its restoration had been thoroughly investigated, your Committee did not consider it advisable to interfere more decidedly in the matter. Nothing definite has however, transpired with respect to the ultimate fate of this valuable building ; and we can only hope that some means may yet be devised for the preservation of what must ever be regarded as a noble monument of the taste and skill which our mediæval ancestors evinced in all their architectural works, whether designed for sacred or secular purposes.

The style in which the new Government Offices are to be constructed is still undecided ; but Mr. Scott has prepared a Lombardo or Byzantine Italian design, which is said to possess great merit, and which will probably be submitted to Parliament during the next session.

It is a question worthy of consideration whether the Society might not devote more attention than it has hitherto done to secular and domestic architecture.

One, and that an important branch of this subject, viz., *Cottage architecture*, has for some time past been under the consideration of the Northampton Architectural Society, and they have determined to publish a plan, with specifications and estimates of a cottage suitable for the midland districts.

In our own neighbourhood, good cottages have here and there been erected, as upon some of the estates of the Earl of Dudley, and at Hampton Lovett, where Sir John Pakington has built a series of substantial and convenient dwellings, from the designs of Mr. Smith, of Droitwich. Mr. Hopkins has likewise designed a pair of cottages for Sir T. Winnington. These can be built for about £200, are ornamental in appearance, and, with one or two slight alterations, would make convenient and healthy homes for our rural population.

When we look back upon the few years that have elapsed since the formation of our Society, and reflect that during so comparatively short a time upwards of thirty ancient churches within this diocese have been restored—with few exceptions in a manner highly satisfactory to your Committee—and that the number is continually increasing, while at the same time a gradual improvement is witnessed both as regards the artists who design, and the workmen who execute the beautiful objects of taste and skill with which we are now become familiar, it cannot but be acknowledged that Societies like ours exercise a beneficial influence in the districts throughout which their operations extend.

Still, gratifying as these considerations are, it must be remembered that much, very much yet remains to be done, as the former part of this Report testifies, ere our ancient and time-honoured churches can be said to be in a state befitting the high and holy purpose to which they are dedicated. And the knowledge that one hundred of these venerable structures in the county of Worcester alone are still in an unseemly, if not dilapidated condition, should stimulate us to renewed exertions in behalf of the noble cause which it is our anxious wish to advance; so that the fabrics and the services of God's temples on earth being ordered with all the solemnity and chastened beauty it is in man's power to bestow, the faithful Christian, worshipping in these holy and beautiful places, may obtain a glimpse—though but a faint one—of that blissful service which awaits him hereafter in that ***House not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.***

The Treasurer in Account with the Worcester Diocesan Architectural Society, to Oct. 6, 1860.

Dr.	£	s.	d.
Balance from last year's account	16	2	9
Subscriptions and arrears	46	0	0
One life subscription	5	10	0
Donation from E.J. Rudge, Esq.	0	10	0
" " H.T. Vernon, Esq.	0	10	0
Sale of publications	0	8	0
Balance due to the Treasurer	4	1	0
	£73	1	9

Cr.	£	s.	d.
One year's rent of Society's rooms, 51, Foregate-street	10	0	0
Paid for cleaning rooms, fire-wood, &c	1	2	0
Mr. Wood, bookbinding account	1	1	2
Expenses of annual meeting, 1859	5	10	6
Stamps and stationery	4	18	1
Printing and advertising	11	19	0
Messrs. Brooke, Lincoln, and Mr. Cowell, Ipswich; expenses of annual volume, 1858	31	10	9
Expenses on account of Hagley meeting	4	11	0
Carriage of parcels, and sundry small items	2	9	3
	£73	1	9

RICHARD CATTLEY, *Hon. Treasurer.*

Examined with the Vouchers, and found correct,

HYLA HOLDEN,
R. RODNEY FOWLER.

LEICESTERSHIRE

ARCHITECTURAL AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

1860.

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His Grace the Duke of Rutland.
The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Peterborough.

Presidents.

The Right Honorable the Earl Howe.
The Right Honorable the Lord John Manners, M P.
Sir G. H. Beaumont, Baronet.
Sir Arthur Grey Hazlerigg, Baronet.
The Venerable the Archdeacon of Leicester.
W. Perry Herrick, Esquire.
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All Rural Deans (being Members.)
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Josh. Hames, Jun., Esq.
Rev. J. H. Hill.
Thomas Ingram, Esq.
Richard Luck, Esq.
G. C. Neale, Esq.
G. H. Nevinson, Esq.
T. Nevinson, Esq.
T. T. Paget, Esq.
The Hon. and Rev. John Sandilands.
James Thompson, Esq.
Rev. J. M. Gresley.

Honorary Secretaries.

The Hon. and Rev. J. Sandilands.
George C. Bellairs, Esq.
Thomas North, Esq., Southfields, Leicester.

The Report

FOR THE YEAR 1860.

Presented by Thomas North, Esq., one of the Honorary Secretaries of the Society, and adopted at a Meeting of the Committee, held on the 25th March, 1861.

In reporting the operations of the Leicestershire Architectural and Archæological Society for the year 1860, your Committee will divide their remarks into three sections:—

I. The Bi-Monthly Meetings.
II. Architectural Progress in the County during the year.
III. The Exhibition and Soirée.

The bi-monthly meetings have been of a most interesting character, and the objects exhibited both rare and curious, but of so varied a character as to render anything like a definite description of them in a Report altogether impracticable.

The numismatical department has been well represented during the year. Among other contributions, Mr. G. H. Nevinson exhibited Roman coins found at Ashby-de-la-Zouch, counters and tradesmen's tokens; the Rev. G. E. Gillett, English silver coins from Waltham; the Rev. J. Sankey, Roman and English coins, with some medals; Mr. North, some local tradesmen's tokens, To Mr. G. C. Neale the Society and all coin-collectors are much indebted for a short Paper upon *Treasure Trove*, which your Committee have pleasure in presenting to the members of this Society in the volume of Reports and Papers about to be printed by the Societies in union for that purpose. The subject is one claiming the attention of all interested in local antiquities; for, if the Government is, unchallenged, to assert its right to all coins found below the surface of the soil, the private collector will have little inducement to follow his favorite study, and the local museum will be wanting in a department illustrative of local history, most interesting to all enquirers into the " bygones" of particular localities.

Several typographical curiosities have been laid upon the table:

The *Rydeware Cartulary*, a MS. compiled 2 Edward II., by Thomas de Rydeware, lord of the manor of Seile, Leicestershire, containing transcripts of charters, and illustrated by several curious drawings showing the dress, regal, military, and ecclesiastical, of the period, was exhibited by the Rev. J. M. Gresley, at the October meeting. The *Staffordshire Clog Almanack*, mentioned in Shaw's History of Staffordshire, was also exhibited and illustrated by a paper read by Mr. Gresley at the same meeting. The same gentleman exhibited numerous curiosities at the other meetings of the Society, as did also Mr. Goddard, Mr. Jacques, the Rev. J. H. Hill, and other members.

Several Papers illustrative of local history and antiquities, or of the objects exhibited, have been read during the year, which your Committee regret cannot be placed upon permanent record, they being worthy of more than a mere passing notice in a necessarily short Report.

I. The Monumental Brass of Robert Staunton, Esq., and Agnes his wife, at Castle Donnington ; description of the Brass, and historical sketch of the Family, by the Rev. J. M. Gresley.
II. Churchyard Crosses, by V. Wing, Esq.
III. Newstead, by the Rev. J. M. Gresley.
IV. The Biddenden Cake, by G. C. Neale, Esq.
V. Staffordshire Clog Almanack, by the Rev. J. M. Gresley.
VI. Treasure Trove, by G. C. Neale, Esq.

If we may anticipate a few lines, and add to these the Papers read at the Soirée which we shall notice presently, we have

VII. Mediæval Costume, as illustrated by Monumental Brasses, by the Rev. Chas. Boutell, M.A.
VIII. The Objects of Architectural and Archæological Societies, by F. W. Ordish, Esq.
IX. The State of Leicester in the early part of the 17th century, by J. Gough Nichols, Esq., F.S.A.
X. Recent Discoveries illustrative of Roman Leicester, by James Thompson, Esq.

Had this Society's work, during the past year, been confined simply to the bringing of these Papers before its members and the public, its existence would have needed no apology.

Paper No. IX. is also printed in the volume for the year 1860.

Though your Committee have to regret that during the past year few Architectural Plans have been laid before them, still, much has been done in the county in the way of church restoration, the erection of school-houses or other buildings claiming particular attention, in many of which members of this Society feel a deep interest, or with which they are intimately connected. The following may be cited:—

S. Martin's Church, Leicester. The restoration of this church is again being resumed: this time alteration as well as restoration is to take place. The spire and tower being pronounced in a dangerous state, the former has been taken down, and the latter is to follow in the ensuing spring. It will be remembered the tower

rests upon four Norman arches, the western one being made additionally heavy in appearance by the addition, some years ago, of a course of brickwork to increase its strength; these, with the large mass of masonry containing the belfry stairs, are to be removed, the whole to be replaced by an Early English tower, resting upon corresponding arches and surmounted by a broach-spire—should sufficient funds be forthcoming—in character and design similar to the well known example at Ketton in Northamptonshire. The belfry stairs will be placed in the north transept, the entrance being from the exterior. The north or Heyrick's chapel, which is in a very dilapidated condition, is to be restored, and the north transept to be carried out considerably: the whole being under the architectural care of Mr. Brandon.

The substitution of one style of architecture for another in rebuilding portions of an ancient church, is a proceeding which in almost every instance is open to severe criticism, if not to reprobation; but there will be so much apparent gain, in this instance, to the general effect and utility of the church, in bringing the chancel into closer connection with the nave, and in throwing open a large space by the removal of the belfry stairs, that the general rule is, perhaps in this case, judiciously departed from—more especially as this is the only Norman work in the whole edifice. Plans and elevations of the intended alterations were exhibited at the late Soirée of this Society.

S. Mary's Church, Leicester. During the past year the restoration of this venerable church has been brought to a close. This church is of large dimensions, and is peculiarly interesting as exhibiting various styles of architecture, beginning with early Norman, of which there are some fine examples. The works effected during the year consist of the rebuilding of the whole arcade on the north side of the nave, with the clerestory above. Before their reconstruction the arches on this side the nave were extremely plain, being entirely destitute of mouldings; they are now, however, richly moulded, to make them correspond with those on the south side. The clerestory, like the arches below, is in the Early English style, displaying twelve lancet windows, joined together on the outside by a continuous arcade with clustered columns. The north side of the nave now forms a fine feature of the church. The other works carried on during the year were the completion of the seats, which are of oak with carved poppy heads, and the substitution of an elaborately carved oak pulpit in the place of the old one. A south porch has also been erected in the Early English style, which has a fine recessed doorway with enriched mouldings. The inside is ornamented with an extremely chaste arcade with polished alabaster pillars. All the doors of the church, too, have been replaced in oak, those on the north and south being good specimens of carving, exactly copied from the old ones. The other doors are of plain oak, covered with richly wrought iron work. The lighting of the church is also entirely new, being effected by means of gaseliers suspended from the roof, manufactured by Skidmore of Coventry. They are of very handsome design, the coronæ in the chancel and that over the font being much richer than the rest. The rebuilding of the arcade of the nave and the erection of the south porch were carried out, from the designs of Mr. G. G. Scott, by Mr. Broadbent of Leicester.

The munificence displayed in this work of restoration, by a member of this Society—the outlay being almost entirely defrayed, and the works personally superintended by Mr. Thomas Nevinson—not only makes the town of Leicester a lasting debtor to his large-hearted liberality, but sheds a lustre upon any Architectural Society which, like this, can number him among its most energetic supporters.

S. Andrew's Church, Leicester. This new church is now in course of erection in the parish of S. Mary, from designs of Mr. G. G. Scott. A sketch of the exterior was exhibited at the late Meeting and Soirée of the Society in Leicester.

Belgrave Church. The chancel of this church has been recently restored by Mr. Evan Christian, the architect to the Ecclesiastical Commission. This fabric is exceedingly interesting, being of the Decorated character, and the details of the tracery almost *unique*—there being only two or three other churches in the country possessing similar architectural features. The original character of the fabric has been faithfully preserved; the reduced pitch of the roof adopted since the Reformation has, however, unfortunately being retained. The chancel is furnished with open seats placed choir-wise.

Skeffington Church. The restoration of this church, dedicated to S. Thomas à Beckett, is rapidly approaching completion: when the works were commenced the intention was merely to re-seat the church and replace the roof, which from decay had become in a dangerous state, by a new one: Richard Sutton, Esq, however, would not allow the good work to be stayed where absolute necessity would have allowed it, but at his own cost undertook the re-erection of the aisles, south porch, font, &c. Subsequently Mr. Sutton has also rebuilt the chancel entirely at his own expense, inserting in the east end a stained glass window by Wailes of Newcastle. The church is now almost a new structure, but, with the exception of the porch and chancel, is a faithful copy of the original building. The seats are of Spanish deal. The roof is of the same wood, *one bay* of the old one fortunately remaining as a guide to the restorer in erecting the new. The font, of Aubigny stone, is placed close to the south door.

The chancel has been rebuilt from designs by the architect, in a character to harmonize with the other portion of the church, which is built in the Late Perpendicular style; the old chancel was of so late a date as to be properly avoided in the rebuilding. The reredos is of stone, with alabaster panels, and is richly carved. The seats here, screens, altar-rails, pulpit, and desk are of oak.

Mr. Millican of Leicester is the architect; the carving, by Mr. Barfield of Leicester, is admirable workmanship.

Pickwell Church. This church, dedicated to All Saints, has a tower at the west end, and a good sized nave, aisles, and chancel. A peculiar feature here is that the chancel is nearly the same height as the nave, and there is no arch to divide the two. The north aisle is one bay longer than the south; and the northern arcade, which is composed of late Norman arches, originally extended nearly to the end of the chancel. The tower, which is Perpendicular work—like so many others in this part of the county—is of excellent workmanship. The lower half of the belfry windows had been blocked up, but they are now opened, and restored to their original condition: the lower window and base mouldings have also been repaired.

The original plans for the restoration comprised new roofs on nave and aisles, rebuilding the south aisle and porch, opening the tower-arch, removing plaster from the walls, and renewing the mouldings; re-seating with open benches, new pulpit and reading-desk, re-glazing the windows, new pinnacles on the south aisle, and the introduction of an arch between the nave and the chancel. All these works have been carried out, with the exception of the pinnacles and chancel-arch, which were abandoned for want of funds. The division between nave and chancel is shewn by bringing one of the roof-principals lower down, and filling up the spandrils with tracery.

The native stone has been used for the new ashlar work, and Ancaster stone for the door and window dressings. The expenses, beyond what is raised by rate, are being defrayed by the Earl of Gainsborough, A. Smith, Esq., of Leesthorpe, and the Rev. G. Lovett. Mr. R. W. Johnson of Melton Mowbray is the architect.

Welby Church. This church is a plain building, without aisles, and has a small gabled tower at the west end. The chancel has a good east window of Early Perpendicular work, and windows of a similar character on either side. The nave of the church, in addition to windows of a nondescript character, was lighted by two heavy dormer windows intersecting the roof, which was ceiled. In last summer, the roof having given way, a new one became a necessity: so the dormer windows have been removed, and a new open roof in character with the building has been put on. New windows similar to those in the chancel have replaced the old ones, and a new south doorway and porch have been erected.

The internal fittings, with the exception of the pulpit—which is Jacobean—are very poor; it is hoped the parishioners will complete the restoration by re-seating the church, a plan for which is now under consideration. Further improvements, by lowering the ground, &c., are to be made; formerly there was a descent of two steps into the church, now the floor and the churchyard will be level. Mr. R. W. Johnson of Melton is the architect employed.

Fenny Drayton Church. Two years ago this church presented a lamentable spectacle of neglect and desolation; it was covered—nave and aisles—by one low-pitched roof, and lighted by a skylight! The chancel window was gone, and its place supplied by a square opening. Internally, there were the to-be-expected features—a low plastered ceiling, and the high ugly pews.

The first active work of the recently appointed rector, the Rev. J. E. Colyer, was—aided by subscriptions—to place the church in the hands of Mr. W. Jackson, architect, of Leicester, to effect a thorough restoration. The old roof has been replaced by new ones of higher pitch over the nave and south aisle; the walls have been cleared of stucco and partly rebuilt; a new east window has been inserted; the old pews have given place to carved stalls in the chancel and open benches in the body of the church; a new chancel-arch with responds supplies the place of the wooden beam which finished the old ceiling; a new tower-arch that of the old "singers' gallery;" and a new porch of stone that of the old one of brick.

Thorpe Satchville Church. This church has been partially restored, and wholly re-pewed in oak; the pulpit, reading-desk, and altar-rails are new, as is the east window, font, &c. The works were executed by Mr. Sherwood and Messrs. Linley and Firn, under the inspection of Mr. Henry Goddard, architect, Leicester.

Burrow-on-the-Hill. This church has also been restored by Mr. Henry Goddard, architect, of Leicester. In addition to new seats in the church, a new oak pulpit, reading-desk, altar-rails, stalls in chancel, &c., have been erected; and the richly ornamented Early English font thoroughly cleaned and restored. It is now placed near the south entrance. On scraping the arcade arches the remains of elaborate decorations in colours were discovered, and the timbers of the roof, &c., were found to have been similarly ornamented. The works were executed by Mr. Broadbent, of Leicester.

Owston Church. This church (the only remaining portion of the abbey founded here in the reign of Edward III. by Robert Grimbold) has been thoroughly restored, and the spire heightened. The works by Mr. Broadbent: the architect, Mr. Henry Goddard, of Leicester.

Birstall School. A new national school has been erected at Birstall, from the designs of Mr. W. Millican, architect, Leicester. It will accommodate 120 children. The cost is £400, exclusive of site. The building is of Mountsorrel granite, with Bath stone dressings to windows, doors, &c.; with an open timbered roof, covered with tiles. The whole is of an early character.

Enderby School, by the same architect, and of similar design and materials, is completed, and will shortly be opened.

Your Committee, in addition to the ecclesiastical and scholastic edifices thus enumerated, can point with pleasure to many private residences lately erected, or now in course of erection, in the neighbourhood of Leicester, which show great originality in plan, and considerable taste in many of their details. With room for further improvement, there is, undoubtedly, a freedom and boldness which promise much in the future.

In consequence of intended arrangements for the annual meeting, to be held at Lutterworth, not being carried into effect, it was determined that the year should not close without the members and friends of your Society being called together, as they had been, once at least during each year of the Society's existence; these meetings not only being found most agreeable and interesting to the members themselves, but tending to strengthen and to carry out the intentions of the Society by the addition of new members, by causing to be brought together for exhibition antiquities, and works of art, which otherwise would never appear before the public, and by eliciting papers upon local topics—architectural, historical, or antiquarian—from members or friends of the Society.

It was therefore proposed to hold a meeting in Leicester. The arrangements were placed in the hands of a sub-committee, who determined upon the rather bold experiment of an Archæological Soirée, to be held in the Music Hall, on the 5th of December. The loan of antiquarian objects, photographic views of churches, drawings of ancient buildings, architectural designs, specimens of carving, antique china and objects of *virtu* was solicited, the intention of the exhibition being, as stated by the Committee in their circular, "to illustrate the Art of Architecture and the Science of Archæology, and, as subordinate thereto, to exhibit specimens of Decorative Art generally." This appeal was well responded to. The tables were arranged, as far as possible, according to date; whilst the drawings and photographs were hung upon the walls, and upon upright stands prepared for them.

The proceedings were opened at seven o'clock, when the Right Hon. Lord John Manners, M.P., took the chair. In his opening remarks his lordship said—If it were expected of him to deliver a kind of inaugural address on the subject of

Architecture and Archæology he should have declined occupying the chair that evening. For, highly as he admired those studies, and greatly as he thought they were calculated to promote great public objects, he was free to confess that a life chiefly spent in St. Stephen's had not done more than qualify him to be a pleased and attentive listener on an occasion of that kind. If he might presume for a few minutes to make some remarks, he would say, in the first instance, that the great and acknowledged improvement and spread of architectural and archæological taste and knowledge during the last two decades of our history, could not in his opinion be attributed to the operation of such societies as that. He believed on the contrary, that those societies were themselves but the product of that great and deep-seated improvement in architectural and archæological taste and knowledge. And the conclusion he drew from that fact was, that the position of those arts and studies at the present moment was a sound and safe one, because it depended not upon the excitement and stimulus of even such meetings and societies as those, but upon the deep-seated and rooted conviction of intelligent and well educated minds. Another remark he would make was, that the great spread of such knowledge owed nothing whatever to the government of the country: the action of parliament and of government in now voting large sums of money to repair and restore public buildings, had followed, rather than led, the improved taste and knowledge of the country. His lordship further remarked upon the stern opposition evinced by Lord Palmerston to this improved taste, by his determination, if possible, to erect the new Foreign Offices in a style "from which the more educated taste and knowledge of the "present generation is revolting, if it has not already revolted." "I should be "sorry," he continued, "to take upon myself in any way to speak in your name, "or in the name of any Architectural and Archæological Society, but while I am "upon this subject, I may innocently express an earnest hope that before parlia-"ment meet again, the Architectural Societies of the country will favour the House "of Commons with the expression of their view, be it favourable to the one I am "now speaking of, or be it unfavourable; and that parliament, when called upon "to decide on the style of the great pile of buildings which will have to be erected "in the course of a few years for the reception of the Indian and Foreign Depart-"ments, will at least have the satisfaction of knowing what is the formed and de-"liberate opinion of these Societies, which, I think, may be looked upon as the just "exponents of the educated and cultivated architectural taste of the present genera-"tion." In his concluding remarks the noble chairman referred to the great use of such Societies as this, and the good service they had rendered. He was certainly of opinion that they had rendered, were rendering, and would render the greatest possible services in many ways which he would not presume to enumerate; but among those modes he would say that by removing erroneous views, by spreading through the districts in which they respectively operated a careful and minute acquaintance with the local peculiarities of the district, those Societies were doing enormous good, ... and he thought that by showing how that knowledge could be applied to practical purposes they were doing an infinity of good. Take for instance the common and most gratifying process of church restoration. Instead of seeing churches—even in humble rural villages—repaired according to some pre-conceived idea, without any knowledge of the peculiarities of the district, now almost every church was certain to be restored with a minute attention to those peculiar features which characterised the architecture of the time, and the district in which it was placed. If he wanted an illustration of the truth of that position, he need not go far from that room. In that most perfect and beautiful work of restoration which he had the privilege to inspect a day or two ago—the church of S. Mary in Leicester—he thought would be seen the most minute attention paid to every local characteristic feature. Such then being some few of the uses and good objects of those Societies, he most cordially rejoiced that Leicestershire possessed one of them—he rejoiced that that meeting had been called. In such a county as Leicestershire and in such a town as Leicester such a Society ought to be well supported—he had the greatest possible pleasure in taking the chair on that occasion, and trusted the future prosperity of the Society would be such as, by its objects, it so well merited.

The Rev. Charles Boutell then delivered a lecture upon "*Mediæval Costume, as illustrated by Monumental Brasses,*" a good collection of 'rubbings' being placed near the Lecturer and round the room for his reference. Mr. Boutell being

well known as the first authority upon the subject treated in his masterly address, it is superfluous to say that his descriptive explanation of that branch of Archæology was most interesting and instructive.

At the conclusion of Mr. Boutell's address, the company inspected the numerous objects forming the exhibition. These were most varied in character, and illustrated in a copious manner very many branches of archæology. To Lord Berners, Mr. Goddard, the Rev. J. H. Hill, Mr. G. C. and Mrs. Neale, and Mr. Jacques, the Society was much indebted for the loan of early British and Roman antiquities, Samian ware, mediæval pottery, Dresden and other china, carvings in wood, ebony, &c., and a large collection of curiosities. Mr. T. T. Paget and Mr. Neale supplied many beautiful water-colour drawings by eminent artists; Mr. T. C. Browne, a fine collection of photographs of Leicestershire churches, and a marble bust of the late Duke of Rutland; Mr. Sarson, a good collection of topographical works; Mr. Dudgeon, a very large collection of photographs and drawings; the Rev. A. Pownall, an interesting collection of coins. This list might be extended to a great length, did not your Committee find it impossible to give more than a mere reference to the names of the principal contributors to the contents of an exhibition, to which *all* their friends contributed most liberally and spontaneously.

During the evening, papers were read in the Lecture Hall; one by Mr. Ordish, upon "*The objects of Architectural and Archæological Societies;*" Mr. Jno. Gough Nichols' Paper "*On the state of Leicester in the early part of the 17th century,*" as shewn by the Heyricke Papers preserved at Beaumanor, was read—in consequence of Mr. Nichols' indisposition—by the Rev. J. H. Hill; and Mr. James Thompson supplied a Paper upon "*Recent Discoveries illustrative of Roman Leicester.*"

In concluding a somewhat lengthy Report, your Committee would congratulate the Society upon the increased desire exhibited throughout the county to uphold and to restore the venerable fabrics in which our fathers have worshipped for so many centuries; and upon the care, and, in most instances, the correct architectural taste, shewn in the restoration or rebuilding of them. They must also be permitted to refer with considerable satisfaction to the success attending the Exhibition and Soirée just referred to. It being the first meeting of that kind attempted by the Committee, there were, unavoidably, some slight mistakes in the arrangements, which experience will teach how to avoid in the future. Congratulations must not, however, blind us to the fact that your Society does not make that progress in numbers and consequently in influence which its objects certainly claim.

Your Committee, in order to strengthen its position, would strongly urge upon each member the duty of paying his subscription punctually, enlisting his friends as members, and of furthering the objects of the Society to the best of his ability.

TREASURER'S ACCOUNT,
For the year 1860.

Dr.	£	s.	d.	Cr.	£	s.	d.
Balance from last account ...	13	17	8	Repaid one Subscription paid twice by mistake	0	10	0
Subscriptions and Arrears ...	49	0	0	Advertising	14	14	0
				Paid Keeper of Town Hall Library for attendance, &c., at Meetings	0	6	0
				Paid for tin japanned box for papers	0	18	6
				Paid Messrs. Brooke, Lincoln, share of publication of Annual Volume	16	14	4
				Paid grant from Society for expenses of Soirée...........	15	0	0
				Printing, Stationery, &c.......	3	9	3
				Porter, Postages, & Sundries	2	8	1
				Balance in hand	8	17	6
	£62	17	8		£62	17	8

GHolles

ARCHITECTURAL SOCIETY

OF

THE DIOCESE OF LINCOLN.

Shadows of the Past, connected with the History of Grimsby. A Paper read at the Grimsby Meeting, May 26th, 1859. By the REV. EDWARD TROLLOPE, F S.A., Rector of Leasingham.

ONE of the objects our Society has in view is to elicit as much as possible of the past history of those towns in Lincolnshire and Notts. wherein it holds its annual public meetings; this being in so many cases necessary as an aid to the study of its architecture, and almost always an agreeable accompaniment to it. Unfortunately, however, the history of our county of Lincoln has been so very feebly and imperfectly developed, that many persons are under the impression we have none; so that, directly it is proposed to meet in almost any of our towns, this question is asked, "What can be said of it?"

and our committee is blamed for the selection it has made of such a trysting place—at all events by some persons. In the end, however, the grumblers are often, of all others, the most pleased with the arrangements that have been made for their amusement, and to satisfy their reasonable desire for information; because they have been feasted where they expected to be starved, and enjoyed a very pleasant meeting when they had previously made up their minds to have a good comfortable cause of complaint.

Thus, when it was announced that we were to meet in this town during the present year, some said there was only an old rattletrap church to be seen here, and others that there was only a modern dock, and nothing but Thornton Abbey in the neighbourhood, and no history connected with the locality, except an old wife's tale about one Mr. Grim or Grime—an early freeholder of this borough. I think, however, we have already heard a few things not generally known, forming a portion of the exceedingly interesting history of Grimsby and its vicinity; and now I am proposing, with your permission, to string together a few fragments referring to the same subject, collected from various sources; and although some of these may probably be well known to at least some of the inhabitants of this town, I still hope that they may be acceptable to this assembly at large.

I am proposing to group together my materials in periods having no precise limits, so that they will sometimes be found to overlap each other very considerably, my object being to classify my subjects so as to produce them in succession with distinctness, which I can do artificially, but which the confusing current of the real past, if recorded with strict photographic fidelity, would not admit of.

I will begin with what may be fairly termed the "Mythical Period." We are very much indebted to our older school of antiquaries for the results of their observations, and for the record of their facts; but we must ever be on our guard against their theories and their marvellous assumptions, unless we wish to be whirled up from a basis of truth into the airy realms of fantasy, in search of authorities for our historic records. I make this observation because much has been said of the Druidical remains of this town, and of the distinctive character of each elevation in and about it, without the confirmation of any chronicler, or internal evidence offered by those features themselves. A small creek, or haven, communicating with the Humber near its mouth, with a few mounds on its banks, no doubt at an early period attracted the attention of the Keltic tribe that first found its way hither, being a most favourable site for a settlement. Those elevations I believe to have been formed by nature, and probably by the waters of the creek, aided by blowing winds; but afterwards, I doubt not, some at least of them were scored by the hand of man for the purpose of his defence, and possibly one may have been dedicated to the Keltic gods, or used as a court of judicature. This, however, can only be conjectural, as no British remains have ever been found here that I

am aware of; and such earthworks as we see are probably of Saxon or Danish formation.

No Roman traces have been discovered here; nor is this surprising, as the terminus of the great Ermine Street was at Winteringham, and that of the other Roman road communicating with the Humber, at Barton, both being at some distance from this locality. But of the Saxon and the Danish period we have various reminiscences of an interesting and uncommon character. When the Saxons succeeded in driving out the native tribes of North Lincolnshire we know not, but this deed had certainly been accomplished before the year 786, for then they were themselves threatened by the Danes, and a great struggle occurred, which we will call the battle of Grimsby, for it was fought near or at this place. Kebright was the Danish commander, and Herman the Saxon chief, who commanded the troops of the Earlderman Brightric, the husband of one of King Offa's daughters. After a desperate fight the Danes retreated, and probably took to their "sea horses," as they called their vessels, in your haven. The Saxons, however, although victorious, had to lament the loss of their valiant leader, who fell in the combat. This first Danish attack was followed by many another fierce invasion; and the whole vicinity of Grimsby had suffered deeply from the fire and the sword of the marauding Northmen before it finally submitted, first to the rule, and then to the permanent colonization of the Danes. Scarcely one church, if any, escaped burning at that period; and it is interesting to witness, still plainly, evident traces of fire upon the foundations or materials of several of those we have just visited, that may be safely assigned to the Saxon period, such as Clee, Scartho, Waithe, &c., and which may be reasonably presumed to have been fired by the Danes.

All that has been written of that notable personage, Grim, or Grym, in connexion with the early history of this town, cannot be true, because the various versions of his history differ materially from each other; but from the dimness of that legendary medium respecting him, which has been handed down to us, we may perhaps safely gather together certain shadows of the truth, and consolidate them into realities that have once existed. The appellation of *Grimsby* clearly indicates its Danish origin, it simply meaning "Grim's town"—"*By*" being a usual termination of a Danish settlement, and "*Grim*" being a not uncommon Danish name. For instance, we find a Jarl Grim, signing Saxon deeds between 940 and 960; Grim, a Lincoln coiner, between 979 and 1013; another coiner, Grim, in the same city in Knut's reign; and others at Thetford and Shrewsbury. *Little Grimsby*, *Grimsthorpe*, and *Grime's Dykes*, (in and about Ditchley Park, near Oxford,) also refer to the same name.[1] Nor was it extinct in the 12th century, for one of the monks who boldly stood by Becket during his murder, and nearly lost one of his arms in the Archbishop's defence, was named Edward

(1) The name of Grimsbye is, I believe, still found in Denmark and Iceland, and Grimstad is certainly an old town of Norway.

Grim. It is not less frequently found in composition, as in the cases of *Grimoldby*, *Grimblethorpe*, and *Grimsthorpe*, where it is applied to places, and in those of *Grimcytil*, *Othgrim*, *Colgrim*, coiners of Lincoln in Knut's time, *Arngrim* of York, in Ethelred's reign, and *Thurgrim* of the same city, in Knut's.

Next, we have the evidence of the ancient Seal of this town, referring to Grim's name, to his protection of Havlok, and his connexion with Gouldburgh—also how, through the hand of Providence and his own good sword and shield, he became the great man at this place, if not its actual founder. Unfortunately, however, this seal does not appear to be older than the 14th century; but at the same time, from an attentive examination of its details, there is reason to suppose that it has been copied from an older one, and that its original reference to Grim was genuine, although Camden and Peter Langtoft appear to have entertained serious doubts as to the whole legendary history of that personage and his protégé.

Having endeavoured to reconcile the conflicting statements of the *Estoire des Engles*, (published in the "Monumenta Historica Britannica,") the Anglo Saxon poem of *Havlock the Dane*, the *Scalæ Chronicon*, and other authorities, perhaps the nearest approximation to the truth respecting Grim's history is as follows:

That he was a native of Souldburgh (perhaps the little Swedish place of that name marked in Dr. Munthe's historical map); that he came over as a settler to this place after various adventures, where he established himself as a fisherman and a saltmaker; that he saved from drowning Cuheran, a young Dane, surnamed from this circumstance "Havlok," or drawn out of the water,[2] who eventually proved to be the son of a powerful Danish chief[3] after having served in a situation of a humble character in the household of Edelsie, a Lincolnshire Jarl (obtained for him through Grim's instrumentality); that then his presumed lowness of birth was the reason of his being selected to marry Argentille, or Gouldburgh, Edelsie's niece, so that he (Edelsie) might be able to retain the property in Norfolk to which she was entitled as her father Adelbrit's heiress; that the young couple, discovering Havlok's real parentage through the aid of Kelloc (Grim's sister, and wife of a Grimsby merchant) first recovered possession of Havlok's lands in Denmark, then those of Goldsburgh in Norfolk that had belonged to her father, and eventually those of her usurping uncle in Lincolnshire; that then Grim received many marks of Havlok's favour, and amongst others an exemption for every Grimsby trader from all tolls and dues payable at the port of Elsinore. I cannot put any confidence in the term of "Havlok's Stone," dividing the parish from the hamlet of Wellow, knowing from frequent experience how readily legendary lore endeavours to attach itself to some tangible basis

(2) Havlok properly means "Sea-waif," from the Danish "haf," or sea, and the perfect of the verb "lokken," to draw out, whence is derived our expression "to lug."

(3) According to some, Havlock was entrusted to Grim for protection in consequence of an insurrection in his father's territory in the North.

whereon to rest an airy, or perhaps a real superstructure—as in the instance of the vulgar error, still I believe not entirely uprooted, that the Danish Grim is represented by the mediæval statue of Sir Thomas Haslerton brought from St. Leonard's Priory to St. James's church, although the latter personage lived about six centuries after the former; whilst a similar ludicrous error prevailed also until lately at Threckingham, with regard to three other Danish heroes.

Not believing in the Grimsby Havlok Stone, I need hardly add that still less credence can be given to the legend of the former existence of another great stone in the precincts of Lincoln Castle, which was reported to have been flung by your hero Havlok[4] to a marvellous distance; but I allude to this simply to shew that his reputation was not confined to Grimsby and its vicinity alone.

Grim, I have said, is said to have been a saltmaker; and in connexion with this tradition as to his calling, Domesday Book affords an interesting little fragment of information, telling us that shortly after the Conquest there was a single "Salina" or saltpan here; possibly, then, our hero Grim may have been the first possessor of this work; certainly he was a trader or merchant of Grimsby, through whose industry and prosperity his adopted place of residence greatly prospered.

Let us pass on now to another age, which we will term the "*Record* period."

I need scarcely, perhaps, say that there were Saxon records and deeds, many of which still happily exist. They are most beautifully written, and some of them are illuminated with so much skill as to excite our warmest admiration when we look upon them in the 19th century; no wonder, therefore, that poor Abbot Ingulphus so deeply lamented over the loss of so many of these works of art in the terrible burning of Croyland Abbey, independent of their documentary and intrinsic value. These were always signed with the crosses of the principals concerned, and their witnesses. But the Normans introduced a totally different style of charter, the principal external characteristic of which was a large pendant wax seal. From the Norman records we find that Grimsby had become a borough held

(4) Peter Langtoft (as rendered by Robert de Brunne, or Bourne, a Lincolnshire monk), treats of these matters as follows: see *Hearne's edition*, Vol. I. p. 26.

"I fynd no man
That has writen in story how Hanelok this lond wan,
Noither Gildas, no Bede, no Henry of Huntynton,
No William of Malmesbiri, ne Pers of Bridlynton
Writes not in ther bokes of no kyng Athelwold,
Ne Goldeburgh his douhtere, ne Hanelok not of told,
Whilk tyme the were kynges, long or now late,
The mak no menyng whan, no in what date.

. . .

Men sais in Lyncoln castelle ligges yit a stone
That Hanelok kast wele forbi ever ilkone,
And yit the chapelle standes there he weddid his wife
Goldeburgh the kynges douhter, that saw is yet rife—
And of Gryme a fisshere, men redes yit in ryme
That he bigged Grymesby Gryme that ilk tyme.
Of all stories of honoure that I haf thorgh souht
I find that no compiloure of him tellis ouht:—
Sen I fynd non redy that tellis of Hanelok kynde,
Turne we to that story that we writen fynde.

of the crown, at a fee farm rent, previous to the Conquest; and that the celebrated Leofric, Earl of Mercia, had lands here, obtained through his perhaps still more celebrated wife Godiva Thorold, grand-daughter of Oslac, at the same early period. These were given to Ralph de Mortimer, and Odo, Bishop of Bayeux. There were also two churches here, one of which was transferred to William de Percy, which probably occupied the site of the present St. James', afterwards attached to Wellow Abbey, founded by Henry I. for Black or Augustine canons.

Grimsby possessed the privileges of *Sac and Soc*, *Theam*, or power of possessing slaves, *Infangthef*, or power to try thieves. In the reign of Richard I. certain barons interfered for the benefit of the port, making regulations for its maintenance, and amongst them were probably the Percy and the Albermale of that day, both of whom would be interested in its prosperity. In the second year of his reign King John confirmed the charter of Wellow, in which its vineyards are spoken of, and walls and ditch; he also granted a charter and the privilege of a ferry to this town, for the consideration of 55 marks and a palfrey, when he was here in person, just after having aided in bearing to the grave St. Hugh, the celebrated bishop of Lincoln. This charter, I understand, is not now extant, but an *Inspeximus* connected with it still remains amongst the Corporation records. John afterwards granted the manor of Grimsby to Philip de Albini, whom he terms "*Regis Anglorum Magister, et eruditor fidelissimus*," for his better support in the royal service—he being "tutor," as we should term him, to Prince Henry. A renewal of King John's charter was granted by that Prince in 1227, when he had succeeded to the throne, who first fixed the fee farm rent at £111, and afterwards reduced it to £50. Edward I. conferred all the royal rights in Grimsby upon his wife Margaret, A.D. 1305, still valued at £50, the deed running thus—"*Assignavimus eidem Margaritæ, villam de Grymesby cum reditibus et omnibus aliis pertinentibus suis in eadem comitatu in valorem quinquaginta librarum.*" Edward II. lengthened the time for holding fairs at Grimsby on the feasts of St. Austin and St. Bartholomew, they being thenceforth permitted to continue seven days after those dates; and charters of renewal, &c., were granted in favour of this town by Edward III., Henry VI., VII., VIII., James I. and II.

The second borough seal refers to an ancient privilege it enjoyed, viz., the right of hunting in Bradley manor, whose lord was bound to find a boar for the Corporation's amusement in the field, and afterwards for the delectament of its members at their subsequent feast. Nor was this a solitary and exceptional day's sport that the magistrates of Grimsby enjoyed in old days, after the manner of Epping Hunt, for they appear long to have zealously guarded and preserved their rights of hunting, fowling, and fishing over a considerable district in the vicinity of their town. Would that the people of Grimsby had always confined themselves to such natural and healthy recreations—for now I have to record a much more

reprehensible trait in their former character, being compelled to pass on to another time which I can only term the "Pugnacious period." The 14th century was one in which blows abounded generally, not only against France—always looked upon as our natural enemy in bygone days—but were very frequently resorted to in our intercourse with each other. Shakespeare has most truly illustrated our national habits at that period, when he pourtrayed with his master pen the challenge scene in Richard II., and the intended duel between Bolingbroke and Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, for such trials by battle were then certainly not uncommon ; and I have a shrewd suspicion that when one gentleman had conceived a private grudge against another, a not unusual mode of proceeding was for him to accuse his opponent of being a traitor to his king, so that he might have the satisfaction, on his own account, of exchanging blows with his foe to his heart's content. Such was the course adopted by Mortileno de Vilenos, a gentleman of Navarre, towards John Walsh, a native of Grimsby, in 1385 ; who, after having duly accused him (I have no doubt quite "*en regle*") of being guilty of high treason, fought with him, and received a good drubbing; the accusation of the Navarrois was then pronounced to be unfounded ; and it will be a great satisfaction to you, no doubt, to hear that John Walsh's false foreign slanderer was hanged for his pains, and hanged legally ! Now, I have mentioned this case of John Walsh, not only as an illustration of the character of the period in which he lived, but in the hope of bracing up the minds of my hearers to listen with equanimity to the suffering the men of Grimsby were subjected to at that time when "might so often made right." The greatest man of this country then, was the Earl of Albermarle, the patron of a rival port on the opposite shore of the Humber, not far from Spurn, termed Ravenser, or Ravensore, which has now been entirely swept away. Issuing from that harbour, he swept haughtily into Grimsby haven with his tall ships, landed here his rival goods by force, without paying the legal tolls, attacked the legitimate traders of the place, in the hope of driving them away altogether, and instituted a reign of terror, during which the weak succumbed, as a matter of course, to the strong, and the Grimsby traders gladly retired before the buffets of my lord's armed people.

But they had no better neighbours on this side of the Humber, for Roger le Stow, of Thoresby, was a terrible bully once upon a time in this town. Probably he had some private interests of his own to consult in the trading line, or he wished to establish some monopoly, or to protect his own tenants to the loss of every one else, which may account for his making irruptions into Grimsby—and especially during fair days, when his people upset the stalls of the assembled traders, insulted the people, and scrupled not, if they offered any resistance, to beat them with clubs, or threaten them with their swords ; nor were these threats vain, Roger le Stow having on one occasion, at least, slain a person named Allan de Kirton, who was beaten to death by these Thoresby assailants. If

any one now wants justice, or assistance, or some act of kindness in this vicinity, I presume he would not be unlikely to seek for these at Weelsby; but it was not so in the 14th century, for one then lived there Simon Watchet by name, who was neither kind nor just towards Grimsby, inasmuch as he took forcible possession of the Manor of Holm, and stopped up the highway out of this town with a chain, guarded no doubt by an armed band, who allowed no single Grimsby man to pass without a forcible payment of toll. But I have still one more local tyrant to allude to, more atrocious than all the others, and I scarcely dare to mention his name even now, for he laid violent hands upon the Mayor and a deputation of the principal burgesses of this ancient town! This was Sir Walter de la Lynde, of Laceby, who possessed himself forcibly of the port of Freshney and its tolls, and played all sorts of insolent pranks with the Grimsby traders and their goods exposed for sale. This induced the then Mayor and some of the burgesses to wait upon Sir Walter at Laceby, but their reception there was far more alarming than honourable ; for, when they ventured to remonstrate with him on account of his violence—having no fear of the sessions or assizes before his eyes, nor the slightest expectation of being put into the county court, or of being waited on by a gentleman in a suit of dark blue, with a partially glazed hat—Sir Walter fiercely ordered his unwelcome visitors to be introduced to a neighbouring pond, and then kept them in hold, and even threatened to hang them ! Most serious would be the results of such conduct now, if experienced even by the meanest and most worthless member of our community from the most exalted personage of the realm. What then would be our fury if any indignity even of the slightest description should be offered to the present highly respected chief magistrate of Grimsby! But, alas! the mayors of the 14th century were not like those of the 19th ; for I find that they were more intent upon attending to their own interests than the prosperity of the community in general, and that the lower orders of Grimsby actually sympathised with the Earl of Albermale's attacks upon the burgesses of this town, by whom they justly considered themselves to have been ground down and oppressed. And I can indeed quite believe that there was great selfishness and lawlessness on the part of the former rulers of Grimsby ; for a certain mayor, all at once, is recorded to have taken it into his head that he did not like to pay church dues ;[5]—whether

(5) The inhabitants of Grimsby in 1297 made an association among themselves that no person should pay any more to the Church than bare dues. This coming to the ears of Oliver Sutton, Bishop of Lincoln, induced him to order the Rectors, Vicars, and Chaplains of the adjoining towns to pronounce the following sentence against the men of Grimsby: *Hi indevoti homines ingrati filii provocationis iræ Dei cujus misericordiam renuunt, et elongabitur ab eis, tempora festinant adesse, ut merito zelo justitiæ clamat Propheta, Tempus est domini faciendi justitiam, dissipaverunt penitus Legem tuam.*

It was probably in connexion with this question of dues that, ten years afterwards, the Mayor and Burgesses hanged poor Richard of Nottingham, whom they accused of theft. "Thereupon," says Holles, "ye Bp sends to ye Abbot of Wellow to associate to himseif twelve adjacent Chaplaines to examine ye cause, and in St. James his Church excommunicate all that had any hand in it of whatsoever condition they were, ye King, Queen, and Pr of Wales excepted. And ye Bp himselfe did excommunicate them in ye Cathedrall Church of Lincolne ye 5th day of ye ides of April following."—*Holles MSS. in Lansdown Collection, Darcy*, 529.

this arose from any quarrel he had had with the priest, or having been remonstrated with by that functionary because of his evil ways, I know not, but I *do* know the result; the mayor happening to be stronger than the ecclesiastic, soon settled the matter, for he hanged the poor priest, whose name happened to be Richard of Nottingham.[6] That was an act, however, which was considered to be more than usually serious, and is one that will lead me on to another subject, viz., the "Building Period,"—for the Franciscan Monastery, or Grey Friary of Grimsby, built in 1308, is said to have been founded in expiation of the above named deed of violence. From the 11th to the 14th century, a succession of fine religious edifices arose in this town, one after the other, through the piety and munificence of the men of Grimsby, who gladly dedicated them to the honour and glory of God; but now, unhappily, little more than the sites of any one of these remain, excepting the church of St. James, and even this had been so clipped and mutilated, so shortened and lowered, so battered and injured, so bricked up and plastered up, so hampered with selfish and most unseemly pews, and worse than all, so neglected as to its positive and most necessary requirements in the way of substantial repairs, that the tower with all its store of bells most seriously threatened to collapse, and thus to put an end to the clouded old age of this sole remaining exemplification of the architectural skill of the 13th and 14th centuries. Happily, however, a great change has been wrought of late in this very interesting old fabric. Its imminent danger has been averted, its encumbrances have been swept away, its ancient beauty has to a considerable extent been restored, and, as far as it has gone, the new work has been designed and carried out in a substantial and pleasing manner. May this good work be continued, and may the building spirit that formerly prevailed so extensively in this town be again revived, and directed towards the further restoration of that beautiful monument of the liberality of the men of Grimsby of old by their present representatives!

The second church of Grimsby was that of St. Mary, on the site of one existing before the Conquest, with its lofty tower, that long served as a beacon to vessels entering the Humber; until it was pulled down in 1585. Besides Wellow Abbey, and the Franciscan Monastery I have before alluded to, there was here a Templar establishment, dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene in John's reign, which stood without Bargates, and was afterwards possessed by the Hospitallers, whence it was termed the Hospital, and whose site is still known by the name of "Spittal-hill;" also St. Leonard's Nunnery, founded in the reign of Henry I., for Benedictine nuns, which was burnt in the 15th century, together with all its charters, books, and valuables, but rebuilt in the seventh year of the reign of Henry IV. through the aid of the celebrated Bishop Grostete and Sir Thomas Haslerton; and the Augustine Friary, founded in 1280.

William of Grimsby, Abbot of Thornton, also exhibited his taste for building by erecting a new cloister at that abbey, besides other requirements, in 1322.

(6) See Note on p. 8.

These were the palmy days of Grimsby ; but as we have alluded to its prosperity, and the evidence of the manner in which it employed at least a portion of its wealth, we must now advert to its period of decay. So early as the third year of Edward III., the port of Grimsby was nearly filled up ; although the town must still have retained its general prosperity, as it furnished 11 ships and 171 men as its contingent towards the armament raised for the invasion of Brittany in that reign ; an attempt also was then made to improve the harbour by diverting the course of the little river Freshney into it, but the town gradually declined, and appears to have reached its lowest condition after the suppression of Wellow Abbey, which no doubt was greatly felt, and especially by the poor. This occurred in 1589, when Robert Whitgift was its abbot. Two years later, Henry VIII. is reported by Holles to have paid a visit of three days to Grimsby ; but he probably only rode over from Thornton Abbey to inspect the town, if he was here at all during his stay at that house in the early part of October, 1541, for three days, when he made the said visit to Grimsby, if such a visit was indeed paid. Subsequently it was classed under the head of dilapidated towns, for whose relief an Act was passed for "the repairing of sundry towns now fallen into decay." Nevertheless the decay continued, and in the reign of Elizabeth the fee farm rent was remitted by the Crown, as an act of grace for the purpose of aiding the town in carrying out some necessary public works. Its inhabitants also were greatly reduced in number at that period, as the baptisms then amounted only to 12 or 14 in the course of a year.

But in the midst of this general gloominess in its prospects, Grimsby happily had the satisfaction of presenting a great light to England, of which she may still be justly proud. During the year 1530 the wife of one of her merchants, *Whitgift* by name, gave birth to an infant, who received the simple Christian name of "John," but who lived to become the distinguished and honoured, "John, Archbishop of Canterbury."

His grandfather, John Whitgift, was of a respectable family, deriving its name from Whitgift in Yorkshire ; he established one of his sons, Henry, as a merchant in Grimsby, who married Anne Dynewell of his adopted town, and they had issue William, George, Philip, Richard, and Geoffrey, besides John, their eldest son, above alluded to.

Another of the elder John Whitgift's sons, Robert, had at this time become abbot of Wellow Abbey; it was natural, therefore, that his young nephew should be sent to him for instruction in the scholastic establishment of the abbey at an early age. There exhibiting unusual aptitude as a scholar, Abbot Robert sent up the young boy to St. Antony's School in London, boarding him with his aunt, the wife of Michael Shaller, a verger of St. Paul's, and who lived in its immediate vicinity. While with her, he escaped a great peril, for another boy, with whom he slept, was seized with the plague, of which he died ; but young John Whitgift escaped infection. His aunt, however, eventually imagined that a worse taint had

attached itself to him, and suddenly expelled him from her house, declaring that she had at first thought she had received a Saint into her house, but now perceived he was a Devil! The fact was, Abbot Robert, her brother, had adopted the tenets of the Reformers in part, and so clearly saw the errors of the Church of Rome as to cause him often to exclaim that, not being founded upon the Scriptures, that Church could not stand much longer, quoting the words of St. Matthew, *Every plant which my Heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted up.* No wonder, then, that his nephew adopted similar sentiments, and refused to go to Mass at St. Paul's, although often importuned to do so by his aunt and the Canons; nor shall we be surprised to hear of the former attributing all her losses and domestic afflictions that happened to occur at that time, to the fact of her having a heretic within her doors, or of her hastening to send her dangerous inmate back to Grimsby.

By the advice of his uncle the abbot, his parents then sent him to Queen's College, Cambridge; but, not being satisfied with the character of its teaching, &c., he removed to Pembroke Hall. Ridley, afterwards the celebrated Bishop of London, was then Master of that Hall; who, hearing of the young Whitgift's great promise, and his straitened means through his father's losses at sea, made him a Scholar of Pembroke. In 1553 he was chosen Fellow of Peterhouse, Dr. Pearne then being its Master; through whose care and assistance he recovered from a most serious illness at this period of his life, and through whose forbearance he was enabled still to retain his Fellowship, although his religious opinions differed very widely from those that had again become prevalent at the University; and among other things he had declined to be tonsured, in accordance with the injunctions of certain Visitors sent by Queen Mary to Cambridge. Dr. Pearne only begged the young Scholar of his College to keep his opinions to himself, in which case he assured him there was no necessity for his quitting either England or the University—an act he was contemplating. For this kind and considerate conduct Whitgift—according to the testimony of Sir George Paul, the Controller of his household—carried a loving, faithful, and true heart towards Dr. Pearne, unto his dying day.[7]

Whitgift took his B.A. degree in 1553, that of M.A. in 1556, and was ordained in 1560; after which, when he preached his first public sermon in St. Mary's, he selected for his text those words of St. Paul which were so appropriate to his own feelings, *I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ.* Cox, Bishop of Ely, then appointed him his Chaplain, and instituted him to a Prebend in Ely, and to the Rectory of Feversham near Cambridge; shortly after which he was elected Master of Pembroke Hall. Next he was chosen Lady Margaret Divinity Reader (when the University, to mark its sense of the value of his lectures, increased the stipend of his office from 20 marks to 20 pounds); and then he was appointed

(7) He took his B.D. degree in 1562, and that of D.D. in 1569, on which occasion he delivered a public disquisition in accordance with the Divinity Acts, taking for his theme "*Papa est ille Antichristus.*"

Public Professor of Divinity, with such good results, that throngs of students, both old and young, always flocked together to listen to his readings, and to profit by the great learning and extraordinary gifts of the lecturer.[8]

In the year 1567 Whitgift's power as a preacher attracted the attention of Sir Nicholas Bacon, the then Lord Keeper, and Sir Wm. Cecil, First Secretary—afterwards the famous Lord Treasurer Burleigh. These sent for him to preach before Elizabeth, who was so pleased with his preaching, as to cause her punningly to exclaim, that he was indeed a "white gift" to her, and made him one of her Chaplains and Master of Trinity College. In this last capacity he met with much trouble: we have seen how earnestly he had embraced the tenets of the Reformation, and how entirely opposed he was from his boyhood to the errors and extravagant pretensions of Popery; but now he was called upon to resist and combat with sectarians, who would fain have introduced innovations in the Church of a most mischievous character. He found some dissensions prevailing in Trinity College, when he entered it; but by his prudence and conciliatory conduct, for five years he presided over that College in peace and harmony, until a great trial for him ensued from the proceedings of the notorious Thomas Cartwright, a Fellow of Trinity, and who unhappily returned from abroad at that time. Cartwright's judgment is said to have been originally blinded, and his disposition soured, through his jealousy of one Preston, of King's College, and afterwards Master of Trinity Hall. Cartwright and Preston were selected to hold forth before Elizabeth at one of her visits to the University; and, although both appear to have exhibited good scholarship, the Queen very much preferred the performance of Preston, on account of his "comely gesture and pleasing pronunciation," so that she praised and rewarded him, but withheld both praise and reward from poor Cartwright. This slight sank deep into his heart, and he immediately began to oppose Elizabeth's ecclesiastical government; and, after a visit to Geneva, endeavoured to introduce the practices of that city into the English Church. He disallowed the vocation of Archbishops, Bishops, and all ecclesiastical officers, the administration of the Holy Sacraments, the rites and ceremonies retained by the Reformers, the use of the surplice, &c.; and on one occasion, when Whitgift was absent, preached three such inflammatory sermons in Trinity College chapel, that all but three of its members then and there threw off their surplices, contrary to the College statutes. Cartwright and his followers next boldly promulgated their opinions in the University church whenever they had the opportunity, grievously traducing all Prelates and Heads of Colleges.[9] Never was greater prudence and moderation

(8) His lectures on the Apocalypse and the Epistle to the Hebrews were published.

(9) Cartwright and his followers—as we might have expected—directed their attacks especially against the Master of Trinity, who, according to Sir George Paul, "in their open sermons would pricke at him with the swords of their tongues; and otherwhiles uncharitably, through the sides of others, pierce and wound him; sometimes furiously without regard of dutie, shame, or modestie, would strike downe-right at him," confirming the opinion of Hooker as to such sectarian innovators, who says—"Those

exhibited than by the Master of Trinity at this time towards his refractory Fellow. Whenever Cartwright preached, Whitgift ascended the same pulpit on the following Sunday, and so confuted the dangerous and heterodox sentiments that had previously sounded from the spot he occupied, as to slacken the taste for innovation that had been created very considerably, although he could not eradicate the evil altogether. Whitgift was now Vice-Chancellor of the University, as well as Master of Trinity, and Cartwright had transgressed the statutes of the one and the rules of the other. The forbearing Master at first tried gentle means, and often sent exhortations to Cartwright in a kind and friendly manner, begging him to refrain from the course he had adopted, and offering to answer him if he would set down his opinions in writing ; but at last, finding that the whole University was disturbed by his proceedings, Whitgift—as Master of Trinity—expelled Cartwright from that College, and, as Vice-Chancellor, deprived him of the Margaret Lectureship, which he then held. Afterwards Whitgift again became the shield of the Church of England against the attacks of Cartwright and his party, by answering a hostile and most mischievous treatise emanating from it, termed "An Admonition to the Parliament ;" and it is interesting to us to find that he did so as Dean of Lincoln, that Deanery having been conferred upon him as a mark of the Queen's special favour. This he held for the seven last years that he was Master of Trinity. In 1577 he experienced a further mark of her esteem ; his prudence, his judgment, and above all his brilliant mode of preaching, having then led her to appoint him Bishop of Worcester, to which see he was consecrated April 21st, in that year. As he had presided carefully and most efficiently over Trinity, encouraging its students[10] to be constant and earnest in prayer, as well as diligent in their studies, taking his meals also with them in the Common Hall, so as to exercise a better supervision of their characters and habits, he was greatly regretted by the inmates of his College ; and as in the conduct of the University's affairs he was held in the highest estimation, being bold to maintain justice and truth, but withal considerate, patient, and kind, his exaltation was looked upon as a great loss to the University in general ; so that, after he had preached his last public sermon in St. Mary's, and another in Trinity Chapel, wherein he most earnestly exhorted his hearers *to seek peace and ensue it*,[11] he was attended by a large company of the Heads of Houses and the leading members of the University on his way to Worcester.

After his enthronement, he found that the revenue of the see had been shamefully alienated ; so that, although the Queen had granted him the disposition of all the Prebends during his Episco-

fervent reprehenders of things established by public authority, are always confident, and bold spirited men : but their confidence (for the most part) riseth from too much credit given to their own wits, for which cause they are seldom free from errors."—*Ecclesiastical Policy*, lib. 5. 1.

(10) Amongst his most distinguished students were the Earls of Worcester and Cumberland, Lord Zouch, and Sir Nicholas and Sir Francis Bacon, &c.

(11) His text was 2 Corinthians, xiii. 11.

pate as a mark of her favour, and to enable him the better to provide for his Chaplains, &c., there was a very insufficient revenue for himself.

One Abingdon, possessing strong interest at Court, had most improperly obtained a lease of the corn-rents of two of the best episcopal manors,[12] and was boldly attacked by Whitgift. Abingdon, under pressure, offered to yield the proceeds to the Bishop for his life, if he would consent to the after confirmation of the lease ; but, to the honour of the county that gave him birth, Whitgift—unlike Bishop Holbech and other worldly and covetous Prelates, from whom this diocese has so deeply suffered—replied, " No ! mine be the loss, let my see have all the gain ;" and, by a payment of £300 from his own private means, emancipated the Worcester episcopal revenue from the wrong and loss it had sustained.

At Worcester his excellence was soon discovered, and was duly valued by the laity of the see, as well as the clergy. Hospitable, a peace-maker, a reformer of abuses, ready in person to listen to all complaints or to receive petitions, whether on his way to chapel, during meals, or at the council board, he was justly and widely beloved in the West of England. The Queen also still continued to bestow more favours upon him, appointing him Vice-President of the Marches of Wales, and Commissioner to visit the cathedral churches of Lichfield and Hereford, for the future and proper government of which he made fresh statutes. She wished also to exalt the good Bishop of Worcester still higher. When Grindall, Archbishop of Canterbury, had fallen into disgrace at Court, Elizabeth expressed her intention of deposing him, and notified her intention to Bishop Whitgift of giving him the Primacy ; Grindall himself also, pleading his years and infirmities, begged Whitgift to accept the offer, saying he should be quite content to receive a pension from the Crown in lieu of his high office, the duties of which he could no longer adequately fulfil.

Whitgift, however, declared to the Queen in person that nothing would induce him to accept the Archbishopric whilst Grindall lived; and Elizabeth ended the interview by saying that, as she had made Grindall an Archbishop, he should die an Archbishop. That event occurred shortly after; and Whitgift was translated to the Archbishopric, Sept. 24th, 1583, after having bid an affectionate farewell to multitudes of the people of Worcestershire and the Marches of Wales, who flocked to him with every expression of hearty affection for his person, and of deep regret when they became aware of the loss they were about to sustain. Much trouble was in store for Whitgift at Canterbury. In the first place, he found that the valuation of the Archbishopric was greatly overcharged, and that 1,000 acres of land had been detached from it by Sir James Croft, the Queen's Controuler ; both of which evils he successfully overcame. But a far more important and difficult task was assigned

(12) These were Hollow and Grimley, which, says Sir G. Paul, "is the chief upholding of the Bishop's hospitality ; and without which (especially in deere yeeres) he is not able to keep house."

him by the Queen, arising from the religious position of England during his Primacy. He was especially charged by Elizabeth, not only to defend the Established Church from the jealousy of the Romanists on the one hand, and the attacks of the Puritans on the other, but to endeavour to enforce uniformity—which led him into many a conflict with persons of note, whose proceedings had been unnoticed by his feeble predecessor, as well as with that party generally that had adopted Cartwright's views and the tenets of Geneva.

In addition to this he found that, through the pliancy of Grindall's character, much of the patronage of the Archbishopric was expected to be bestowed—as heretofore—upon the clients of some of the great courtiers. To this abuse, however, he would not yield, and consequently incurred their anger and opposition for a while; until, by means of an address to them (still extant) and an alliance with Sir Christopher Hatton, formerly his pupil at Trinity, and then the Queen's Vice-Chamberlain, the Lord Treasurer Burghley, and other important personages of the day, he overcame his opponents; and was able also to resist successfully the designs of the Earl of Leicester, who was then, in furtherance of his ambitious designs, throwing himself into the hands of the Puritans, and affecting to forward their hostile intentions. In 1587 Archbishop Whitgift received the offer of the Chancellorship from the Queen; but, on the plea of his age and the contests he had continually to carry on with various sectaries, declined the honour; at the same time venturing to recommend to the Queen's attention Sir Christopher Hatton, who was accordingly selected by her to fulfil the duties of that high office.

The following year he declined also the Chancellorship of the University of Oxford; and again exhibited the great regard he had for Sir Christopher, by pointing him out to the magnates of Oxford as one who would be of much service to them as their head; and his advice was duly attended to.

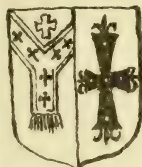
In 1591, when Sir Christopher died, the Archbishop strongly advised the appointment of Lord Buckhurst as Chancellor of Oxford, in opposition to the claims of the Earl of Essex, whereby he greatly excited the anger of the latter; but by the interposition of the Queen, the Archbishop and the Earl were shortly thoroughly reconciled to each other; and at no time did Whitgift stand higher in Elizabeth's estimation, being consulted by her upon all ecclesiastical matters, including the disposition of Bishoprics, &c.

In 1599 he founded a free school and a hospital at Croydon, endowing the former with £20 a year, for the maintenance of a Master, and dedicating the latter to the Holy Trinity, making provision therein for the maintenance of a Warden and twenty-eight Brothers and Sisters. This excellent work must have cost him a large sum; but finding he was not straitened in his means at its completion, he piously ascribed this to the extraordinary blessing and goodness of God upon his undertaking. One of the chief pleasures of his declining years was to retire to his house at Croydon,

when he often dined in the Hospital with his poor brethren—as he called them—and where he received friendly visits from those who might be termed the brethren of his official high station, such as the Earls of Shrewsbury, Worcester, and Cumberland, Lord Zouch, the Bishop of London, &c.

What may be considered the most memorable event of the Archbishop's life occurred in 1603, namely his interview with his Royal mistress when the hand of death was extending itself towards her, and she was about to be called upon to appear at a far higher tribunal than her own. The sight of mourning had always been notoriously hateful to Elizabeth ; and she consistently, but most unhappily for herself, put off all preparations for her own coming death as long as she possibly could—declining to take to her bed and to receive a proffered visit of Whitgift, attended by some other prelates, when there was no time to be lost ; but afterwards, about six in the evening preceding her death, she sent for the Archbishop and her chaplains. "Then (according to the words of a cotemporary writer and an eye-witness), the good man plainly told her what she was come to, and though she had long been a great Queen here upon earth, yet shortly she was to yield an account of her stewardship to the great King of kings." After this he continued long in prayer, till the old man's knees were weary, so that he blessed her, and meant to rise and leave her ; but the Queen made a sign with her hand for more prayer, which he obeyed for half an hour further ; and then again arose the dying Elizabeth's hand, pleading for more prayer, and again for another half hour did the Archbishop put up earnest cries to God for her soul's health, which he uttered with that fervency of spirit, "that the Queen (says another eye-witness) to all our sight much rejoiced thereat, and gave testimony to us all of her Christian and comfortable end."

The voice of Whitgift was the last the great Elizabeth heard on earth ; for, sinking into a lethargic sleep upon his departure, she died at three o'clock the following morning. The Archbishop was the chief mourner at Elizabeth's stately funeral; and as such, received the offerings then made on such occasions, and the banners that were presented. Whitgift's next step was to send off Dr. Nevil, Dean of Canterbury, as a representative of the bishops and clergy of England, to James I., whilst still in Scotland, to learn his pleasure; and himself went in person as far as Theobalds to meet his new Sovereign, by whom he was assured of his regard for the Church of England, and of his intention to uphold it in all its integrity, as his predecessor had done. The Archbishop had the honour of placing the crown of England on James's head, and that of Queen-consort on the brow of Ann of Denmark ; shortly after which, in consequence of the urgency of the Puritan party, the celebrated conference at Hampton Court took place. For the purpose of preparing for that important occasion, Whitgift invited the bishops and principal clergy to attend a conference at the Bishop of London's palace, at Fulham ; and, going thither by water on a bitterly cold January day, he caught cold, which at his age was of serious mo-


VINCIT QVI
PATITVR
OBIIT ANNO
ÆTATIS SVÆ 73

ment. Disregarding his illness, however, he resorted to the Court at Whitehall on the following Sunday, in a fasting condition, being the first in Lent, when he had a long consultation with King James, both before and after Divine Service. Such an exertion and such discipline proved too much for the already ailing Whitgift, and as he was proceeding from the King's presence to the dining hall he was seized with paralysis in his right side, which also seriously affected his powers of speech. In this dangerous state he was conveyed first to the Lord Treasurer's apartments, and afterwards in his own barge to Lambeth.

James was much shocked at this sad occurrence, and paid a visit in person to the Archbishop on the following Tuesday, when he endeavoured to comfort him, saying "that he would beg him of God in his prayers, which if he could obtain, he should think it one of the greatest temporal blessings that could be bestowed upon him." In vain did the dying Prelate struggle to express his thanks to his Sovereign, and to make known all his desires, for his speech was nearly gone, but there were three words which by frequent repetition, accompanied by the most earnest uplifting of his hands and eyes to heaven, were plainly heard, and they were these, "*Pro Ecclesia Dei—Pro Ecclesia Dei.*" James at once understood their meaning, viz., that they were the continuation and end of a petition he had so earnestly preferred when last in his presence, and that Whitgift with his last breath was commending the care of the national Church to himself as the then freshly crowned monarch of England and Scotland. The Archbishop spoke no more; and, finding on trial that he could write no more, with one deep sigh resigned himself to the will of the Almighty, by whom he was removed from this world, February 8th, 1603.

His funeral did not take place until the 27th of March, when his body was conveyed to Croydon for burial, attended by the Earl of Worcester and Lord Zouch as his banner-bearers, and many other distinguished personages; the Bishop of Worcester (Dr. Babbington), a former pupil of the Archbishop's at Trinity College, preaching the funeral sermon, his text being taken from 2 Chron. xxiv., 15, 16.

Such was the end of Archbishop Whitgift, who—living in the trying times of Mary and Elizabeth, when alternately the Roman Catholic and the Protestant faith prevailed in England—ever remained stedfast in those principles which he had conscientiously adopted as a boy; on the one hand he resisted the Puritan attacks of Cartwright and his party, who consequently reproached him in their libels with being a Papist, and called him the "Pope of Lambeth," and on the other he kept a vigilant eye upon the subtle machinations of the Romanists, being fully aware that they were expecting once more to obtain religious supremacy in England from the disunion so prevalent amongst their Protestant opponents; whereby Whitgift incurred their severest displeasure. We have seen, however, that he was strong in the favor of his Sovereign, towards whom he was enabled to exhibit his loyalty in a very signal

manner on several occasions; but especially did he do so during the insane rebellion of Essex, when he sent sixty of his men at arms fully equipped for the defence of the Queen's person. These were the first to enter Essex's house; and, under the command of the Lord Admiral, seized the rebellious Earl and brought him to Lambeth first, from whence he was conveyed to the Tower. This act reveals to us something of the state kept up by the Archbishops of England after the Reformation, when military aid, in case of need, was still expected from them by the Sovereign.

Whitgift had a large armoury and a number of cavalry horses; often mustering one hundred infantry, besides a troop of cavalry and fifty trained servants. This force was regularly drilled by skilful captains retained for that purpose, who instructed the men in the use of the "great horse," as it was then termed, and in their military duty generally. When the Archbishop made his triennial visitations to Kent, he was followed by two hundred of his own servants, and being joined in his progresses by the Gentlemen of that county, he usually entered Canterbury followed by eight hundred to one thousand horsemen. This fact will remind us of the state affected by Wolsey, as will also the scale of his entertainments—Whitgift often feasting the nobility, clergy, and gentry of his Province in the most sumptuous manner—when he was served by kneeling attendants, "as well for the upholding of the state that belonged unto his place, as for the better education and practice of his gentlemen and attendants in point of service." And they required practice, for every year the Archbishop entertained the Queen at one of his residences two or three times. He was always most graciously thanked for his services on such occasions; and Elizabeth, when she bade him farewell, usually praised the attention of his servants; and good humouredly termed him—perhaps from the frequency of her visits to him—her "black husband." The poor as well as the great often tasted the Archbishop's hospitality; and at Christmas his gates were open to all comers, when his hall tables were laid two or three times in succession for their entertainment. But he did far more than this for the poor, giving work, money, and fuel to the needy, boats to distressed watermen, implements to workmen.

Nor was he forgetful of the wants of poor struggling students, many of whom he boarded and taught in his own residence, and afterwards maintained at College. He had also a body of foreign ministers lodging in his Palace, whom he most kindly and patiently provided for, some at the recommendation of Beza, and others because of their distressed condition as refugees. His many official duties and his exalted position never caused him to lose sight of his own ministerial position as a Christian preacher, for rarely did a Sunday pass by without eliciting a sermon from his experienced lips. These were not unfrequently delivered in country parish churches near Croydon, or Canterbury, at an early hour, so as to enable the Archbishop to attend service in his own cathedral afterwards.

Whitgift was naturally passionate, but he succeeded in subduing that infirmity so effectually, that he was eventually remarkable for his patience and mildness; and perhaps from this moral conquest he took for his motto, very appropriately, the words, "VINCIT QUI PATITUR." The accompanying portrait is a remarkably accurate anastatic reproduction of a curious old print of Archbishop Whitgift, forming the frontispiece to his life, by Sir George Paule, Kt., published in 1612. The Society is indebted for this illustration to the Rev. C. Terrot's versatile and valuable skill as an artist.

The last Shadow of the Past connected with the history of this town that I shall endeavour to evoke, is one gathered from the first Charles' reign, relating to the Holles family.

The first member of it who had any connection with Lincolnshire was William Holles, mercer and alderman, of London, who purchased lands in the parishes of Irby-upon-Humber and Burgh-in-the Marsh, about the end of the fifteenth century. Afterwards he served as Sheriff of London, in 1527; and, during his shrievalty, bought the manor of Irby, and certain lands in Rothwell, Hundon, Nettleton, Humberstone, Normanby, Claxby, and Swallow, members of the manor of Burgh, the ancient patrimony of the Mallet family.

In 1539 William Holles was elected Lord Mayor of London, and, either now or before, was knighted. In this year he bought other lands in Burgh, of William Disney, of Norton, termed *Hardbeanthyng*, from their having previously belonged to a family of the name of Hardbean; also lands and tenements in Addlethorpe and Winthorpe, besides some in Moulton and Whaplode, of the Brackenbury family. Sir William died in 1542, leaving a widow (the daughter of John Scopham, Esq.); a daughter, married to John Widden, Justice of the King's Bench; and three sons, Thomas, a hopeless spendthrift; Francis, who died a youth; and William, the intermediate one, his father's heir, who was knighted after awhile. He married in 1537 the wealthy co-heiress of John Denzill, Esq., a sergeant-at-law, originally of Cornish extraction, but then seated at Houghton, Co. Notts., which thenceforth became his residence. After the death of his first wife, Sir William married Jane, daughter of Sir Robert Grosvenor, Knight, by whom he had no issue; but by the Denzill heiress he had a daughter and two sons, Denzill and Gervase. To the former, on his marriage in 1558 with Anne (or Eleanor), sister of John, Lord Sheffield, was assigned the manor of Irby, the advowson of its church, and lands in Caistor, Cadney, Humberstone, Rothwell, Hundon, Nettleton, Normanby, Claxby, and Swallow; to the latter the manor of Burgh, with its members in Addlethorpe, Winthorpe, Moulton, and Whaplode, &c. Sir William, after having served as a knight of the shires of Nottingham and Derby, *temp.* Elizabeth, and gained for himself the epithet of "Good," from his benevolent disposition, died in 1590-1, and was buried at Houghton, in the Denzill chapel, after charging his heir to erect a tomb therein, in memory of himself, his two wives, and children; also "to uphold, repayre, and mayntaine" the said chapel. The said heir was John, the son of Sir William's eldest

son Denzill, who had died a few months before his father; and this John subsequently became Baron Houghton and Earl of Clare. Gervase, the younger son of Sir William Holles, of Burgh, married the only daughter and heiress of Peter Freshville, of Stavely, in Derbyshire; where he lived until the beginning of the reign of James 1st, when he removed to Grimsby, where he died, aged 81, and was buried, after having been knighted some time previously.

Sir Gervase's son and heir, Freshville, resided in Grimsby, and married Elizabeth, the only child of of John Kingston, Esq., a leading personage of Grimsby, and a descendant of the Empynghams, formerly a rich merchant family of the borough. Their eldest and only surviving son was Gervase Holles, the historian and archæologian, born the 9th of March, 1606; whose mother died in childbed two years afterwards, and whose father died at Grimsby, May 10th, 1630, aged 55, before either of them saw their son crowned with those literary laurels, which, although somewhat faded now, are still green. He lived in troublous times, when men's minds were fearfully divided, and the call of patriotism sounded with uncertain notes generally; but Holles heard his orders distinctly; the voice of conscience led him to embrace the cause of his king with loving zeal.

He was a true gentleman, a scholar, and a very diligent student of architecture; in addition to which he was a most strenuous supporter of a scheme suggested by himself to improve the port of his native town, which, according to his own words, was then in a lamentable condition. He says, "She hath but one poore coalship, and scarce mariners in the town to man it—the haven hath been heretofore commodious, now decayed; the traffique good, now gone; the place rich and populous, the houses now mean and straggling by reason of depopulation; and the towne very poore." No wonder then that he was selected to represent the borough in Parliament in 1639, and was returned at the head of the poll, Sir John Jacob being his colleague. But he was a Cavalier, so that his proposal to obtain letters patent, and his other active measures taken for the deepening of Grimsby haven, were looked upon with mistrust by the opposite party; he was compelled also, previous to taking his seat, to enter into a bond that he would not throw any expense he might incur, as the representative of Grimsby, upon the borough. An odd reminiscence of Holles is contained in the Corporation minute-book of the same year. The Mayor and his brethren, the Aldermen and their wives the "Aldresses," as they were termed in the time of Queen Elizabeth, were compelled to attend divine service "in the order of their antiquity" on Sundays and holy days, under pain of fine for the omission. Whether the members for this borough were under the same restraint I know not, but Holles, the M.P., and Mr. Booth, the then Mayor, were accused of misconducting themselves on one of those occasions. Probably those functionaries were great friends, for one Richard Porter was fined 20d. in the Corporation Court for presuming to say that there were two Mayors of Grimsby—Mr. Holles and Mr. Booth

—but certainly they found themselves together in the same predicament in 1639; a Mr. Procter, on his oath in Court, declaring that William Paul Willett, Minister and Twelveman, required him, the said Samuel Procter, to present William Booth, the Mayor, and Gervase Holles, Esq., for laughing in church, or he would present him. As the troubles of King Charles's reign thickened, the names of Holles and his party were scarcely mentionable with safety; and it was considered so serious an insult to term a person a cavalier, that an alderman of the borough, one Mr. Sed, was disfranchised for applying that epithet to the then Mayor. But whatever the burgesses thought of the royal supporters, they had no very high opinion of their opponents, for they most discreetly took all the steps in their power to prevent their rents falling into the hands of either party.

In 1643 Holles was in arms "for his king, his country, and his religion," on his native soil of Lincolnshire; and under him served his young cousin, William, the only child of his uncle, Francis Holles, who had the command of two hundred foot soldiers. He was an interesting member of the family on two accounts; first, because he shared the literary tastes of his cousin, to whom he acted as amanuensis, and as such probably aided in the preparation of those manuscript volumes now in the British Museum, which are so valuable to all students of Lincolnshire history; and, secondly, because of his early death on the battle-field, at Muskham bridge, March 6th, 1643. This last sad event wrung from his distinguished cousin and commander, Gervase Holles, the following lament and vow: "*Gulielmus Holles (unica soboles patrui mei Francisci Holles, armigeri) qui dum Regi, et Patriæ, et Religioni, sub meo regimine, in quo ducentum peditum extitit, inservivit contra proditores et barbaros rebelles, prope pontem Muscham, juxta Newarke, et dum fortiter demicavit, occisus est, anno Domini* 1643, *aetatis suae vicessimo tertio. Saevissimi hostes, in hoc tantum mites ac urbani, corpus exanime, e medio occumbentium, citra Trentam auferentes, in ecclesia Winthorpiana, ob meritum fortitudinis, prolem hanc, et Martis et Musarum haud minimam, inhumarunt. Cujus memoriae, si pacem aliquando Deus dederit, monumentum voveo.*—G. Holles."

Another tribute of praise, in English verse, offered to the memory of this unfortunate young Holles, appears in his cousin's historic collections, commencing thus:

> "Treasure of Armes and Artes! in thee were sett,
> The sword and bookes, the Camp and Colledge met."[13]

When Holles was obliged to retire from public life during the Protectorate, he probably found far more happiness in pursuing his literary labours than he did in his political career. Then he visited all the churches and objects of interest in the county, of which he made very valuable notes, now preserved

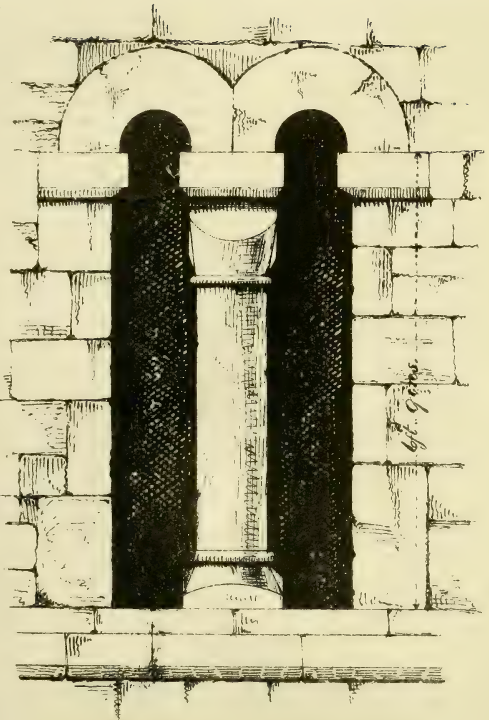
(13) The author desires to express his grateful acknowledgements to Mr. John Ross, of Lincoln, for the favour he has done in supplying much of the materials connected with the Holles pedigree, &c.

in the British Museum. Soon after the Restoration, Holles was appointed commissioner by Charles II., and again became member for this borough, when he removed to London, where he principally resided for the remainder of his life.

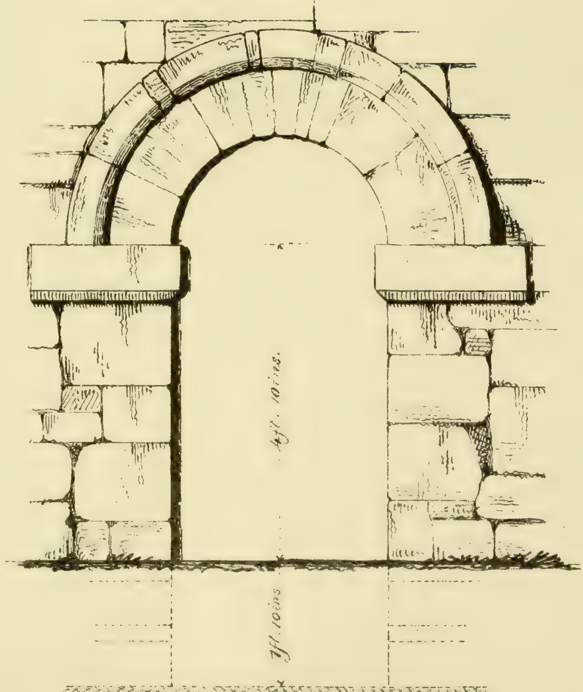
His portrait, forming the frontispiece to this little treatise, is taken from an original painting kindly lent to the Society by one of its patrons, his Grace the Duke of Portland, and was engraved at the expense of the late Richard Ellison, Esq., whose great liberality towards the Society the committee had the pleasure of announcing in the last year's volume, and is again enabled to repeat in the present one. The portrait was evidently taken in the declining years of Holles, when he had become very corpulent. But what a fund of information must still have remained within that too solid fleshy casing, and how ably would he still have filled the chair at any of our Architectural meetings, but especially at that at Grimsby!

In the following reign the name of Holles was again greatly distinguished in the person of Captain Frescheville Holles, the brave commander of the Cambridge, in the celebrated battle of Southwold, or Solebay, fought in 1672, when he fell gallantly fighting against the Dutch, having first contributed very materially by his daring bravery to secure that great national victory which eventually declared itself for the English.

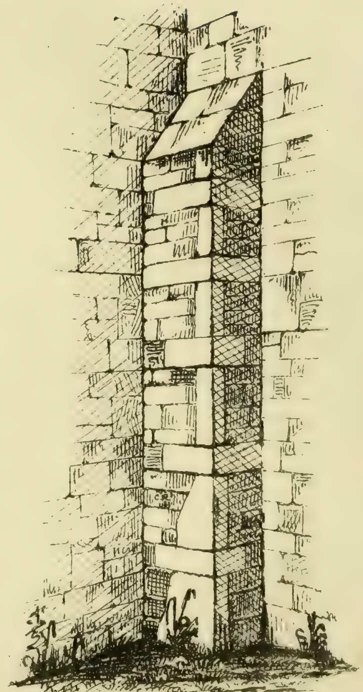
Here I must conclude my endeavour to recall such Shadows of the Past, connected with Grimsby and its history, as I thought might be most generally interesting on an occasion like the present. I have attempted to separate truth from fiction; I have alluded to the manner in which our forefathers endeavoured to secure their property and their privileges by means of deeds and charters, but how, nevertheless, formerly, "might very often made right," and pugnacious habits prevailed, where the arm of the law was feeble in maintaining justice. I have alluded to those two distinguished characters, Whitgift and Holles, whose names still shed lustre on that town wherein we are assembled. I have spoken of the munificence of the men of Grimsby when they enjoyed prosperity, as testified by the number and character of their architectural works, and also of the decadence of this town through the nearly total destruction of its port. It remains only for me to congratulate you upon the great change for the better that has taken place in the fortunes of Grimsby, and that its future prospects appear to be even still brighter than its present condition. May this reasonable expectation be realised; and may that day not be distant when a forest of masts shall clothe the tranquil waters enclosed within your magnificent dock, and your railway shall pant beneath the greatly increased burthens it is so well able, as well as willing, to bear!



Clee Church.
Belfry Window.



Scartho Church.
West Doorway.



Rothwell Church
Buttress.

On Saxon Architecture, and the Early Churches in the Neighbourhood of Grimsby. A Paper read at the Meeting of the Lincoln Diocesan Architectural Society, at Grimsby, May 25th, 1859. By GEORGE ATKINSON, M.A., Perpetual Curate of Stow.

THE subject of the following Paper has been announced in our Programme as "*On the Early Churches in the vicinity of Grimsby.*" The Churches particularly intended are those of *Scartho*, *Clee*, *Holton*, and *Waithe*, which have been visited in our excursion this day, and that of *Barton S. Peter*, which we hope to see tomorrow. It is not, however, to the entire fabrics of these churches, that I am about to ask your attention, but to the towers only, which are allowed on all hands to be of different structure and much more ancient than the churches themselves.

Had I been left to form, without assistance from others, my own individual opinion as to the era to which the erection of these towers is to be assigned, I should feel no hesitation whatever in ascribing them to the days of our Saxon forefathers. They have, however, by other and high authority, been pronounced to belong to that distant and very interesting period of our country's history.

There are other churches, at no great distance, portions of which are of the same character and date. I may mention among them, *Caistor*, *Rothwell*, *Cabourne*, *Nettleton*, and *Barnetby-le-wold*, which I have seen; and *Swallow*, and *Ropsley*, which I have not had the opportunity of examining; and, besides these, I have little doubt that portions of others may be found in this district belonging to the same family. Such there are in almost all parts of England, more especially along, and at no great distance from, the eastern coast. Some few years ago, when I had the pleasure of joining our friends of the Yorkshire Society at one of their Meetings, we found structures of exactly the same character as those now under consideration in the neighbourhood of Malton and Pickering, in the North Riding; amongst which were Hovingham and Middleton, besides the well known crypt at Lastingham, in early Saxon times the retreat of the venerable St. Chad—in whom we, by the way, as Lincolnshire men, may feel a special and local interest as the founder of a religious house at Barton, or perhaps Barrow, on Humber.

Reserving, for the present, any further remarks on these particular churches, I propose to enter into some enquiry as to *Saxon Church Architecture* in general, and indeed to make this the main subject of my Paper.

It is a subject of great interest; but, from distance of time, our knowledge of it is necessarily limited and obscure. So much has this been considered to be the case, that great doubts have existed whether we knew anything at all about it; and indeed it has even been doubted whether such a thing as *Saxon Architecture* ever had an

existence. In but recent days, though scarcely now, our Saxon ancestors have been regarded by some as incapable, from sheer want of art and civilization, of erecting a church, except something about equal to the "wattle and daub" structures with which our missionaries have to commence their efforts at church-building in the out-settlements, and among the Kaffirs, of South Africa.

Such suppositions were unquestionably founded in ignorance and error, as we shall presently see when we come to enquire into the form and materials of Saxon churches; but these ideas were in part the result of another error, of an opposite nature. Some half century ago, or less—in fact, before the revival of knowledge and true taste in church architecture—all churches having the round arch, and the other forms usually accompanying that arch, were called Saxon. In almost any book written about that time, describing a church, you will find this to be the case. But when careful investigation and study had taken the place of mere supposition, many of those structures in which the round arch occurs were ascertained—in some cases by the actual date inscribed on the building itself, as at *Clee*, in others by documentary or historical evidence—to have been built, not in Saxon, but subsequently in Norman times; and then, reasoning from analogy, the sound and safe conclusion was arrived at, that other churches, of the date of whose erection no record had been preserved, but which were marked by the same peculiarities of structure and ornament, must be of the same date. Had the correction of previous error stopped here, all had been well; but, as is too often the case in other matters besides architecture, the avoiding of error in one direction is liable to throw us off for a time into the opposite extreme. Our ecclesiologists and antiquaries escaped from Scylla only to fall into Charybdis. The pendulum took now an equally long swing to the contrary side. *Before*, all round-arched buildings were Saxon, *now* they were all Norman. There was no Saxon at all. "The Saxons could not build a church. They had no architecture." Such was the progress of error on this point. But patient research by many minds, and in various places, at length led to other and truer conclusions. It appeared from a careful examination of our most ancient churches, *i.e.*, those in which the pointed arch does not occur, that—though the round arch was common to them all, and consequently they might be considered as all of the same genus, so to speak—there were at the same time marked peculiarities of structure or ornamentation, which separated them into distinct species.

And, if we reflect on the origin of Saxon and Norman architecture, this is just what we should be led to expect. For, whence did they arise? It is not to be supposed that our Saxon forefathers brought with them from the forests of Germany any native style of their own; certainly not any *church* architecture, inasmuch as they were then barbarian pagans. As little could the tribes of Northmen who settled in Normandy have done so. Where, then, did they find it? They found existing, in fact, in their new homes a style, and one and the same style, of architecture. For Gaul and Britain had been for

several centuries before their arrival, and almost up to the time of their arrival, in the occupation of the Romans, who had introduced their architecture as well as the other arts of civilized life. Here, then, in the structures of the Romans, we have the origin of Saxon and Norman architecture. These peoples found in the countries to which they came, standing before their eyes, examples of architecture, one and the same in style ; and from that one common type their own structures, in after times, took their form.

The Saxons, in their pagan state, without doubt laid waste and ruined the churches of the Christian Britons whom they drove out before them ; but still, in very many cases the walls would remain standing, and when they themselves became converts to the Christian faith, they would restore existing churches, and build others in the same general style.

Indeed, we are not left to conjecture or mere probability on this point. It is expressly recorded by Stephen Eddy, in his life of Bishop Wilfrid, that in his sermon, preached on occasion of the dedication of the minster which he had just built at Ripon (about the year 670), that prelate—commending the zeal and liberality of the princes and nobles of Northumbria in the assistance they had rendered him towards the building of that church—called their attention to "the old British churches, which were still lying waste "about the country where they dwelt," exhorting them to go on with the good work of restoring and endowing them.

In these existing Roman and British structures we find, then, the origin and the type of Saxon architecture, of which we know that the round arch was a prominent feature, and that the details were imitations of the classical styles. Such was the case in France, and in Italy likewise. As time went on there was a gradual divergence, in each country—as was natural—from the original models, and from each other; so that, while preserving the old family likeness in the main features, varieties of detail became sufficiently developed to distinguish the several branches of the parent stem from each other. This community of origin and general character, combined with variety in details, has been happily pointed out by the term *Romanesque*, generally applied in common to all these developments, or debasements, of Roman architecture.

From these introductory remarks we proceed to enquire into the general form, size, and materials of Saxon churches, and such details as can now be ascertained. The sources of information open to us are three. 1. Churches of that period existing in part at the present time. 2. Allusions to, or descriptions of churches by writers of those ages. 3. A third source from which some knowledge may be derived, are architectural embellishments found in Saxon manuscripts.

As to form and size, nearly all the remains of Saxon architecture are found in churches of small size, and almost always in rural parishes. The reason of this is obvious. In places where wealth and population increased considerably, the original churches were pulled down in order to be rebuilt on a larger scale. In those few

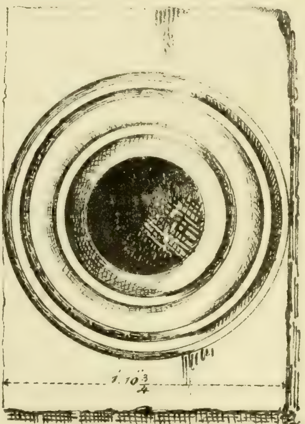
instances where Saxon remains are found in our town churches, it is usually in the tower only, which would not interfere with the necessary enlargement. As to Saxon *parish* churches, we may safely conclude that they were, for the most part, of comparatively small size, corresponding as well to the means as to the wants of those who built them. In form they were much the same as in the later styles, consisting of a tower, a nave—usually, as in the earliest Norman churches, without aisles—and a chancel. We have remaining at the present day, in one instance or another, portions of Saxon work in each of these component parts of a church. Of towers, we have not a few; those seen to-day are a sufficient proof. In the nave of Barnetby-le-Wold the whole of the south wall appears to be of Saxon date, and the eastern walls on each side of the opening into the chancel certainly are so, and probably some part of the chancel itself may turn out to be Saxon. I am not aware of any portion of an existing chancel in this district of Saxon structure, except it be the older chancel arch at Cabourne, for there are two, the one round, the other pointed; but such there are in other parts of England. The towers usually stood at the west end; but *sometimes* in small churches, and probably almost always in the large churches, they were central, standing over the intersection of the nave and transepts. Waithe is an example of a small church with a central tower.

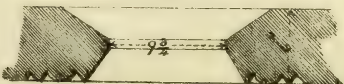
The *Cross* form, there is little doubt, for larger churches, especially those of bishops' sees and monasteries, was the regular plan.

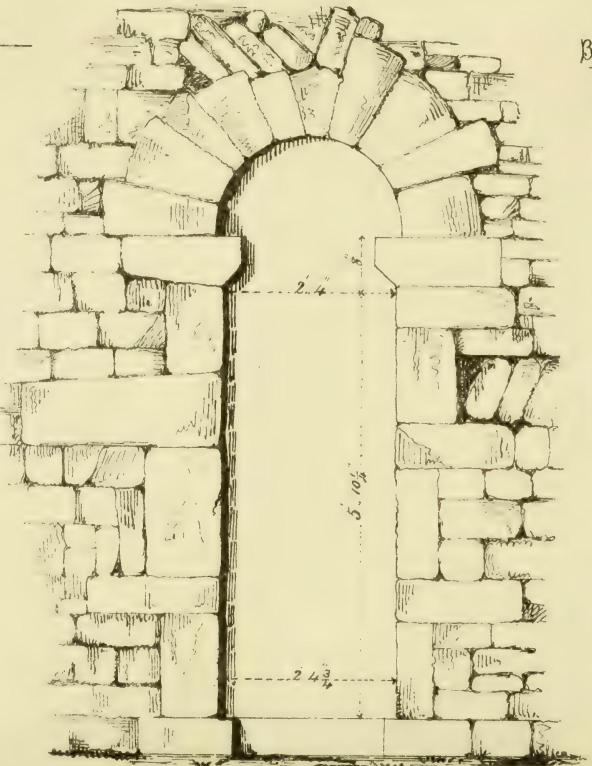
As to Saxon architecture in general, Fergusson, in his *Handbook*, allowing scarcely two pages to the whole subject, remarks; "The "remains of it are so few and insignificant that it is difficult to say "exactly what it was. It is true 120 churches are enumerated in "the last edition of Rickman, which shew traces more or less dis-"tinct of this style; but among these there is no one instance of a "complete Saxon church built before the Conquest. In some there "is a tower, in others a fragment of walling, in others only a door "or window. These scattered remains suffice to enable us to assert "that the style was rude, and the details clumsy, as compared with "the few specimens that remain upon the Continent of the Carlo-"vingian era. . . Had any of the cathedrals of the Saxon epoch "survived to the present day it might perhaps tend to modify this "opinion; but every one of these was rebuilt, either during the "Norman or subsequent periods, and not one vestige of their super-"structure remains."

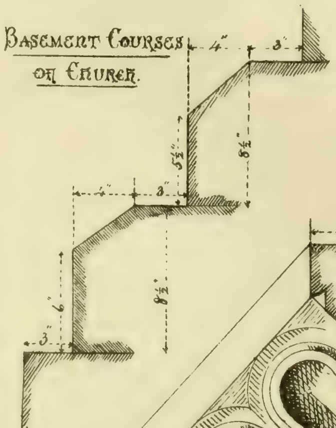
It is quite true, as this learned writer remarks, that there is no complete Saxon church now existing. It is not, however, quite true with reference to the Saxon cathedrals, that *every one* of these has been rebuilt, and that *not one vestige of their superstructure remains*. In one single instance, though not generally known to architectural writers, there does remain an integral portion of a Saxon cathedral, and this is certainly sufficient to modify so mean an opinion of their architecture as the one I have just quoted. And it is the singular privilege of the diocese of Lincoln to possess this

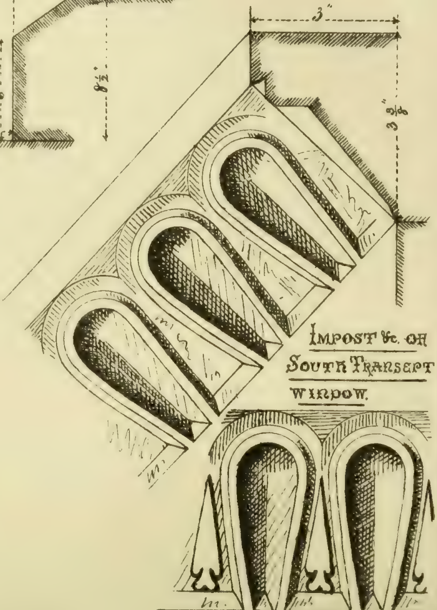
S. Mary's Church: Stow.
Lincolnshire


1' 10¾"
Elevation.


9¾
Plan.
Circular Window.


2' 4"
8"
5' 10¼"
2' 4¾"
Doorway on West Side of N Transept.


Basement Courses of Church.
4"
3"
5½"
8½"
6"


3"
8½"
3⅜"
Impost &c. of South Transept Window.

sole remaining relic, above ground, of a Saxon cathedral. I refer to the transept of what is now the parish church of Stow, which, round the entire circuit of the walls—including also the central piers and arches which supported the tower—is undoubtedly a part of the original cathedral of Lindsey, erected at the foundation of the see in the seventh century. The original walls may be traced up to a considerable height. Above, they have been rebuilt; yet still, as is evident from the style of the later portion, in Saxon times. The original nave and choir no longer exist, having been utterly ruined by the Danes, most probably in the year 870. The existing nave dates from a little before the Conquest; the choir is the work of Bishop Remigius, shortly after. The older nave must, from its ascertained width, have had side-aisles, divided in the usual way from the centre by rows of pillars and arches. The choir had probably a south aisle, but none on the north side. The length of the existing church, from east to west, is 150 feet. The original nave was, from its width, probably considerably longer than the present one. The transept is in length from north to south about 90 feet. The walls are 35 feet high, and could not have been less at first. The construction, and in part the materials, may be called rude, when compared with the later styles; but their massiveness and solidity, together with the largeness of their scale, are well calculated to impress the beholder, and to raise his ideas of the works of that era.

Besides this sole remaining example of what a Saxon cathedral was, we have, secondly, descriptions of some few others or allusions to them. That of Canterbury, before it was rebuilt by Lanfranc in 1070 A.D., appears to have had a double apse, *i.e.*, a round or many sided termination eastward, like those of Germany; and it had side entrances on the north and south.

The church at York, built for the baptism of King Edwin in 627, was of timber; but after his baptism he immediately began to erect a larger church of stone. This was not completed till the reign of Oswald, his successor. It was new roofed with lead, and the windows furnished with glass by Bishop Wilfrid later in the same century. This church was replaced by another under Abp. Albert, who died in 782. Of this the famous Alcuin was one of the architects. It is described as having been several years in building, and as a very handsome structure, lofty, with an arched roof supported by strong columns, and having several porches.

The church which Bishop Wilfrid finished at Ripon in 670 is described as "built of polished stone, with columns curiously orna-"mented, and porches."

Thirdly. Having thus glanced—and time does not suffice for more than a glance—at actual examples of Saxon buildings, and at descriptions by contemporary writers, it remains just to notice the third source of information I have alluded to, viz., Illustrations from illuminated Saxon manuscripts. While it is probable that some scope would be given to the fancy in these Illuminations, still they must exhibit a general resemblance to the structures which they in part depict. Rickman gives a page of illustrations from Ælfric's

Saxon version of the Pentateuch, which display several of the features we find in Saxon churches—as the round and straight-sided arch, the double arch, the swelling balustre shaft, capitals with the curl or volute, and arcading, combining the round and triangular arch.

An illustration from Coedmon's metrical paraphrase, a manuscript of the 9th century, represents a portion of the arcade of a church, *i.e.* the pillars and arches between centre and side aisles, with a clerestory window above.

On the whole, we may safely conclude that the Saxon cathedrals and other churches of the largest class were edifices of very considerable magnitude, of the cross-form, having a nave with rows of round arches opening into aisles on each side, and supported by columns, square or cylindrical in form, with bases and capitals—a tower at the intersection of the arms of the cross, and a choir eastward; the same plan, in short, which pervaded the Norman, and all the subsequent styles, as we see them at the present day.

The smaller churches were sometimes cruciform; but more generally with a western tower, nave without aisles, and chancel eastward.

In reference to *materials* and construction, many modern writers have spoken of the Saxons before the Conquest as having only *wooden* churches. But if we had not proof to the contrary from contemporary history, and from actually existing structures, the evidence of Domesday Book alone is quite conclusive against such a notion. In that Record, referring to the state of things in Edward the Confessor's reign, many hundred of churches are mentioned. In Lincolnshire only, from two to three hundred. In a very few instances it is noted, and this as something unusual—that there is a *wooden* church. This is the rare exception to the general rule. The material, then, was stone; and in some places, where Roman structures had previously existed, Roman bricks or building tiles are found intermixed with the stone, generally for bonding, and sometimes for turning arches. The mass of the walls (which are generally about three feet thick, but sometimes more), is of rubble, *i.e.*, of unwrought stones, irregular in form and rather small in size, and not built in courses. The quoins or projecting corners are commonly formed of large blocks of hewn stone, roughly wrought; and there is one peculiar feature which, though not occurring in every Saxon building, yet is, wherever found, a distinctive mark of Saxon work—I refer to the arrangement of the ashlar work, or hewn stone, in that peculiar way which is called *long and short work*, *i.e.*, when the stones are placed alternately flat and on their ends. This kind of work is found at the angles of buildings; in the jambs, or sides, of doorways and windows; and in those projecting pilaster slips with which the plain surfaces of Saxon buildings are sometimes found ornamented. In some cases the long and short work is very regular in size and arrangement; in others, though still traceable, much less uniform.* Another

* See Illustration.

feature of Saxon work is the absence of projecting buttresses, used in the subsequent styles for strength as well as ornament. These are never found in buildings of Saxon structure. In the Norman style there are buttresses, but of very slight projection, seldom more than six or eight inches, and these were used rather for the purpose of breaking the surface of the walls than for additional strength. In the succeeding styles, as the buttress grew deeper the walls grew thinner, the buttress being placed just at the point where support was chiefly needed.

The Roof. There is not, of course, at this day, any woodwork of Saxon date. We cannot say anything, therefore, with certainty, as to the form and construction of Saxon roofs. They would, no doubt, be constructed in a simple but very substantial manner, of oak timber, of which there was everywhere a superabundance. Some have supposed that the pitch or slope of their roofs was low; on the contrary, it was more probably very steep. It certainly was so in the contemporary churches of Ireland, and *here* in the Norman era. How their roofs were covered is another question. Did they use for the purpose lead, or slate, or thatch, or boards? I am not aware of any evidence in favour of the use of slate; though the Normans certainly used a heavy kind of slate, and it is probable that the Saxons did. As to *lead*, there is positive testimony to its use for the covering of churches, as at York by Wilfrid, at Wearmouth by Benedict Biscop; and a curious and interesting proof of it came to light a few years ago at Stow, when in clearing out the transept down to the original level, lumps of lead were found three feet below the Norman floor, which must have dropped off the roof in a melted state when the church was set on fire by the Danes—most likely during their great inroad of A.D. 870. It is a probable opinion that thatch and boards or shingles of oak were used as a covering for smaller churches, though I do not know of any positive testimony to that effect.*

Whether the Saxons ever constructed stone vaulting as an inner roof over their churches is perhaps doubtful, though the description of Abp. Albert's minster at York (before quoted), that it had "*an* "*arched roof supported on strong columns*," may seem to imply as much. Some Irish churches of that age, now partly in ruins, have stone vaulted roofs of what is called the waggon or barrel form. There is no appearance of it now, nor could there, I think, ever

* Since this Paper was written, I have met with the following passage in Bede's Ecclesiastical History, chapter xxv., at the beginning, quoted also in Leland's *Collectanea*, vol. iii., p. 142:

"Finan, who succeeded Aidan as Bishop of Lindisfarne, built a church in that "island, suitable for a Bishop's Cathedral; which yet he constructed in the *Scottish* "fashion, (Aidan and Finan were both of them Scots), not of stone, but wholly of hewn "oak, thatching it with reeds: which Eadbert, Bishop of the place, having taken off the "reeds, covered entirely, that is, both roof and walls, with sheets of lead."

Finan was consecrated Bishop in A.D. 652; Eadbert, in 688.

This place of the Venerable Historian curiously illustrates our subject, shewing as it does,—1. That it was the usage of the Scots to construct their churches, even cathedrals, of wood. 2. That, by necessary inference, the English manner was to build churches of stone. 3. That reeds or thatch were used as coverings for the roof. 4. That lead was also in use, for the same purpose.

have been, a vaulting over the Saxon transept at Stow. Still, as the Saxons formed crypts under their churches, they must have been acquainted with the art of constructing vaulted roofs.

As to the flooring of their churches, paving with stone is so obvious a mode that we can scarcely doubt that it was in use ; but, from some discoveries at Stow, it might appear that the floor was sometimes formed of a kind of concrete, or mixture of sand, lime, and bits of stone.

Little or nothing is known as to the interior fittings of Saxon churches, or whether they had any kind of pews or seats. The old custom of strewing the church floor with rushes before winter probably came down from these early times. The *Communion Tables* in the Saxon churches are said to have been almost always of wood; and that these were supplanted by stone altars in the time of Abps. Lanfranc and Anselm, when the then new doctrine of Transubstantiation began to take root in the English Church.

Church Bells were certainly then in use. Alfric, Abp. of York, presented two of very large size to Stow, in the early part of the eleventh century, bestowing a pair of the same mould on each of the minsters of Beverley and Southwell: these three churches being then undergoing restoration after the ravages of the Danish wars.

The *Doorways* of the Saxons were comparatively small and plain, but very tall in proportion to their width.* The arch springs from a massive projecting abacus, or impost, chamfered on the under side ; it is generally open, but sometimes filled up by a solid stone tympanum, as at Cabourne and Rothwell. One peculiarity of Saxon work is a straight-sided or triangular arch, of which there are examples at Barton, both in door and window.

The *Windows* were narrow, and mostly small on the outside, but very widely splayed within, so as to admit much light. The jambs or sides are sometimes of long and short work, and the arch is commonly hollowed out of a single stone. They were generally set high in the wall. It was a mistake to suppose—as it has been supposed —that Saxon windows were generally set in the middle of the thickness of the wall, and splayed both ways. The glass is almost always near the outside, and the splay wholly within. There was another form of Saxon windows, viz., a small circle cut through a single stone : examples are found in the Saxon tower of St. Benedict at Cambridge, and at Stow there must have been several such. Some are to be seen built into the present tower, and one in its original position in the nave.*

To revert for a short time to the Saxon churches of this neighbourhood.

The towers of Scartho, Clee, and Holton are of one form and age ; each divided into a lower and upper stage by a projecting string course, and all exhibiting the usual features which, as we have seen, belong to Saxon work—as quoins of large size, rubble walling, western doorways, tall and narrow—the rough massive im-

* See Illustration.

post—a compound arch, *i.e.* of two rows of arch stones, the upper projecting over the lower, as the weather moulding or label does in the later styles. The towers open into the naves through lofty massive archways of similar character and proportions to the outer doorways. The highest, or belfry stage, of these towers, has on each face a double window. In the middle the arches rest on a single stone* extending through the thickness of the wall, and this again is supported by a round or angular shaft, bearing an impost of peculiar character, resting on which is the long stone just mentioned. At Scartho, on this impost is sculptured an ornament or moulding, which is never found, I believe, but in work of the Saxon period. I have never seen it named or noticed in architectural books. In outline it has much the shape of a Jew's harp.* It is found on the oldest parts of Stow church; on the impost of the belfry window of St. Peter at Gowts, Lincoln; on a string course in the east end of the nave at Barnetby-le-wold; and on the face of the arch at Nettleton, near Caistor. This ornament—being distinctively Saxon —identifies the tower of Scartho, up to its top, as of that era; and as the others, though without this ornament, are in all other respects like Scartho, we get their age too. Waithe, as we have seen, has its tower between the nave and chancel; it has now no transepts, the north and south arches being blocked up. The masonry is hidden by plaster, and thus its precise character cannot be ascertained; but there can be no doubt of its belonging to the same period as its three near neighbours.

I am not disposed to assign the erection of these towers to an early period of the Saxon era. There are some indications of still earlier churches having stood on their sites. For instance, at Scartho the basement courses of the tower on the south side shew signs of fire, indicating that a still older tower, once standing on those foundations, had been burnt and destroyed; and in the west wall of the same church on the north side, there is, I have little doubt, a fragment of the older structure still standing in what was once an exterior angle. It is formed of huge blocks of the brownish sandstone used in the original structure of these churches. There is a similar fragment of the older church at Rothwell, but there on the south side, and, in this case, of long and short work.*

The nave of Clee church is valuable for the purpose of our enquiry, because, being of Norman date, it presents the two styles in striking contrast, and can leave no doubt of the earlier date of the tower.

My own impression is, with respect to these towers, that they were rebuilt in the later part of the tenth or early in the eleventh century, the earlier churches having been ruined in the Danish wars. And it is interesting to conceive the Danes, who in their pagan state were the authors of the ruin, now, as converts to the Christian faith, joining with their Saxon brethren, as these also had done in a still earlier age, in repairing the havoc they had made—

* See Illustration.

like, in this, to that great Apostle to whom, there is every reason to believe, we owe the first planting of the Christian Church in Britain, who after his conversion laboured so earnestly to preach the faith which, while a Jewish persecutor, he had endeavoured to destroy.

The tower of St. Peter's at Barton is of a different type from those we have seen to-day—much more elaborate in its character, and, I am inclined to think, of a much earlier date. If so, it is not easy to account for its having escaped destruction or serious injury during the Danish invasions.

It is of three stages or stories; the lowest on the south side ornamented by rows of arches and pilaster slips of two heights,—the lower arches round, the upper triangular. In the lowest stage there is a double belfry window with round arches, supported in the middle by a swelling balustre shaft; and there is a round headed doorway below. The second stage has also on the south side a double window, but the arches here are triangular or straight sided. The top stage of this tower is of later date. Rickman considers it clearly Norman. A careful examination has led me to think it may have been added just before the Conquest. This tower is worthy of close observation. It exhibits the long and short masonry of the Saxons in great perfection on the exterior, and the eastern and western archways inside are really grand in their way. There is the singular, and so far as I know in this country, the unique feature attached to the western side of this tower, of a building clearly coeval with the tower itself, the most likely use of which was for a Baptistery. It is to be regretted that in the improvements which have been recently effected, the soil round this tower has not been lowered so as to shew the basement courses, a grand feature in all probability buried underneath.

I must now bring this *long*—and I fear you must have so felt it from its length—*tedious* Paper to a close; and I will do so with a very few general remarks.

I trust we are all satisfied from what has been adduced that our Saxon forefathers had an architecture. It was plain and simple, it is true—*rude* if you will; but it was good of its kind; and I have no hesitation in saying that any one who carefully examines it will be convinced that, for what it attempted, it is as well constructed as any work of the present or of any other day.

It had, like its builders themselves, at least the characteristic of strength and solidity. The fact of so much of it outlasting all the changes of a thousand years bears witness to that.

Rude and unlettered as these our distant ancestors may have been *in other respects,* one good lesson they had learnt—not to wish to serve God with what cost them little or nothing. They were animated by the noble, the truly religious principle of giving God *their best.* Unlike the degenerate Jews, who were reproached by the Prophet of old as dwelling in their ceiled houses while the House of God was lying waste, our ancestors of those times made

it their first and chiefest care to build and to adorn God's house, content themselves to dwell in habitations of frailest materials and lowliest fashion—thus practically confessing that they were but as strangers and pilgrims on the earth; while the characteristics of stability and endurance were impressed, where alone they really have place, on the house and on the things of God.

But these remains, interesting as they must be felt to be by every intelligent mind—as relics of a long past era in the history of our country, and of that particular race of our ancestors from whom many of the most valuable of our institutions and of our national characteristics are thought to be derived—these remains will have a far deeper interest with the thoughtful and earnest members of the Church of England; they will be venerated and cared for as a part of the sacred inheritance handed down to us from the earlier days of our Church—of that Church first planted on these shores by Apostolic hands, and so wonderfully preserved even to the present day—undergoing in successive ages fiery trials of persecution from pagan Roman, Saxon, and Dane—converting successively its persecutors to become confessors and martyrs themselves; oppressed again by Norman conquerors, and patiently suffering, till they too were mingled and lost in one common race with the conquered; afterwards, enslaved by papal tyranny, and corrupted by its pernicious errors from primitive truth and simplicity; till, by God's goodness, freedom and truth were *once more and, we trust, finally* recovered at the Reformation. This it is which gives to these remains of our earliest ecclesiastical structures their deepest interest and their highest value. To protect and preserve these and the other ancient and beautiful houses of prayer which we inherit from our elders in the faith, seems to be one great part of the providential vocation of our generation. A happy and a glorious work it is, in which you of this town have been privileged to bear your part; to our children, perhaps, may be allotted by the same good Providence the still happier task of healing the breaches of the *spiritual* fabric, and, as living stones built on the foundation of one faith, and joined together by the firm cement of a Divine charity, thus to grow into a holy temple acceptable to the Lord.

P.S.—The writer of the foregoing Paper may be permitted to add that the Meeting held at Stamford, in September last, afforded those members of the Lincoln Society who joined their Northampton brethren on that occasion, the opportunity of seeing one of the most interesting and complete Saxon churches probably existing at the present time—that of Wittering. Here the original plan and dimensions—though somewhat obscured at first sight by the subsequent addition of a north aisle—are completely preserved, as is shown by the long and short masonry on the exterior angles of both nave and chancel walls. The chancel-arch here, with its piers, is a most striking and characteristic specimen of the style, and very similar in type to the Saxon tower-arches and piers at Stow.

The Danes in Lincolnshire. A Paper read at the Grimsby Meeting of the Lincoln Diocesan Architectural Society, May 25th, 1859. By the REV. EDWARD TROLLOPE, F.S.A., Rector of Leasingham.

THE number of national inflictions which England has experienced from the beginning of its known history to the present time, would probably greatly differ in the opinion of most persons; but in the days of Henry II. these visitations were usually pronounced to have been *five,* namely—the dominion of the Romans, the inroads of the Picts and Scots, the Saxon subjugation, the incursions of the Danes, and the Norman conquest.[1]

It is to the fourth of these that I am proposing to advert on the present occasion, in consequence of our now being assembled in that portion of the kingdom where the once deeply dreaded Danes for a considerable period held a fierce and uncompromising sway over the humbled Saxons of Lindisse, until a fusion between the two races had to a certain extent taken place, and another power—that of William of Normandy—had gathered force to throw itself successfully on the land of the commingled races of the Kelt, the Roman, the Saxon, and the Dane.

The earliest inhabitants of England were no doubt the Kelts, a portion of the numerous Kimmerian or Kimbrian tribes, coming from Thrace, or the borders of the Bosphorus, a distinct trace of whose name was long retained by the term *Cymri* given to the people of Wales, and *Cumbria* to one of our northern counties.[2] Upon the landing on this island of the Gaulish portion of these Kelts, or *Britons,* as they were afterwards usually called, they found it inhabited only by the old British cattle, bears, wolves, and beavers, according to a Welsh Triad (*I. Archæol.*, ii., *p.* 57); so that they had every right to the possession of its soil. Before the arrival of the Romans, this ancient people had greatly multiplied; and Cæsar found our island thickly inhabited when he visited it. It was then termed *Prydain,*[3] as a whole; but its eastern portion, from the Humber southwards, of which Lincolnshire formed a part, was called *Lægr,* after *Læcrinus,* the son of Brutus.[4] Under the Roman occupation of Britain our Lincolnshire forefathers were termed *Coritani* by their conquerors, and appear to have formed a portion of, or to have been intimately associated with, the *Iceni* of Norfolk and Suffolk, whose territory was included in the province of Flavia Cæsariensis.

But another human wave was preparing to sweep over our soil before the Romans retired from it, a race eventually destined to produce far more marked and permanent results upon the character of its population, although not calculated to astonish us with an equal amount of such mighty works of art and proofs of indomitable

will as attended the Roman career in Britain. This was the *Teutonic* tide, originally rising on the borders of the Caspian, and afterwards advancing across the centre of Europe in a north-westerly direction. A portion of this stream, termed the *Saxons*, at length reached the Cymbric peninsula, where, dispossessing its former inhabitants, they gradually peopled Zutland, Schleswick and Holstein, as also the islands of North Strandt, Busen, and Heligoland or Heiligland.[5] Not content, however, with the territory they had thus boldly wrested from its earlier proprietors, the Saxons were in the habit of making such frequent incursions on the coast of England, as well as of Belgium and Gaul, as to compel the Roman government to equip a fleet at Boulogne for the especial purpose of repelling their attacks ; which fleet was placed under the command of the celebrated Carausius ;[7] a land force was also raised for the same purpose, whose chief was termed "Count of the Saxon Shore."

For two hundred years had a series of petty invasions been carried on by the Saxons before the landing of Hengist and Horsa at Ebbes Fleet; and sometimes these had assumed a serious aspect, as when in A.D. 368, combining with the Picts, Scots, and Attacottians, they slew Nectaridus, the Roman commander of the Saxon shore, and defied several of his successors ; until Valentinian sent Theodosius as a commander, who completely subdued them for a time.

After the departure of the Romans, however, the Saxons by degrees took possession of the greater part of Britain ; but it was one hundred and thirty years before the Heptarchy, or perhaps we may say the Octarchy,[6] of that people was established, Hengist founding the kingdom of Kent in 457, Ella that of Sussex in 477 ; Cerdic, Wessex, in 495 ; certain chiefs, Essex, in 530 ; and others, East Anglia, about the same date ; Ida, Bernicia, in 547 ; Ella, Deira, in 559 ; and, last of all, Mercia was founded in 586.

Of the three Teutonic peoples combining in the invasion of England, the Saxons established themselves in the south, excepting Kent, the Isle of Wight, and part of the adjoining Hampshire coast, which were seized by the Jutes from South Jutland ; while the Angles, from the district of Anglen in Sleswick, settled themselves in the northern and midland portions of our island. Thus Lincolnshire was undoubtedly a portion of the Anglian province of Mercia.[8]

Deep must have been the sufferings of the Britons at this time, although for the most part unrecorded. Their faith in Christ, which at least some of them had embraced, derided by the fierce heathen conquerors of their land, their dominion lost, their hunting grounds seized, their persons enslaved ; by flight alone could they save themselves from a grinding tyranny, and perhaps from a cruel death. Many, therefore, fled from the scene of their birth and from their lawful inheritance, to the mountains of Wales, and to the remote wilds of Cumberland and Cornwall ; nor did some feel themselves secure until they had placed the sea between themselves and their oppressors by emigrating to Bretagne,[9] a fact still attested by its name. Attacking the Britons on all sides, the Saxons gradually

drove away like wild beasts, from the confines of their several kingdoms, all the aborigines, except such as they converted into slaves and drudges. Yet these retired before their invaders only by slow degrees, fought with them often and obstinately, and were occasionally victorious even long after that period when this country had assumed a national Saxon character; thus Exeter was only lost to the Britons so late as the reign of Athelstan; and Gloucester, Cirencester, and Bath not until A.D. 571; whilst they obtained a signal victory over the people of Wessex, at Wanborough, in 581.

But a great change was now at hand; the holy leaven of Christianity was about to exercise its benignant influence over the Saxon kingdoms of Britain, under the auspices of the good, as well as great Gregory of Rome, and through the instrumentality of Augustine; Ethelbert of Kent and his subjects having embraced Christianity in 596—a happy precedent, which was by degrees followed by all the other Saxon princes of England and their people, of whom, Edwin of Deira introduced Christianity into Yorkshire in 627, and into Lincolnshire shortly afterwards—as will perhaps be remembered from the treatise on that subject I had the pleasure of bringing before your notice in 1857. The continental Saxons, however, still remained in their heathen condition, until Charlemagne took some steps to forward their conversion; and we find from an exceedingly interesting letter, written by that emperor to Offa, our Saxon king of Mercia, in 777, that his efforts had met with some success, and that he offered his protection and every encouragement to all pilgrims engaged in Christian missionary work.[10]

It was well that the Saxons had secured some consolation for themselves, which no man could take from them, for great troubles were at hand; and as they had harried the Britons, driven them out with fire and sword from their hereditary lands, or else had enslaved them—so, now they, in their turn, were about to experience a plague, which, though not of great moment apparently at first, yet eventually afflicted the whole Saxon territory, and was most severely felt, more or less, by its entire population. This plague was the Danish Invasion.

Prodigies foreboding the advent of the Danes are said by our old chroniclers to have preceded the arrival of that people; and, amongst others, there was this reported; that men's clothing appeared marked mysteriously with the symbol of the Cross, in token that they were, by repentance, to prepare for the coming visitation.[11] But why were the Danes to be so deeply and so justly dreaded? They were Teutons from Denmark and Norway, of the same race with the Saxons of Britain; and yet they were about to rob, to burn, to slay, without pity and without remorse, their brother Teutons, who still used nearly the same language, dress, and arms that they did themselves. Such an act demands a reason for its perpetration; and we shall find on enquiry that there were two principal causes leading to this result. First, *Necessity:* and secondly, a *Difference as to the religious faith of the two peoples.*

As the Saxons had been, in some measure at least, compelled to leave the shores of Northern Germany through the inconvenient increase of their numbers,[12] so, towards the close of the 8th century, Denmark found that she could no longer support her enlarging population with the scanty produce of her northern soil.[13] Hence, her boldest and most daring sons—already in the habit of entrusting themselves to their vessels with as much confidence as that wherewith they trod their mother earth—sought the coasts of more southern countries, whence corn, cattle, and spoil of various kinds could readily be carried off by brave adventurers like themselves. Nor had they any scruple in committing such wrong and such robbery upon the English soil; for, although there existed a tie of blood between themselves and the Saxons, an event had occurred tending to fill their hearts with mingled feelings of contempt and hatred towards their kinsmen, instead of with sympathy and affection. The Saxons no longer believed in Odin, in the glory reserved in Valhalla for the shedders of blood, in the banquets prepared for the brave, in the future delight of drinking beer and strong liquors out of thè skulls of their enemies. No, they were a renegade race, who showed mercy and pity, believed in some new and strange superstition, whose warriors had become women, whose women could never become mothers of braves, whose children were only fit to be hurled in sport from one true hero's spear-head to another, whose temples ought to be consigned to the flames.

At first small parties of the Danes, each under its captain, whose rule was absolute, lurked about the entrance of our British creeks, on the watch for marine spoil or for a favourable opportunity of making a sudden inroad into the adjoining districts, so as to be able to secure their booty before they could be intercepted; and it was from this their habit of lying off the mouths of bays and ports they acquired the term of *Vikingr*, or Children of the Creeks, an epithet originally derived (according to Munch) from *Viken*, in Norway, their favourite place of resort.

A solitary Danish Viking is said to have reached the Maese during the 6th century, and Saxo Grammaticus speaks of several Danish kings who made successful descents upon our shores; very little reliance, however, is now placed upon the facts, and still less on the chronology of that author. Snorre, also, who is far more worthy of credit, in his *Yngl Saga*, c. xlv., p. 54, speaks of a northern king, *Ivar Vidfadme*, who conquered a fifth part of England at a very early period, and the Saxon chronicle says, speaking of Bertric of Wessex, "In his days came three ships of Northmen out "of Hæretha land (Denmark), and then the reve rode to the place, "and would have driven them to the king's town, because he knew "not who they were; and they there slew him. These were the "*first* ships of Danishmen which sought the land of the British "people."

This is given under the year 787; but from Peter Langtoft's chronicle we gather that a marauding party of Danes, under one Kebright, entered the Humber during the preceding year, and landed

on its banks, possibly at or near the very place where we are now assembled. They were, however, repulsed by Herman (an officer of Brightric the local chief, who had married King Offa's daughter), after a fierce contest, ending in Herman's death and the flight of the Danes to their ships.

But before proceeding with the history of the Danes and their deeds in Lincolnshire, it will perhaps be interesting to glance at the character of these Northmen from whom our Saxon forefathers suffered so deeply, and especially to consider their religion and some of their most remarkable customs.

The religion of the Danes was akin to that of many other heathen nations of the world, and appears to have been brought by them originally from the far East—man's early cradle, whence every people of the earth derives its descent. Great differences of faith no doubt always existed in the hearts of men, as they circled away from their central birth-place. Knowing the wonderful results that climate alone produces in the physical appearance of our race, it is not surprising to find that extreme variations of religious faith and practice should have prevailed, as the descendants of Noah multiplied and gradually repeopled the earth; and yet traces of some of the leading Scriptural truths are found in the creed of most nations, although more or less obscured by very varied coverings of fiction and error; so that we often find the same attributes of the One true God assigned to the supreme Deity, worshipped in many countries under various names, and under very different forms. To perceive this we have only to compare together the characteristics of the *Fo* of the Chinese, the *Vod* of the Thibetians, the *But* of Cochin China, the celebrated *Budha* of the Hindoos, the *Bud* of the Persians, the *Vudd* of the Arabs, the *Voda* of the Vandals, the *Voden* of the Finns, the *Woden* of the Saxons, and the *Odin* of the Danes. It is only, however, to the last of this chain that we would now advert, viz., to Odin and his worship, Odin was revered as God, the Lord of all other Gods, and the Father of men; but, in addition to this higher reverence, he was looked upon with the utmost admiration as a human, or semi-human hero. Just as Hercules was worshipped in the south as God and man, and every kind of marvel, possible and impossible, was attributed to him, so the Danes worshipped Odin as God and as a national hero; their original faith in the supreme Deity having first been mixed up with the traditions of that great leader who headed their emigrant forefathers on their way towards the North, and then the very persons of their God and their leader having been confounded together. Odin—this God and hero of the North—is believed to have migrated from Asgard, a town in Aaland, situated to the east of the Tanais; and this through the pressure of Rome (*Snorre, Ynglinga Saga, ch.* 2 *and* 5), perhaps at that period when it was waging war with Persia and Mithridates. But almost without doubt he was the leader of a large body of men that emigrated to the north-western portions of Europe, afterwards represented by the Norwegians, Swedes, and Danes, all of whom originally spoke the same language

and held the same religious faith. Let us now see what that faith was, as held by the Danes. They believed that Odin was eternal, the creator of the world as well as of heaven; that his wife was Frega or Friga, that Thor was his son, and that he looked upon the earth as his daughter. The most extraordinary traditions were more or less believed in respecting the origin and deeds of Odin. From the contact of two elements—fire and frozen water—sprang the giant Ymer, the progenitor of a race of wicked giants, and the cow Œdumla, who gave birth to Bore, the father of Odin and other Gods. Odin slew Ymer; and his blood was so profuse that his whole giant family was drowned in it, excepting one Bergelene and his wife, who floated away in a boat towards the far north by Odin's will. Then Odin formed the whole earth anew, and from the most marvellous material, viz., the body of the slain giant Ymer. From his flesh, the earth; from his perspiration, the seas; from his bones, the mountains; from his brains, the clouds; from his hair, the trees; and from his eyebrows, Midgard, or a dwelling place for man —of which the first pair, Askur and Embla, was formed out of an ash tree. Jealous of Odin's love for men, certain evil spirits—the Yettas—threatened their safety; but Thor, his son, then became their protector (whence he was termed the Defender of Midgard, or Saviour of the people), and driving across the heavens in his chariot, struck down man's opponents with his bolts, or crushed them beneath the blows of his heavy hammer. Odin was ever the friend of the brave, giving them power to vanquish their foes if they looked up to him for aid, and sending his *Valkyrier* or spiritual maidens through the air, armed with long spears for their protection in danger, and whose office it finally was to touch with the point of these weapons Odin's heroes, when he wished to summon them into his presence. *Valhalla*, his dwelling place, had six hundred and forty gates, through each of which nine hundred and sixty men could march abreast. Its walls were formed of spears, its roof of glittering shields, and the gleam of countless swords furnished its light. Adjoining was a smooth grassy plain, where the beatified occupants of Odin's hall daily carried on their martial contests, to their great delight; nor were these ever concluded for want of opponents, for the fallen always rose again; and the whole company was welcomed back by Odin's maidens, who waited upon the happy heroes of Valhalla with horns of mead and ale, and with a most marvellous repast, namely, the flesh of a certain boar called Sarhimner, that was daily slain, cooked, and eaten, but daily came to life again to be again suspended in the Valhalla larder, and undergo the same process on the morrow.

Such was the Danish Paradise; and they who approached it followed by the ghosts of many slain enemies, and a large amount of war's plunder, were most honourably welcomed, and invited to drink out of Odin's own wine cup by his attendant maidens; whilst they whose sepulchral tumuli were not filled with such proofs of their successful depredations were coldly received, for it was not well to approach Odin's dwelling place poor.[18]

As Jupiter was attended by his eagle, so at one period it was believed that two ravens waited upon Odin continually, and by flying backwards and forwards informed him of all that was occurring on the earth, whence he was sometimes called *Ravongud*, or Raven-God. The Raven, therefore, was adopted as the national flag during the Danish incursions on the English coast, and was held sacred by those hardy Northmen. Sometimes it was said to have been woven by the female relations of Danish chieftains, such as the daughters of Regner Lodbrog; and sometimes was believed to be of a far more mysterious character, the form of the Raven on its folds fading away so as to become invisible in time of peace, but reappearing in war; and again, if it fluttered its wings, this indicated success to the bearers—if it drooped them, defeat.[19] Such a standard was lost by the Danes in 898, during a conflict with the Saxons in Devonshire; but the Raven appears to have figured no longer on the Northmen's banners after the introduction of Christianity amongst them, when it was superseded by the emblem of the Cross.

We can readily imagine the difficulty of diffusing amongst such a people a Christian spirit, differing so entirely as did the northern faith from that inculcated by the meek, forgiving, suffering Messiah, whom the Danes termed the "White Christ."

The Vikingr of the north believed that by deeds of valour and violence they obtained their God's favour—that the bold in the battle-field were Odin's especial favourites, and successful plunderers his delight, to whom they looked for admission into Valhalla, which was furnished by the imagination of the Skjalds or Bards with those peculiar delights, best suited to their warlike tastes. How, then, could they exchange such a creed for one leading them to a God of peace, who declared vengeance to be a sin, and required from His followers mercy, pity, forgiveness, self-denial? How could they prefer a heaven in which, should they embrace Christianity, they would be separated from their bold forefathers and their cotemporary warrior friends, to live with foreign priests and insignificant monks, who had done no great deeds, unnecessarily plagued themselves, and were seeking to plague others? Moreover, they at once perceived what a great change in their practice would be entailed by their embracing Christianity. Looking hitherto for justice to their swords alone, regarding suicide as admirable after defeat, seeing no sin in polygamy, nor in the exposure of supernumerary infants, they would be asked to do such things no more, but instead, to observe every seventh day with great strictness, to take a part in prayer, psalm singing, fasting, scourging, and other employments fitted only for women and children.

And yet, happily, there was on the other hand one circumstance at least that favoured the Christian cause in the north. During the 9th century heathenism was there beginning to die out, of itself; the belief in Odin and the other gods was becoming shaken, and a longing for a far better creed was prevalent, which caused the Icelandic Maane to order himself, when dying, to be carried out

into the open air, and to exclaim that he believed in that God who had made the heavens above and the earth below. Moreover, the Northmen already believed in a Trinity, viz., *Odin*, *Friga*, and *Thor;* in an evil spirit, *Loke;* and in angels or spirits of light; and as the earliest missionaries of the true faith did not press the whole Christian scheme at once, nor too severely, upon those to whom they addressed themselves, but simply urged them to be baptized in the name of the Trinity, to abstain from taking any part in their former heathen sacrificial feasts, and from eating horseflesh, &c., their work was thus greatly facilitated.[20] It has been asserted by some authors that the great boon of Christianity was first offered to the Danes through the medium of the Saxon race in England, in return for the immense amount of ills they had inflicted upon it; and no doubt this happy work was greatly advanced by the near relations eventually established between the heathen Northmen and the Christian Saxons; but the truths of our holy religion had, in reality, been offered to the Danes before their inroads on England had begun, namely, through the instrumentality of Charlemagne, who was most anxious to persuade the Northmen of Europe to embrace Christianity; inviting them to adjourn to the south for instruction, and receiving them there with gladness. Many who accepted such invitations were only signed with the Cross, declining to be baptized until danger or sickness drew near, in the hope of their then being washed clean from sin once and for ever; whilst others were baptized simply for the sake of receiving the Emperor's presents, given on such occasions; and sometimes they sought this rite more than once, an anecdote having been recorded of one northern chief who, upon receiving a white robe of inferior quality to those usually given (in consequence of the great number of applicants for such favours at that time), angrily exclaimed, "I have been "baptized twenty times before, and have always hitherto received "a good robe when I have come; take your patched present back "again, and give it to some serf, it will not do for a chief like me"—and retired in great indignation. Charlemagne's successor, Louis the Debonnaire, or the Pious, took a more direct step in endeavouring to convert the heathens of the north, by sending Ebbo, Archbishop of Rheims, with the monk Halitger, to Denmark for this purpose in 822; and afterwards Harald Klak, on the death of Godfred, became the successful competitor for one of the northern thrones, through the aid of the Emperor, given on condition of Harald's becoming a Christian; he and his suite were accordingly baptized at Ingelheim, near Mayence, in 826. This event was followed by the important mission of Ansgar to Denmark. He was an austere monk, who lived on bread and water alone, procured by the labour of his own hands, wore hair-cloth next his skin, and ever hoped to die the death of a martyr.[21] Christianity, however, had made some progress amongst the Danes in England before the middle of the 9th century; and in 879, after Alfred's celebrated victory over Gorm, or Godrun, on the borders of Wilts and Somer-

set, one of the articles of the consequent truce was, that Gorm and his chiefs should embrace Christianity; on which occasion Alfred acted as sponsor to the Danish king, throwing over the mail of his vanquished foe the white robe of a neophyte, indicative both of temporal and spiritual peace.[22] By the middle of the 10th century most of the Danish chiefs had become, not only Christians, but the professed defenders of those churches which had been so ruthlessly destroyed by their fathers—some even becoming priests, and others monks and religious recluses.

There were many petty kings in Denmark, and the north generally, at the time of the first invasions of England by the Northmen. The highest of the so-called Sea-kings, however, were only younger sons or brothers of those princes, who were provided with vessels by their relations for the purpose of seeking their fortunes on the ocean; but the greater portion of the *Vikingr*, or piratical sea-captains, were cadets of ordinary families; and as such a profession was esteemed as honourable as it was profitable, every house that had it in its power to equip a vessel sent forth a Viking son upon the sea, and children were even urged by their parents to seek their fortunes by trade united with piracy.[23] Bold of heart, accustomed from their childhood to encounter the dangers of the sea, skilled in the handling of their vessels—which they termed their "sea-horses," or "sea-dragons"—encouraged by their creed to the performance of deeds of valour and violence, no wonder that they pushed off from their native shores, floated triumphantly over the stormy waves of the northern ocean, and usually returned laden with the fruits of their victorious raids on distant shores.

Such a spirit was sought to be fostered by Harald Blaatand, or Harold with the blue tooth, who founded, A.D. 935, the celebrated Viking *College*, if we may so call it, at Jomsborg, for the purpose of sustaining the bold character of his northern subjects, and of protecting his own commerce.

The members of this establishment bound themselves in a solemn manner never to retire from an equal number of foes, under pain of expulsion from its brotherhood, never to fight with one another, nor to marry, nor to be absent from their duties for more than three days at a time.[24] The first commander of this chivalrous band was the celebrated Palnatoke, from whose hand Harald Blaatand eventually met his death.[25]

The Danes carried on a considerable amount of trading, principally from the ports of Ribe and Sleswick; both with the east through Russia, in the North Sea, and the Baltic, and also with some of the south-western nations. All their trading vessels were armed for self-defence; and probably there were but few merchant captains that did not, at least occasionally, become Vikingr themselves.

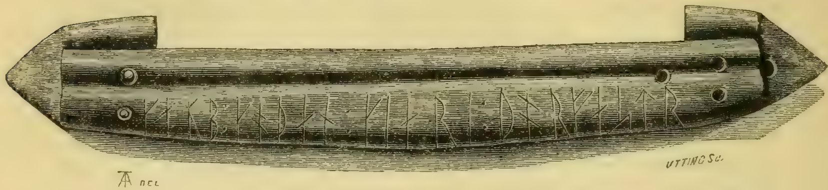
Their exports were fish, skins, furs, and amber; their imports were slaves, corn, cloth, salt, and honey.[26] Originally their whole trade was carried on by barter, but in the ninth century they had become possessed of a coinage, as is evident from the treasure found near Cuerdale, in Lancashire, in 1840.

Great as was the power given to their kings by the Danes, their legislature was founded on a very wide and popular basis, by which they retained perfect freedom of action for themselves. Nothing of any importance was decided without the authority of their *Husthings*, or house courts, whether referring to war, peace, the election of kings, or judicial proceedings; and at these "*Things*," serfs, as well as freemen, were allowed to give their votes. The greater divisions of the Danish provinces had each its Grand Council, to which references were made from the smaller ones. This county, for instance, possessed one in each of its divisions, or *Tredings*, as they are termed in Domesday Book (Saxonicè *Thriting*), the grand court of judicature being at Lincoln.[27] Every subdivision, also, or *Wapentake*, so termed from *Vaapentag*, or the clang of arms with which the members of the *Thing* signified their approval of the measures proposed, possessed one of these courts, wherein *By-lov*, i. e. *By* or *Municipal laws*, were made. The term *Thing* is still retained by *Thing*wall in Cheshire, *Ding*wall in Scotland, *Ting*wall in Shetland, *Tyne*wald, or *Ting*wall, in the Isle of Man, *Thing*walla in Iceland; and probably by *Thong*-Castor in this county, for, although its prefix has been vulgarly connected with the curious old whip tenure of land, that obtained until lately in that town, and also with the old "hide" legend imported for its especial use from Carthage, I think it may with far more probability be attributed to the Danish councils that were not unlikely to be held within its once strong walls. The laws established in the *Danelag*, or Danish portion of this kingdom, are remarkable for their popular and free character; and it is not unlikely that we are indebted for our trial by jury to the Danes. Those laws still prevailed in the north long after the supremacy of their framers had been lost, and were alluded to in the laws established by the Conqueror, and even in those of Henry I., as the *Denelag* laws, prevailing in the Danish province.[28]

Shipwrights, as we might expect, were viewed with great favour by the Danish community, and freemen only were allowed to pursue this handicraft. Smiths, also, were held in the highest estimation, especially armourers, a good sword being invaluable to its owner among such a warlike people. These weapons usually received some especial name before they left the hands of the forger, and were handed down as heir-looms from father to son.[29] The Danish battle-axes were also celebrated, and were sometimes inlaid with gold. Giraldus Cambrensis informs us that the Irish imported these from the north. The Danish smiths produced, besides, the breastplates worn by their countrymen, formed of small rings or scales; their helmets, with nasals; their spear-heads, knives, and triangular shields—formed of boards, strengthened with iron, and covered with painted leather. Goldsmiths, no doubt, plied a profitable trade, the Danes being very fond of personal ornaments—such as massive spiral bracelets, neck ornaments, fibulæ, rings, and studs, in addition to strings of amber and glass beads, &c.

The Danes allowed their hair to flow over their shoulders, and combed it with great care, begging that it might be spared by the

axe when they were condemned to death. One of their bone comb-cases was discovered on the site of the Great Northern Station at Lincoln, bearing this inscription in Runic characters, A GOOD COMB MAKES THORFASTR (see *Cut*, wherein it is represented of the same



size as the original). The Danish women plaited their hair, and fastened it together by means of a gold ring. Both sexes were remarkably clean in their persons, and fond of bathing. Their habitations were wattled huts, lit by small windows formed of bladder, stretched over a frame. Their favourite beverages were beer and mead; and, for their food, pork was their especial delight, an abundance of which they expected to feast upon unceasingly in Valhalla. They also were addicted to the use of horseflesh, and could with difficulty be weaned from its use by the Christian Missionaries.

Originally the Danes buried the dead within stone chambers, or *Cromlechs*, over which earthen tumuli were raised, termed *Jordhoie*—earth hills, or *Kiempehoie*—giant heights. Some of these mounds were family burial places, or *Ettehoie*, in which both skeletons and cinerary urns have been discovered, indicating burials at different periods—for the custom of burning bodies and placing the ashes in earthen vessels prevailed at a later period,[30] but was again superseded by simple burial, after the introduction of Christianity had taken place. Occasionally the bodies of distinguished sea-chiefs were deposited in their ships, which had previously been dragged to shore, and then covered with earth, so as to form a vast tumulus of a most appropriate character.

Such was the character of the Danes, who in the first instance dreamt of nothing but piratical descents on the shores of this island. Entering our great bays, such as that of the Wash; or ascending rivers—such as the Humber, Ouse, and Trent, until they drew near the fat beeves and sheep of our rich alluvial lands, they pursued their pillaging, burning, bloodstained course on land, and loaded themselves with spoil; after which, a cloud of dust betokened their return towards the water's edge, and columns of smoke rose behind their fatal track, as witnesses of their savage depredations; nor was it until they were emboldened by repeated successes, that the Danish Vikingr thought of aiming at permanent territorial conquests, in addition to the migratory stimulus they experienced at home from the redundancy of their increasing population; but at length—just as adventurous spirits from Spain and Portugal were always forthcoming for a voyage to America, after its discovery by

Columbus and others, and eventually to settle there in constantly increasing numbers—so the Danes, after repeated visits to our shores, began to take possession of the Yorkshire and Lincolnshire soil, and gradually to advance the line of their settlements by driving out all such of its former owners as resisted this usurpation.

I have already alluded to the two first recorded descents of the Danes, viz., in 786 and 787. These were followed by one made on the South Mercian soil during the reign of Offa;[31] by another on Lindisfarne in 793, when its celebrated church was destroyed, and many of its inhabitants were slain; and by an attack on Wearmouth, the following year, when the Northmen succeeded in plundering its monastery, but where they were finally repulsed, and many of them perished in a subsequent storm. In 832, the Northmen ravaged the Isle of Sheppey; and in 833 Egbert suffered a great defeat at the hands of a strong body of Danes, who landed at Charnmouth from thirty-five ships, when two of his Earldormen—Dadda and Osmod—were slain, and also the Bishops of Winchester and Selsey. Two years later, the Danes landed in still greater force on the Cornish coast, inviting the native Britons of that district to join with them in an attack upon the Saxons, to whom they had become tributary; but on this occasion, the Danes and their new allies were signally defeated at Hengiston, after which the former fled to their vessels, and the Saxon yoke was fixed still more strongly on the Britons than before. Several more battles ensued in the south during the next three years, and then followed a descent of the Danes on our Lincolnshire soil in 838; and from this point I shall confine myself, as far as possible, only to their doings connected with this county.

Entering the Humber, and seizing all the horses they could find, they penetrated to Lindisse, which they plundered and burnt, slaying the Earldorman Herebert, and defeating his forces;[34] after which they were victorious throughout their career in the eastern portion of England—including Lincolnshire, East Anglia, and Kent; and put numbers of the inhabitants to the sword. Then followed a most remarkable expedition in 865, the consequences of which were of a most serious character, not only to Lincolnshire, but to this country in general, arising from the savage vengeance of a Saxon king, wreaked upon a defeated Danish chief. Regner Lodbrog, at one time the petty prince of a group of Danish islands, had been ejected from that position by a superior power; after which he became a noted Viking, and had met with great success in his expeditions to the shores of Friesland and Saxony; but not satisfied with such deeds, he planned a descent on our more distant English shore, built two vessels—then considered to be of gigantic size—and, regardless of the prophetic voice of his wife Aslauga, "gave "reins"—as he termed it—to his great sea-horses, and launched into the deep. But, from their very size, these ships were the means of his destruction; striking on the Northumbrian shoals they were wrecked, and Regner found himself and his three sons—Hubbo, Hinguar (or Ingvar), and Alfden—together with his

followers, on a hostile shore without means of retreat. Either from necessity, however, or from habit, he advanced inland, plundering and destroying, until Ælla, king of Northumbria, completely defeated his band, and took Regner captive. Now was the time for signal vengeance upon the heathen pirate—vengeance that might be remembered ; he was not to be slain, but was ordered to suffer a lingering death in a nauseous dungeon, purposely filled with vipers ; and thus to perish by degrees.[35] But this torturing death led to the destruction of thousands of that race by whom he had been so mercilessly destroyed. As the captivity of our Cœur de Lion—so plaintively bewailed by the mediæval troubadours—led to enormous sacrifices on the part of his people ; and, as his death in an Austrian prison would have aroused the deepest spirit of vengeance throughout the kingdom, so the horrid details of Regner's death—no doubt exaggerated by the bards of Scandinavia[36]—aroused all the naturally fiery feelings of the Northmen against the inhabitants of that land where it occurred ; and quickly an immense army of commingled Danes, Swedes, Norwegians, and even Russians, bent on vengeance, under the command of Hinguar and Hubbo, reached the shore of East Anglia, where they wintered, and prepared for their intended conquest of Northumbria, by collecting from the surrounding population forced tributes of horses and other necessaries for their coming campaign.

Being on their mission of revenge, the Danes rapidly traversed Lincolnshire, and perhaps embarked for Yorkshire at this very spot where we are assembled—the *Saxon Chronicle* stating that their army passed across the mouth of the Humber on its way to York. During this campaign the Northmen not only took that city, but permanently reduced Northumbria to subjection ; after having completely defeated its army with great slaughter, killed Osbert, one of its princes, and wreaked upon Ælla, the slayer of their Regner, that vengeance they had vowed to visit him with—whom they first most cruelly tortured, and then finally executed.[37] Having secured the conquest of Northumbria, the Danes during the following year again crossed the Humber, and then either ascended the Trent, or perhaps marched through a portion of this county on their way to Nottingham, where they wintered, but whence they were forced to retire again to York, by the forces of Burhed, king of Mercia, aided by those of Ethelred of Wessex.[38] There they remained stationary during 868, perhaps in consequence of a severe famine that then occurred ; but in the spring of the following year, the Northmen commenced that celebrated progress of blood from one extremity of Lincolnshire to the other, which has been so pathetically recorded by Ingulphus. Grimsby probably escaped their ravages, as they landed from Yorkshire at Humberstone ; and then deliberately did the sword descend ; slowly, but surely, was fire applied ; until there was nothing, so to say, left to burn. First, Lindsey suffered throughout that fatal summer, when the splendid and venerated abbey of Bardney was utterly destroyed, and all its defenceless monks were cruelly slain within its church.[39] At Michaelmas the

Witham was passed; and the wail of Kesteven began, as its monasteries, churches, and villages were fired in succession, and its unresisting inhabitants of both sexes and all ages were given to the sword. Resistance, however, was at hand—the result of desperation. Osgot, the sheriff of Lincoln, took the field with 500 men, in concert with Earl Algar from Holland, who, assisted by Wibert and Leofric, raised 300 men from Deeping, Boston, and Langtoft, and Toli, once a soldier but then a monk of Croyland, with 200 of the inmates of that abbey, and Morcar, lord of Bourn. These on the feast of St. Maurice dared to attack the van of the invading army, and gained a complete victory over the Danes, killing three of their chiefs, or kings, and chasing their forces from the battle-field to their camp in the rear. Unhappily, however, an immense reinforcement of Northmen arrived during the ensuing night at the quarters of their defeated countrymen, headed by five kings and as many chiefs, including Hinguar and Ubbo;[10] and this coming to the ears of the associated Lincolnshire forces, so terrified them that many individuals fled secretly during the night, and thus most inopportunely diminished their already far too small numbers. Earl Algar, however, who assumed the duties of commander-in-chief, boldly and skillfully marshalled his little band, after having first joined with it in offering up public prayer to God, and partaken of the "viaticum," all that remained with him being determined to die in defence of their faith and country, rather than to yield to their heathen foes. With Toli on his right, aided by Morcar; and Osgot on his left, supported by Harding of Ryhall and a band of young fighting men from Stamford, he remained in the centre with his two *Seneschals*—as Ingulphus terms them—Wibert and Leofric, ready to aid either wing as occasion required. The Danes, very early on this fatal morning, haviug first buried their three fallen chiefs at Laundon—ever since called *Threckingham* in commemoration of this event—advanced, burning with fury to avenge their previous loss, against the little band of Saxon warriors they saw before them. This had been so skilfully formed in a wedge shape, that the Danish cavalry charged time after time against each of its faces in vain. Throughout the whole day did the men of Lincolnshire stand, firm as a rock, in their triangle on the Kesteven soil, as did their fellow countrymen centuries afterwards, in squares, on the plains of Waterloo! But then the Danes had recourse to other means; they feigned a retreat; upon which, deaf to the call of their leaders, the Lincolnshire men, breaking up their position, pursued the flying host with eager impetuosity, and thus sealed their own destruction; for quickly did the Danes return, and entirely surrounded the little band that could be formed no more, slaughtering all in turn; their six heroic chiefs, planting themselves on a slight eminence, vainly fought to the last over the bodies of their fallen followers, returning blow for blow with their raging foes, until they one after the other sank, and expired, with the name of patriot as justly attaching to their memory as it does to any of the heroes of Greece or Rome. Two or three Sutton and Gedney lads alone es-

caped, bearing the afflicting and alarming news to the inmates of Croyland Abbey, presaging their own fate, or at least that of their stately and revered sanctuary. Theodore, the abbot, after the sad celebration of matins for the last time, dismissed all the able-bodied monks to the safe keeping of the fens, who bore away with them the relics, charters, and most precious effects of the monastery. Other articles of value, such as cups, and vessels of brass, were thrown into the cloister well; and also the large altar, covered with plates of gold, presented by king Witlaf to the abbey; but as one end of it could not be sunk below the surface of the water, Theodore, assisted by two of his aged monks, took it up again, and hid it in another spot. And now the rapidly advancing columns of smoke, arising from the successive firing of the villages in their track, announced the near approach of the dreaded Danes. To the altar—then, was the cry of the aged abbot; and there, fully robed, he was in the act of celebrating high mass—assisted by Elfgy, his deacon; Savin, his sub-deacon; and his candle-bearers, when the heathens rushed in, and Theodore quickly fell by the hand of Osketil; afterwards all the aged priests were slain, many first suffering torture cruelly administered, to compel them to disclose the spot where the treasures of their establishment had been concealed. Of the other inmates one boy alone escaped—Tugar—saved by the younger Sidroc, who threw a Danish cloak over him as a token of his protection. The Danes then broke open all the marble tombs of the abbey, including that of St. Guthlac, in the vain hope of finding treasures in them; and at length, after three days' havoc, they set fire to the whole fabric, and continued their destructive course towards Medeshampsted (or Peterborough), Huntingdon, and Eli; and there, after defeating Earl Wilketil with his East Anglian forces, they took Edmund, its king, prisoner, whom they first bound to a tree and shot at wantonly with their arrows before his execution; after which they possessed themselves of his territory.

Such were the fatal consequences of the Saxon Ælla's cruelty towards the far-famed Regner Lodbrog; thus did the Danes accomplish the conquest of Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Norfolk, and Suffolk. About this time, also, they appear to have established five strongholds for the future protection of the territory they had acquired, viz., Stamford, Lincoln, Leicester, Nottingham, and Derby; to which were afterwards added those of York and Chester.

In 873, a large body of Danes, after having wintered in London, advanced northwards under Heafdene, laden with much booty, through East Anglia and Lincolnshire; but on this occasion, as these districts had been previously subjugated by the Northmen, no acts of violence appear to have been perpetrated. This winter was passed by them at Torksey, the next at Repton, when, by the conjunction of their forces with those of Guthrun, Oskytel, and Anwynd, they drove out Burhed, king of Mercia, who retired to Rome, where he died.[41]

Up to the year 880, the Danes had simply by force of arms possessed themselves of Lincolnshire and much of the north-eastern part of England; but then, Alfred ceded to them in a regular manner all the territory north of the Thames—following the Lea to its rise, and thence to Bedford and the Ouse—henceforth termed the *Danelagh;* and by another treaty, signed in 941 by Edmund the elder, and Anlaf—that prince of Northumbria who had previously fought with Athelstan the celebrated battle of Brunanburgh—all the territory north of the Watling-street was ceded to the Danes; but whichever prince might be the survivor was to be the sole sovereign of the whole.[42] The reversion falling to Edmund, the dominion of the Danes was thus for a time ended; and in consequence of internal commotions in Denmark during the middle part of the tenth century, England reposed awhile from any fresh Danish invasions, excepting an attempt made by Eric, son of Harald of Norway, to regain possession of Northumbria during the short reign of Edred in 946; but Eric was entirely defeated, and fell on the battle-field.

In 980, shortly after the accession of that wretched king, Ethelred, the Danish Vikingr began again to ravage our shores; and in 991 he commenced the fatal practice of attempting to buy them off for a sum of £10,000, levied from the people by means of an impost, so well known as *Danegelt.*

This, however, did not prevent a Danish fleet from sailing into the Humber two years subsequently, after a successful attack which it had previously made upon Bamborough. It did much damage at the mouth of the Humber, and along its banks, both in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. The Lincolnshire men assembled a large opposing force, but they unfortunately entrusted its command to Frene, Godwin, and Frithgist, who—being of Danish extraction—betrayed them.[43] Shortly after, viz., in 994, England's troubles began to increase, and a still more formidable foe then first set his foot on her soil.

This was Svein, surnamed *Iveskieg*, or Split-Beard—the illegitimate son of Harald Blaatand, whom he had succeeded in 985—and grandson of Gorm. He is reported to have sworn at a funeral feast or *Graveale*, that he would conquer England or die[44]; and in fulfilment of his vow he now entered the Thames in concert with Olaf—or Olave—son of Tryggva, king of Norway, with 94 ships. Repulsed from London, he succeeded in ravaging parts of Essex, Kent, Sussex, and Hampshire; until he was bribed by Ethelred to desist, with a sum of £16,000. Such fatal policy, however, only bought a cessation of rapine for three years, after which the same troubles again commenced; and in 1001, £24,000 was the amount of the Danegelt asked by Svein, and given by Ethelred the Unready to the invaders of his kingdom. But next we must refer to a far worse trait in Ethelred's character, viz. to an act of most execrable treachery on his part.

At this period the Danish element must have still prevailed strongly in the east and north of England, although owning the Saxon Ethelred's authority, to whom the Danish portion of England had lapsed through the treaty made between Edmund the elder and Anlaf.

The Danes, or persons of Danish extraction, were also very generally settled in other parts of this country as land-owners; in some cases by descent or marriage, but no doubt in others as intruders in Saxon households. Hence we can readily conceive that they were looked upon with great affection in many instances and in certain localities; although they had every reason to be detested elsewhere, where their tyranny, especially at a later period, is known to have been great—of which, the term *Lurdane*, or *Lord Dane*, still serves as a reminiscence. These intruders not unfrequently forced the master of the house, as well as his servants, to work for them; they took liberties with the wives and daughters of their hosts; and even slew or beat these last when they were so minded[45]—particularly when excited by liquor, which was often the case; and we are said to retain a reminiscence of their love of drink in the form of our old fashioned peg-tankards, or cups, marked so as to indicate what was each man's proper draught—a fine attending excess; and also of the danger to which the Saxons were exposed from their Danish intruders, in our habit of pledging one another, which had its origin in the watch one Saxon engaged to keep over another when drinking, lest he should at that moment meet with foul play from his "lurdane guest" as he termed him.[47] During this period of abasement, it was considered a liberty on the part of a Saxon to drink in the presence of a Dane; nor might he pass over a bridge whilst a Dane was upon it; he was expected also to bow to such of those Northmen as he met in the streets.

Ethelred, without the sword of the soldier, or the policy of a wise prince, at this time still hoped to rid himself of his foes by their secret and simultaneous massacre. He fixed upon the eve of St. Brice's day (Nov. 13th), 1002, as the fatal hour wherein to wreak his vengeance on them; when, in accordance with his orders, the Danes, dispersed throughout the greater part of England, together with their wives and children, were suddenly slain, no exception being made even in favour of Gunhilda, the Christian sister of Svein, and her boy. Probably this massacre did not extend to the more ancient Danish settlers, nor to those parts of England where the Danish element was distinctly predominant, so that Lincolnshire perhaps escaped the misery of such an outrage; but we have no means of ascertaining positively the exact character of this deed of blood, nor of the number of persons slain. In vain does the Saxon Chronicle endeavour to palliate Ethelred's act, by stating that it was the consequence of an intention on the part of the Danes to rise and slay him and his Witan;[49] for Henry of Huntingdon, who as a boy appears to have conversed with some very aged witnesses of the fact, makes no mention of such an intended rising, which he certainly would have done had he believed in it. He

simply says that Ethelred sent with secrecy into every town letters, according to which the English suddenly rose on the Danes everywhere, on the same day and at the same hour, and either put them to the sword, or, seizing them unawares, burnt them on the spot.[50] Well might William of Malmesbury say "It was miserable to see every man betray his dearest guests, whom the cruel necessity made only more beloved."

Svein was absent when this horrible deed was enacted; but, as the Saxon Ælla's cruelty towards the Danish Regner Lodbrog brought upon England a bitter judgment, so did Ethelred's deliberate massacre of the Danes lead to a similar result. Hated by his people, no wonder that he had traitor commanders to deal with; destitute of courage, he trembled to unsheath his sword, and therefore had recourse to dastard acts of bribery as a means of propping up temporarily his execrated sway. Happily, however, we need not allude further to his contemptible career, until it was on the eve of coming to an end in the year 1013, when Svein entered the Humber for the purpose of reducing the northern part of England to obedience. Sailing up that river and the Trent, he stationed himself at Gainsborough, where in succession Ulred and the Northumbrians, together with the Lindissians, submitted to him; then the five Burghs, and finally all the people north of the Watling Street; hostages were also delivered up to him from every shire, and horses and food for his army were provided by this freshly subjected district where it was quartered. Leaving his celebrated son Knut in charge of the north and of the Saxon hostages, he himself proceeded southwards, murdering, burning, pillaging, slaying the unhappy population of Kesteven, some of whom he disembowelled, including all the monks he could find, whom he also slaughtered after the application of all kinds of torture to their persons. Then Baston and Langtoft—Ingulphus especially mentions—were consigned to the flames; also the monastery of St. Pega, and Glinton, Northborough, and Barnack, in its vicinity, all of whose inhabitants were either slain or enslaved. Thence he proceeded to Peterborough, Oxford, and Winchester, on the same mission of destruction, until he eventually succeeded in subjecting the south as he had previously done the north, and forced Ethelred to give up the contest and to fly to the court of his brother-in-law, Richard, duke of Normandy. Svein was then undisputed king of the whole of England; but his reign was short, as he died at Candlemas in the following year. This event took place at Gainsborough, and was ascribed to the avenging agency of the slaughtered Edmund of East Anglia, by several of the old chroniclers; amongst others Capgrave says, "Than mad "Swayn a grete comminacion to the town of Seynt Edmund, that "he should distroye it. Furthermore he said vilens wordis ageyn "the Seint; and sone after, in the town of Gaynysborow, Seint "Edmund appered onto him, and killid him with a spere."[51]

Knut remained at Gainsborough until Easter, for the purpose of strengthening himself against Ethelred—who had now returned to England at the invitation of his people—and above all against his

brave son Edmund Ironside, who had preceded his father's coming. Entering into an alliance with the men of Lindsey, Knut proposed that, on condition of their supplying horses for the Danes, they should join in a predatory expedition with him against Kesteven, and share the spoil between them. But this unnatural alliance and infamous compact very quickly brought a just retribution upon the Lindissians, for, before they were prepared for an attack from any strong body of men, Ethelred with an overwhelming force was upon them; upon which Knut rapidly retreated to his ships in the Humber, and sailed away for Sandwich, leaving his allies to the fury of the enraged Ethelred, who burnt their villages and slaughtered great numbers of these deluded men of Lincolnshire on account of the part they had taken against him.

Two years afterwards, however, viz., in 1016, Knut experienced more success in this county. From Northamptonshire he entered Lincolnshire, *via* Stamford, and marched without opposition through a great portion of it, probably along the Ermine Street and Tillbridge Lane, and so into Notts., on his way to Northumbria, where he completely established his sway, and appointed Eric as his Earldorman.

Then followed the death of Ethelred, and many battles between his brave son Edmund Ironside and Knut, in one of which, fought at Assingdon in Essex, Ednoth, bishop of Dorchester, and Godwin, Earldorman of Lindsey, fell—an event which led to that well known partition of England, when Lincolnshire became an acknowledged part of the Danish king's territory. Edmund's death, it will be remembered, occurred the following year; after which Knut became by common consent monarch of the whole of England.

Knut has been termed the *Great*, the *Brave*, the *Rich*, and the *Pious;* but it was only during the latter part of his life that he could truly claim the last title, his earlier career having been stained by deeds of savage cruelty. After his flight from the Humber, he wreaked his vengeance on the noble—but unhappy—hostages his father had received as a security for the submission of England to his rule, by brutally cutting off their hands and noses, before he set them on shore in Kent.[52] To secure his throne, he scrupled not to kill all the youthful and innocent heirs of the late king Edmund, and other members of that royal house. After making a treaty of an amicable character with the English chiefs, within the first year of his reign, he put three of them to death without any cause, and confiscated the estates of others; and so late in his reign as 1035, in consequence of some words that fell from the lips of one of his Yarls—Ulfr, even after a night's time for reflection, he ordered him to be slain; and this deed of private vengeance was perpetrated in a church.[53] Towards the close of his reign, however, he certainly became devout in his prayers, liberal in his gifts to religious houses, and churches, profuse in his almsgiving, especially after his visit to Rome, where he appears to have received a profound religious impression. In his address to his English subjects written from that city, he says, " Be it known to all, that I have vowed to Almighty

"God to govern my life henceforward by rectitude, to rule my king-"doms and people justly, and piously to observe equal judgment "everywhere; and if, through the intemperance and negligence of "my youth, I have done what was not just, I will endeavour here-"after, by God's help, entirely to amend it;"[54] and on his return, Ingulphus gives his testimony as to Knut's liberality towards religious houses,[55] a sense of which induced Brithener, then abbot of Croyland, to beg for a confirmation of the abbey charter, 1032, which was conceded. In the *Historia Monasterii de Abingdon*, also, a curious reference is made to some of this great king's gifts to that abbey;[56] whilst in the *Encomium Emmæ*, p. 173, an interesting account is given of his great humility, of the reverential manner in which he entered churches, and of the fervency of his prayers, and of the number and value of the gifts he placed upon their altars.

Knut died 1035. He left his kingdom to Hardiknut, his son by Emma of Normandy, the widow of Ethelred; but from Hardiknut's absence in Denmark at this critical moment, a large portion of the Anglo-Danes chose Harald, another of Knut's sons, as their ruler. A serious internecine war between the partisans of these two princes now appeared to be imminent, the south of England for the most part declaring for Hardiknut, the north for Harald. The only result, however, as far as Lincolnshire was concerned, amounted to this, that dreading the coming conflict, hundreds of families from the south took refuge in our fens, accompanied by their cattle and all their portable goods. These were a terrible plague to the inmates of Croyland Abbey, in whose vicinity they located themselves in swarms, for they so eagerly and constantly entreated the monks and their servants for counsel and assistance, pouring into their ears such long stories of their fears and their woes, that the poor Brothers dared no longer shew themselves in their own cloister, or scarcely leave their dormitory for the purpose of joining in Divine worship, or taking their meals in their refectory. But the anchorites of the surrounding fens were still more despondent at this time, and from the same cause; one—Wulfius of Pega-land—being so worried by clamorous companies coming to his cell by night, as well as by day, that, tired of his life, he bound a bandage over his eyes to shut out from view as much of the troublesome scene around him as he could, and quickly sought a more quiet retreat at Evesham. Five years later, by the death of Harald, Hardiknut became the undisputed king of England. He reigned for two years only, having first greatly injured his constitution by his excesses, and then suddenly fallen down dead when attending a marriage feast—an event which gave rise to a great change in the destiny of England, for the Danish dynasty in England had now come to an end, never to be renewed.

This was a subject of great rejoicing throughout the greater part of our land, but not so, probably, in Lincolnshire and the north, where the Danish element had become so strong as almost to supersede the original Saxon basis on which it had been overlaid. I

cannot refrain, however, from alluding to a reminiscence of this English festival which has been handed down to us through some eight centuries, almost to the present time—namely, that of *Hock*, or *Hoke tide* (Danicè, *Hoy tid*); this took place on the second Tuesday after Easter, whence it is termed *Quindena Paschæ* by Matthew Paris; but it extended from the Monday previous to the Wednesday after that date. Petrus Heylinius, in *Cosmograph.*, lib. i. 271, says, the English having cleared the country of the Danes, instituted the annual sports of Hock tide, a Saxon term meaning "signal triumph."[58] No doubt it was originally an ecclesiastical, as well as a popular holyday, whereon money was collected as thanksgiving offerings from the people, and applied to pious purposes; but even before the Reformation it had degenerated into an unseemly custom of enclosing, or "hocking" people in the streets with a long rope, and releasing them only on the receipt of a small payment. Young men thus "hocked" people on the Monday, young women on the Tuesday, and handed over a portion of their receipts to the officers of the church.

John, bishop of Worcester, endeavoured to stop such doubtful proceedings in 1450;[59] but, during Elizabeth's celebrated visit to Kenilworth Castle in 1575, the men of Coventry begged that they might renew their old storial show of "Hock-tide" play before her, "which (said they) was wont to be plaied in our city yearly, without "ill example of manners, papistry, or any superstition; and they "knew no cause why it was then of late laid down, unless it was by "the zeal of certain of their preachers, men very commendable for "their behaviour and learning and sweet in their sermons, but "somewhat too sour in preaching away their pastime." And their request being granted, we are further informed that "her Highness "laughed right well." The recollection of this festival lingered on even through the last century; but I believe it is now only known to students of the manners and customs of our forefathers.[60]

A Saxon chief of the name of Howne[61] appears to have headed a patriotic movement that took place after the death of Hardiknut, and before the Danes could elect another king of their race. Afterwards Godwin, aided by his son Harold, heading the national forces, gradually advanced northwards, driving all the resisting Danes before him, until they were forced to take ship from the northern ports, and sail for their native land.

The crown was then offered to Edward, the son of Ethelred, by Godwin—the Fairfax of the eleventh century—who, after its assumption, re-established the Saxon laws of his father, abolished the burthensome tax of *Danegelt*, and banished a few of the remaining Danish chiefs; but, for the most part, he suffered the Danes that were peaceably disposed to dwell in his newly acquired kingdom without molestation, whilst they on their part submitted quietly to the mild rule of the Confessor. Thus, before long, an amalgamation of the two races began to take place, which eventually so completely blended them together, as to exhibit only some lingering traces of their original distinctive characteristics. Magnus,

king of Norway, sent letters to king Edward, claiming the crown of England, which caused the latter to assemble a large defensive fleet at Sandwich in 1046;[62] but being compelled to contend for the sovereignty of Denmark at this juncture with Svein the son of Ulfr, Magnus abandoned his design against this country, and throughout Edward's long reign no invasion of Northmen took place. Very shortly after his death, however, the Humber witnessed once more the approach of a Norwegian fleet of vast magnitude, in accordance with the prayer of a brother of the then king of England—Tostig, who had been expelled from Northumbria during the Confessor's reign, and was so furious with his brother Harold for declining to reinstate him in his former government, that he sailed off to the north for the purpose of persuading the kings of Denmark and Norway to join with him in an expedition against England; the former, although a connexion of his own, sternly declined his proposition, but with the latter he was more successful. Harald Hardrada had inherited a large share of the old Viking spirit; and perhaps the following flattering address on Tostig's part urged him the more to undertake the proposed adventure. "The world," said Godwin's son, "knows that there is no warrior living fit to be compared with thee; thou hast only to will it and England is thine."[63] In reply, the fair-haired monarch promised to equip a fleet in the spring for this purpose, as soon as the icy ports of Norway were open. Tostig then adjourned to the court of William of Normandy, from whom he received some aid; and having collected together in Flanders 60 ships, sailed for the English coast. First, he levied supplies in the Isle of Wight; thence, sailing northwards, he at length entered the Humber, and committed great depredations in Lindsey, until he was driven out by the Earls of Mercia and Northumbria, with the loss of all but twelve ships. In the meantime Harald had set sail with his Queen Ellisif, his daughters, his son Olaf, and his forces, in 300 ships, had touched at Shetland, the Orkneys, and was running along the Scotch shore, when Tostig fell in with him. Joining their fleets, they then in concert attacked Scarborough, which they burnt and pillaged, and afterwards boldly sailed up the Humber and the Ouse to York, where they gained a signal victory over the late conquerors of Tostig—Earls Edwin and Morkar—who retreated within the walls of York. This event compelled Harold of England to leave the southern coast, where he was watching the movements of William of Normandy and his assembling host, to give battle to his ambitious brother and his northern allies. Falling in with them after a rapid march through Lincolnshire, at Stanford Bridge, a little beyond York, he there gained a most complete victory, and slew both Tostig and Harald; so that the remnant of their forces were thankful to fly from the scene of their disaster in twenty-four ships only, swearing before their departure never again to make war with England.[64]

But no such vow was made by the Danes, nor did they fear to attack the new and powerful conqueror of England three years later. In 1069 the three sons of Svein, with a large force conveyed in two

hundred and forty ships, entered the Humber, and reached York, where they demolished the castle, slew the Norman governor, and carried off many prisoners; after which, in defiance of the Conqueror, who marched against them, they wintered in the country between the Ouse and the Trent.[65]

Again, during the following year, king Svein himself sailed up the Humber, when he was joined by a large number of the local inhabitants, who, either from the frequency of these invasions, from sympathy with them, or from witnessing the formidable character of Svein's forces, allied themselves with him, in the belief that he would become a second conquering Knut the Great. Advancing southwards to Ely, the fen men of that district joined them in great numbers. Thence they pressed on, intent on plunder, to Peterborough; and although accompanied by Christien, one of their bishops, they scrupled not sacrilegiously to steal all the valuables from its abbey, before they committed it and the adjacent town to the flames. These consisted of a crown of pure gold from a figure of our Lord, and a footstool—of the same material—from under its feet, a super-altar of mixed gold and silver (that was vainly attempted to be hid in the tower), two gilt shrines, nine silver ones, fifteen great crosses of gold and silver, besides an incalculable amount of other valuables, such as money, robes, and books. With these they retired to Eli; and, through some arrangement with the Conqueror, who perhaps at this time was not in a position to cope with them, they sailed away in a portion of their fleet; it was however dispersed by a great storm, which threw some of the ships on the Irish coast, and wrecked others on the Norwegian and Danish shores; whilst the author of the Saxon Chronicle exultingly remarks that the only portion of the plunder that was secured—having been deposited in a church for security—perished by fire, occasioned by the drunkenness of the guard. The remainder of the Humber fleet then sailed for the Thames, where it hung about for two nights; but probably hearing there of king William's strength, it returned to Denmark.

And now we at length reach the period of the last Danish attack upon our north-eastern shore, that of 1075. In that year, Ralph, Earldorman of Norfolk, in concert with Waltheof, Earldorman of Huntingdon, Northants, and Northumberland; Roger, Earldorman of Hereford, and son of William Fitz Osbert; together with several bishops and abbots of East Anglia, conspired against William; and as the mother of Roger was a native of Wales, he succeeded in bringing some Welsh forces into the field; but not content with these, he applied to Denmark for an additional body of men, and this request was granted. Knut, the son of Svein, and Jarl Hacco, were its commanders; but upon their arrival they found that their English allies had been completely dispersed, and not daring alone to face the then formidable sovereign of this island, they determined to make a foraging expedition more to the north, when for the last time the Humber saw a hostile Danish fleet, consisting of two hundred vessels, ascending its broad yellow waters on its way to

York, and, after a while, again descending with the valuable spoils of its minster[66] stored away in their holds, and steering for the north. Another invasion, indeed, was planned in Denmark ten years later, viz., in 1085, when Knut agreed to combine his forces with those of his father-in-law, Robert, Earl of Flanders, for the purpose of making a descent upon England; and of so threatening a character was this, that king William, who was then in Normandy, quickly returned with an immense army of Normans, French, and Bretons; these he quartered upon this nation at large, to its great distress, and even caused portions of the coast to be laid waste, where the expected invaders would be most likely to land, so that they might not be able to maintain themselves with facility.[67] Happily however for this country, a mutiny occurred on board the Danish fleet, which occasioned its return to the north; and Knut was eventually slain by his own soldiers in a church at Odensee,[68] dedicated to St. Alban, our English saint, whose relics—or some portion at least of them—Knut had previously taken over to his own country from England.

Time will not allow me to comment at any length on the traces of the Danes still discernible in Lincolnshire; but perhaps I should not be excused if I omitted to mention that there are 212 places in this county having the Scandinavian terminal of "*by*," and that in this respect it exceeds all others; Yorkshire, although far larger in extent, and also long forming a portion of the Danish possessions in England, possessing only 167 places of the same character. As might have been expected, the *by* terminal abounds in this Wapentake of Bradley Haverstoe, adjoining the Humber, viz., *Ashby*, *Fenby*, *Aylesby*, *Barnoldby*, *Beelsby*, *Weelsby*, *Grimsby*, *Hawerby*, *Irby*, *Laceby*, and *Thoresby*. We have also, not far off, the *Ferribys* of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire—names derived from the Danish *færge*, or *ferry*. I have in another paper alluded to the nomenclature of Grimsby itself, and its connexion with *Grim;* but I cannot conclude without making some reference to the neighbouring port of *Ravensore*, or *Ravenser*, with its little adjacent island of *Odd-Ravenser*.[69] This was of considerable consequence, both in the mediæval and the Danish period, although the whole has now long been destroyed. It was of importance enough to send members to parliament during the reigns of the three first Edwards; thence Baliol embarked for Scotland with two thousand five hundred men, in 1332; but, soon after, the merchants of the place began to remove to Hull, from the depredations made by the sea, viz., in 1346; and in 1361 it was swept away. Near its site, however, Henry of Bolingbroke landed, 1399, intent on the assumption of the crown of England;[70] as did Edward IV. in 1476; but it is its reputed first origin that induces me to make mention of Ravensore, called also *Ravenspurn*—now shortened into *Spurn*. *Ore* is simply the Norse term for the point of a promontory, and *ræfn*, or *ravn*, for raven. We have, then, a pure Danish term here; and although it may have been derived from the simple fact of ravens frequenting the place

it refers to, or from a Danish chief of that name—and there certainly was a coiner of York called *Ravn*—it is still not at all impossible that Ravensore may have been so termed from the fact of the planting of the celebrated Danish flag there, as Professor Worsaae suggests, even as the dwarf elder *(Sambucus Ebulus)* is termed *Danes*-wort, or *Danes*-blood, in accordance with an ancient tradition that it sprang up from one of those many battle-fields, deeply dyed with the blood of the contending races of the Saxon and the Dane.

And here I must conclude; happy if I have been able to rescue from the past any materials calculated to elucidate an obscure period of our local history, in such a manner as to have tended either towards your amusement or instruction; and thankful that, although the obliterating breezes of a thousand years have swept over the subject I have brought before your notice, it has still flowers to cull, and fruits to gratify the student of history in the nineteenth century—remembering Southey's encouraging words to one who was labouring with the same object in view.

> " They are wise,
> Who, in these evil and tumultuous times,
> Heed not the world's mad business: chiefly they
> Who, with most pleasant labouring, acquire
> No selfish knowledge. Of his fellow kind
> He well deserves, who for their evening hours
> A blameless joy affords."

NOTES.

(1) Chronicle of Henry of Huntingdon, book 1.

(2) The Kimmerians were forced to emigrate, by pressure from the Scythians, to the remote regions of Europe, extending to the German Ocean *(Plutarch in Mario)*, and were living on the shores of the Baltic in Strabo's time, lib. vii., p. 449.

(3) From Prydain, the son of Aedd the Great, a British prince.—*Trioedd* i.

(4) "*Lœgria* enim primitus Anglia dicebatur, a *Locrino* filio Bruti primogenito sic vocata, quæ est illa pars insulæ citra Humbrum." *Capgrave's Chronicle*, p. 262. Aneurin also speaks of *Lloegr*, p. 7; and other Welsh poets and chroniclers. According to *Trioedd* 5, the *Lloegr*, or *Lloegrwys*, came from Gascony.

(5) The Saxon confederation at length reached from the Elbe to the Rhine. This people is first mentioned by name in Ptolemy's Geography, where the Saxons are described as living on the north side of the Elbe, on the neck of the Cimbric Chersonesus, and inhabiting three small islands: *lib.* 2, *c.* 11. They are mentioned by Ptolemy, B.C. 141.

(6) The number of the Saxon kingdoms varied at different periods, through the absorption of some by conquest for a time, and again by their after separation; but they were once clearly eight in number, as we have shewn.

(7) Carausius, a low born Menapian, having amassed great wealth by plundering smaller naval plunderers, excited the anger or the jealousy of the Emperor Maximian, who ordered the execution of Carausius. Upon this, the intended victim boldly assumed the imperial purple, and for seven years defied the power of Rome, holding supreme power in Britain from 287 to 293.

(8) This province—comprising the central portion of England—was divided into north and south Mercia by the course of the Trent; North Mercia comprising the modern counties of Chester, Derby, and Nottingham; South Mercia—Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire, Rutland, Huntingdon, parts of Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire, Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, Herefordshire, Staffordshire, and Shropshire.

(9) Another large body of Britons emigrated to Bretagne in 664, owing to a pestilence which terribly afflicted England and Wales at that time. Those that remained suffered much from the Saxons, and were visited with fire as well as with the sword. Bangor monastery, for instance, with its library, was destroyed by Ethelfrith. *Humph. Lhuyd Comm. Frag. Brit. Descrip.* 58.

(10) Du Chesne, Script. Fr. vol. ii., p. 620.

(11) Chronicle of Henry of Huntingdon, lib. iv.

(12) "Et sicut hi, qui lascivientes arborum ramos solent succidere, ut radix reliquis "sufficire poterit, sic incolæ illarum provinciarum sorte terram alleviant, ni tam nume- "rosæ prolis pastu exhausta succumbat . . . . Inde est quod homines illarum "provinciarum tantam invenerunt ex necessitate virtutem, ut a patriâ ejecti peregrinas "sedes armis vindicarent; sicut Wandali olim Africam, Gothi Hispaniam, Longobardi "Italiam, Normanni partem Galliæ, quam Normaniam ex suo nomine notaverunt, "subsiderunt." *Historia Monasterii S. Augustini Cantuariensis*, p. 139 (by Thomas of Elmham.)

(13) Olaf's Saga, p. 97.

(18) The greater part of the above description of the ancient Danish faith is gathered from *Den Ældre Edda*, or the older Edda, being a collection of the ancient traditions and songs of the Northmen, translated by Finn Magnusen, Professor of Antiquities at Copenhagen, but originally written or collected by Sæmund, son of Sigfus of Iceland, born 1056. This work was lost until 1639, when the manuscript was discovered by Bryniolfus Suenonius.

(19) Account of the Danes and Norwegians, by J. J. A. Worsaae.

(20) *Haandbog i Fædrelandets Historie*, af G. A. Allen.

(21) *Ibid.*

(22) Saxon Chronicle, anno 878.

(23) *Vatzdœla ap Barth*, 438.

(24) *Haandbog i Fædrelandets Historie*, af G. A. Allen.

(25) Harald Blaatand was shot by an arrow from the hand of Palnatoke, under precisely similar circumstances to those attributed to the story of William Tell and Gesler by Schiller; there can scarcely be a doubt but that that author borrowed some of his imagery at least from the more ancient story alluded to above. *Ibid.*

(26) *Ibid.*

(27) Account of the Danes and Norwegians, by J. J. A. Worsaae, p. 160.

(28) *Ibid.*

(29) *Haandbog i Fædrelandets Historie.*

(30) *Ibid.*

(31) Matthew Paris, v. i., p. 22.

(32) Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 793.

(33) The Danes had no sympathy for the Britons, as their frequent hostile descents on the coasts of Wales, or *Bretland*, plainly declare; it was simply a matter of expediency in this instance to invite their co-operation against the Saxons. The Welsh districts usually selected for such landings were those adjoining the banks of the Severn, and the Isle of Anglesey; but the Danes on other occasions also acted in concert with the Welsh Britons against the Saxons; and Palnatoke of Jomsborg married, during one of his excursions to Wales, Olöf, a daughter of the British chief Stefner. *Account of the Danes and Norwegians, &c.*, by J. J. A. Worsaae, p. 7.

(34) Ethelwerd's Hist., book 3.

(35) History of the Anglo-Saxons, by Sharon Turner, vol. i., p. 487.

(36) The *Lodbrokar Guida*, as it is termed—or poem relating to the death of this noted hero—is one of the most celebrated ancient compositions of the North. It is thought by most to have been Ragner's own composition, or that of his wife Aslauga, who is known to have been a *Schald*, or poetess. A Schald usually accompanied any important warlike expedition, for the purpose of recording its progress, and encouraging the fighting men to perform acts of valour by reminding them of the feats of their fathers. The great Canute, we may remember, was a Schald as well as a mighty king.

(37) The sons of Regner are said to have divided his back, spread his ribs in the figure of an eagle, and agonized his lacerated flesh by the addition of a saline stimulant. *Anglo-Saxons*, by Sharon Turner, vol. ii., p. 20.

(38) In this campaign Earl Algar the younger, of Spalding, greatly distinguished himself. *Historia Ingulphi*, anno 866.

(39) *Ibid*, anno 869.

(40) A most extraordinary birth has been attributed to these savage chiefs by one of the old chroniclers, in consequence of the merciless ferocity of their deeds, Thomas of Elmham saying—"Quo tempore venerunt Hynguar et Hubba, qui, ut fertur, filii "fuerunt cujusdam ursi, qui illos contra naturam de filiâ regis Daciæ generabat; quam "Sanctus Edmundus, ob eandam causam Daciam transiens, cum illud horribile facinus, "favore cujusdam cubicularii ejusdem dominæ, perpendisset, in camerâ noctu latitans "sub cortinis infaustum contra naturam aspiciens ursinum cum fæminâ coitum, extracto "gladio ursi caput abscidit, et mox in Angliam rediit. Ob quam causam eadem mulier, "filiis adultis retulit Edmundum prætactum patrem eorundem, quem illi hominem fuisse "putaverant occidisse. Et hæc fertur fuisse causa adventus illorum."

(41) Saxon Chronicle, anno 874.

(42) Matt. Westm., p. 365.

(43) Saxon Chronicle, anno 993.

(44) *Haandbog i Fœdrelandets Historie* af G. A. Allen, in which work a curious and pathetic story is told of Gorm, Svein's grandfather. Loving vehemently his eldest son Knut, when that son was killed, no one dared to inform him of the event, because he had declared he would put any such messenger of woe to death. Thyra, Gorm's wife, then adopted this expedient; she directed the hall of the royal residence to be clothed with blue (the mourning colour of the Danes), and ordered all to keep silent; upon which Gorm exclaimed that he perceived his son was dead; and he is said to have died of grief in consequence the following day.

(45) Fabian's Chronicle, vol. i., ch. 198, and Heylinius, in *Cosmograph.* lib. i., p. 271.

(46) Fabian's Chronicle, vol. i., ch. 193.

(47) Petrus Heylinius, in *Cosmograph.*, lib. i., 271. They were more properly however, termed *huskarls.*

(48) Brompton's Chronicle.

(49) Saxon Chronicle, anno 1002.

(50) Henry of Huntingdon, anno 1002.

(51) Retributive miracles are not unfrequently recorded as having occurred during the Danish ascendancy in Britain, by our old monkish writers, such as the following. The Danes having sacked Abingdon abbey and left nothing standing but the walls, the writer of the *Historia Monasterii de Abingdon* says: "Imago etenim affixa cruci, quæ in "medio mensæ edituris fuit posita, imago, quasi molestè ferens paganorum ingluviem "discumbentium, motu mirabili et brachio mobili, necnon digito flexibili, lapides de "maceria Refectorii potenti virtute et admirabili fortitudine extraxisse narratur, quibus "mediantibus, inaudita terribili turbine in ipsam sæviebat multitudinem paganorum. "Veruntamen nec a tali lapidatione imago citra destitit, donec universos Satani satellites "non pedetentim aut more testudinum incidentes extra Refectorium penitus expulisset."

(52) Florence of Worcester, p. 382.

(53) Snorre Sturleson, or son of Sturla, p. 276; a writer who was born in West Iceland, and eventually a judge there, A D. 1213.

(54) Translation from *Historia Ingulphi*, anno 1031.

(55) "Venerabilis autem pater Abbas Brithmerus, cum Cnutum Regem super "Angliam stabilitum, cerneret universos Anglos civiliter, et satis amicabiliter ubique "tractare, insuper sanctam Ecclesiam speciali devotione diligue, ac filiali subjectione "honorare, monasteriis, multisque sanctorum locis benefacere, quædam vero monasteria "ad summam gloriam promovere; statuit semel opportunitate captatâ Regem adire, &c." *Historia Ingulphi*, anno 1032.

(56) "Thecam etiam Rex Cnuts de argento et auro ad honorem gloriosissimi martyris "Vincentii Hispaniensis, cujus reliquiæ in hac continentur ecclesia fieri fecit. Dedit "etiam memoratus Rex huic domui duo signa grossa, quæ usque in hodiernam tempus in "ecclesia ista habentur. Abbas etiam Atheluinus hoc tempore capsam unam, ad formam "illius capsæ, quæ per Regem facta fuit, pari pænè magnitudine condidit, in quo reliquias "sanctorum à se diligenter acquisitas honorifice condidit. Fecit etiam crucem argen- "team, quæ adhuc in hac ecclesia habetur." *Historia Monasterii de Abingdon*, p. 443, anno 1034.

(57) *Historia Ingulphi*, anno 1035.

(58) This signal triumph was often and not unnaturally confounded with another great event, namely, the massacre of the Danes by the order of Ethelred. That dark deed of blood, however, was effected—as has been already shewn—in the month of November.

(59) He addressed a circular letter to John Lawerne, almoner of his cathedral, and to all rectors and vicars, &c., of his diocese, urging them to admonish all, of either sex, to cease from the binding of persons, and other improper sports, on those days commonly called *Hock-days*, under pain of excommunication; stating of these, "Lucrum Ecclesiæ "fingentes, sed dampnum animæ sub fucato colore lucrantes; quorum occasione plura "oriuntur scandala, &c.;" and ordering his clergy to preach against this practice in their churches, when the largest congregations should be assembled; and to send the names of all such as should thereafter offend against his order, by letter or in person, to his Consistory Court at Worcester. *Leland's Collectanea*, vol. v., p. 293.

(60) Laneham's Letter.

(61) "Collegerunt magnum exercitum qui *Hown-here* appellabatur, a quodam *Howne*, qui ductor eorum extiterat." *Henry Knighton, De Event. Angl., lib. i., cap.* 6.

(62) Saxon Chronicle, anno 1046.

(63) Snorre's Heimskringla, vol. iii., p. 149.

(64) Saxon Chronicle, anno 1066. A very remarkable reminiscence of this prince has lately been brought to light by Professor Rafn of Copenhagen, and in a place where it could have been least expected—viz., at Venice, whence it has now been ascertained that his name appears upon the large Pentelic marble Lion of the Venetian arsenal. This Lion was brought from the harbour of Piræus at Athens in 1687, by Francesco Morosini, the distinguished Generalissimo, and afterwards the Doge of Venice, among other trophies of his success against the Turks. On a winding scroll, on the left side of this Lion, is a Runic inscription, that has long baffled the attempts of the learned to decipher it, owing to the effects of time, &c. upon the surface of the marble; but, by the aid of casts and photographs, Rafn has happily succeeded in reading this specimen of the Nordic language, formerly in use throughout Scandinavia, and still retained in Iceland. It runs thus,—"Hakon, in conjunction with Ulf, Asmund, and Orn conquered this Port. "These men, and *Harald the Great, (i. e.* of great stature) imposed large fines, or con- "tributions on account of the insurrection of the Greek people. Dalk remained captive "in distant countries; Egil had gone on an expedition with Ragnar into Rumania and "Armenia." After a sanguinary conflict in the north, Harald (then quite a youth) fled to the south, and arrived at Constantinople in 1033, when he was only 18 years of age, and where he became Chief of the Varangian Guard under the Emperor Romanus III. He remained in the south until 1043, when he returned to his own country, at first sharing the rule of Norway with Magnus the Good, and then becoming its sole king in 1047. The above named *Ulf* is a very interesting character in connexion with the subject of Harald's invasion of this country, as he is recorded to have opposed that king's daring proposition most warmly, warning him of the improbability of success against the great valour he must expect to meet with in England.

The other scroll, on the right side of the Venice Lion, tells us that Harald the fair-haired was the author of both inscriptions. It is as follows: "Asmund engraved these "Runes, with Asgeir, Thorleif, Thord, and Ivar, at the request of *Harald the Great*, "although the Greeks had endeavoured to prevent it." *Inscription Runique du Pirée*, par C. C. Rafn; and *Archæological Journal*, vol. xvi, p. 188.

(65) Do., anno 1069.

(66) Do, anno 1075.

(67) Do., anno 1085. The obnoxious tax of *Danegelt* was now again revived, to furnish means for the maintenance of the defensive army levied by William, at the rate of twelve silver pence for every hundred acres of land. *Concilia Magnæ Brit. i.*, 312; *Wilkins.*

(68) Saxon Chronicle, anno 1087.

(69) This island was thrown up by the sea in the reign of Henry III.. It was given to the monks of Meaux for curing their herrings. Edward I. gave lands in Ravenserodde to Thornton Abbey.

(70) "And the Duke of Lancaster landed at Ravensporne, fast by Grymisby, in the "Translacion of Seynt Martyn (July 4th), no man making resistens." *Capgrave's Chronicle of England*, p. 270. Within a few days he was joined there by the Earl of Northumberland; Ralph Nevile, Earl of Westmoreland, and 60,000 men.

YORKSHIRE

ARCHITECTURAL SOCIETY.

On St. Wilfrid, and the Saxon Church of Ripon. Read at the Meeting of the Yorkshire and Lincoln Diocesan Architectural Societies, at Ripon, Sept. 14th, 1858. By John Richard Walbran, Esq., F.S.A. Lond., Edin., Newc.

As in the process of the formation of the globe, certain periods seem to have occurred, when the aggregated result of a particular agency was decomposed and re-distributed, and a new development of the

original principle of causation was applied to the old materials, for the production of a more complicated and vital result—so, in the history of the inhabitants of the globe, we may observe distinct periods when—after the determination of long constituted agencies of civilization—the original motive principle began to operate on new combinations of their elements with a more expansive and generative power. Such a period, perhaps, is that in which we live; and such also, I take it, was the time intervening between the fifth and the tenth centuries, when the life blood of the Roman empire had ebbed from the extremities of the known world to its expiring heart, and the innumerable hordes of Scythian warriors, that burst like a resistless lava torrent from their unapproachable strongholds in Germany, had changed both the physical character as well as the social institutions of southern Europe. The writers of history have consequently depicted this period as a long dreary tract of darkness and disorder—without anything systematic, stable, coherent, or regular; and many of them, who have found it more easy to apply general terms than to analyse and concentrate the scattered exponents that remain, have characterised this period under the ignominious, but very convenient denomination of the "Dark Ages." Yet, that chaotic mass which then constituted society contained the elements of modern European civilization; and, in proportion to that very confusion—to the number and heterogeneous character of the component elements of that chaos—are the richness and completeness of the civilization which has been the result. In this great fermentation of principles, the acute historian Guizot has traced, as distinctly perceptible and appreciable, three great elements of modern civilization—the Roman world—the Christian world—and the Germanic world; the *first* appearing in the unbroken prolongation of the Roman civilization beyond the empire, and combining the philosophical spirit, the classical spirit, the principle of freedom of thought, and the model of the beautiful; the *second* manifesting itself in the elevation of the character of intellectual development, after the triumph of Christianity; and the *third*, in the germination of our English social and political organization, from the conjoined principle of aristocratic patronage—or feudalism—with that of the common deliberation of freemen among the tribes of Germany.

In examining the application of these principles, they will, I apprehend, in no instance be found to be connected with more grave and important results than in the history of this country. To affirm that they are to be directed and converged to their triumphant result, through the agency and medium of the inhabitants of this country, might appear an assumption of that national vanity in which all considerable tribes and kingdoms have—at one time or another—loved to indulge; but, looking to our influence in the balance of European power, so disproportionate to the numerical population of our island home — the diffusion of our language—the extension of our empire over a large portion of the inhabitants of the whole world—our relation to those great western

states whose destiny lies so unfathomably mysterious in the future —and, above all, and greater than all—the immense influence we have directed to that holy purpose for which all kingdoms, nations, states, nay, the globe itself, was produced—we are presented with such an aggregate of extraordinary and unquestionable power— such a magnificent and hopeful announcement of means—such a just and harmonious correspondence between the means to be employed and the end to be attained—that we are compelled to believe that, at the great seminal period to which I have alluded, the elements of our English civilization were not bestowed for the advancement of a mere specific or national superiority, but for the general elevation of the human intellect; and—under the blessing and guidance of God—for the purification of the human heart. For, let it be remembered that it is our peculiar felicity, not merely that we received these elements, and by the vigorous exercise of our mental and corporeal powers—by our insular position, and other acknowledged advantages—expanded them in a more powerful, comprehensive, and rapid ratio than the other tribes of men that had associated themselves into states and kingdoms; but, we are to recognise that when these great European elements were converging to a vivifying focus of development, there was a simultaneous provision in this country, and in this country alone, of a state of society and national character that was ready to receive and fructify the force and quality and spirit of the motive power. In fact, the page of history that is now passing before our eyes presents us with the same result of one unerring principle—applicable alike to the fifth or to the nineteenth century—that the existence of an agent of civilization, whether it appears in the energy of one man—like Cæsar, or Cromwell, or the first Napoleon—or is the result of a long train of events, is not permanently successful unless the people to whom it is addressed are prepared, either from the cultivation of their intellect or the condition of their social habits, to be the willing and active recipients of it.

Yet the proportion in which any general agent of civilization will be successful is dependent, perhaps, in a greater degree than we have yet ascertained, on the peculiar physical conformation or cerebral structure of the race or caste to whose attention it is to be introduced, or to whose energy its progress is to be confided; nor are the climate and sky under which men may exist without a powerful influence in forming those habits of society by which the majority of their actions are determined. It was, therefore, a privilege and a dispensation for which we can never be sufficiently thankful, that, during the fermentation of national elements in the peculiar juncture now under our survey, the germs of civilization were not cast on a soil of uncongenial and unproductive institutions incapable or unwilling to receive them, but were interfused with a most propitious condition of the life blood and physical constitution of the people. Had they been introduced a few years earlier to our island, their operation, in pure Celtic blood, might more probably have left us that unhappy result which we have witnessed in per-

fection in our sister island; but though they too often appeared on the battle-field, and apparently amid the most hopeless ruin and desolation, the physical character and intellectual capacity of the inhabitants of this country underwent a most beneficial change; and from the happily proportioned admixture of the fire and fancy and impulse of the Celt, with the prudence, determination, and energy of the Saxon, has resulted the unique character of the Englishman—has been generated that faculty of common sense without which other kinds of sense are often useless—which carries us half way through the difficulties that oppose us, and has imparted to our institutions that genial elasticity which promotes every progressive development of truth. It is, indeed, perhaps necessary to complete the capabilities of any particular race that it should derive an admixture from another of a different character; and the effect of the amalgamation which ensued after the irruption of the Gothic tribes, has yet to receive its due consideration in the historical theory of that great European struggle, even as the principle has to be acknowledged and developed in our schemes of modern colonial legislation.

The admixture of two different tribes facilitated the fusion of institutions originated from discordant principles; but was not less fortunate in the development of freedom of thought and intellectual progression, than was the commingling of blood in the production of a race of men calculated to transmit these principles to their posterity. The constitution of the original population of this country would not have germinated and maintained those institutions of which we are justly proud; and, even after the Romans had left us the rich legacy of their experience and example, it is more than probable, if the country had escaped an invasion of the Gauls from the opposite shore, that a number of small states would have been formed, wherein the influence of civilization would not only have been unequally operative, but where consequent civil broils would, at this critical period, have arrested and impeded its introduction or effect. But, fortunately, when the fused mass of materials was awaiting the lasting impression to be transmitted to it—when the germs of progress might either have been dwarfed and distorted, or inspirited, according to the soil or situation where they were to be planted and take root—when the most favourable development of the elements that then existed in the island would have bequeathed to us nothing better than what is now enjoyed by other people of Celtic race and character—then, there came from the depths of the old German forests and the rugged shores of the Baltic, that daring spirit of ocean adventure that has produced our superiority on the seas—that consideration between patron and dependant that has resulted in our most valued political and municipal institutions—that determination of purpose and aptitude for action which, infused with the less solid and abiding qualities of the Celt, has maintained that unique and admirable constitution which has withstood shocks from within and universal hostility from without, while other nations have been subjugated or divided, or degraded and humbled in the dust.

But to those who perceive in the history and destiny of races and states, an operation more important than the organization of political agencies, to ensure our temporal prosperity, and to be estimated only as they enhance our purses or increase our import ance; who, keeping their eyes raised above the contending selfishness around them, on the only real and enduring object for which we are existing at all, the indication must be perceived with exceeding gratitude, that, in this dark and confused chaos—when existence became dependant on brute force and animal power—when the most ardent and bright eyed soul must have looked in vain for the advancement of the intellectual or moral character of mankind—it should have been the pleasure of the Almighty to prepare the minds of this favored people for the reception of that eternal and saving truth, which they were destined, in the fulness of time and after the revolution of centuries, to carry to the nethermost parts of the earth. Long, indeed, before the departure of the Romans, and in the first century of Christianity, it is evident that its doctrines had been taught in this land; but its spiritual truths—appealing to faith, to repentance, to a mediatorial sacrifice, to a state of existence, immaterial and invisible—were rendered impotent and uninfluential by the civil distractions of the times, and the antagonistic system of the Druidical superstition. And, though that dominant hierarchy had prolonged its existence until the coming of the Roman missionaries in the seventh century, when indeed, it had probably been rendered much less powerful through the incipient and jealous antagonism of secular and military authority, yet, the fusion of Christianity with the philosophical tenets of the Druids, would—from the mere concession to popular prejudices that would have ensued—have left us a religion insufficient for vital devotion, for much mental progress, and for all real liberty of thought, had not the feelings and character and disposition of the people been most providentially modified and changed. Not only had the wild Saxon invaders destroyed the majority of the temples, dispersed the priests, and—by the impunity of their ravages—shook the faith of the people in their avenging and insulted deities; but the invaders themselves—feeling no more those associations of weird and solemn scenery, which had so long and powerfully fostered the inveteracy of their superstition—found their attachment to it considerably relaxed and qualified. Nothing, therefore, was particularly to be opposed, but the gross apprehensions of the intellect, and the natural depravity of the human heart. There was no dominant hierarchy—no priest-bard, inciting the romantic associations of the people, and arming them with mythic song and ballad lore—no sophistical schools of philosophy to beat down or baffle; but everything was set afloat from the old moorings, and ready to float with the first surge of the impetuous tide.

Thus, when Paulinus, the Roman missionary, introduced the Christian religion into the kingdom of Northumbria—or that part of England north of the Humber—in the year 627, he neither sought to facilitate his purpose by preaching to assemblies of the

populace, nor by exhibiting an apparently miraculous demonstration of his authority, through the exercise of superior intelligence; but, striking at the root, he appealed boldly to the attention of Edwin, the sovereign of the land; who, after some deliberation, became so far interested in his doctrine as to call a council of his magnates to decide whether this new form of religion should be introduced into the realm or not. The proceedings of that first memorable assembly indicate sufficiently that the motives that prevailed were neither those of mere political toleration, nor that restless desire of change which attends another phase of society: but that those indefinable anticipations of immortality, which—whether in a savage or civilized condition—exist in every human breast, had operated in the minds of these meditative old Saxons. The high priest Coifi, indeed, inferring from his theology, an assurance which the lapse of twelve centuries has but partially eradicated,—that the rewards of piety were to be initiated, by divine interposition in this probationary state, complained, that though he had served the Gods faithfully, yet he had profited nothing by his devotion; and inclined to a change, if only for the sake of experiment; yet, a noble of the court, who seemed more worthy of the pontifical office, and whom many a nominal Christian has no right to stigmatize as a heathen, expressed, I would trust, more truly the general feeling of the assembly. "The more we reflect"—said he —"O king, on the nature of our soul, the less we know of it. It "is with our soul as with the little bird that came in, the other "day, at one of the windows of the room where you sat at dinner, "and flew out immediately at the other. Whilst it was in the room, "we knew something about it; but, as soon as it was gone, we could "not say whence it came, nor whither it was flown. Thus it is "with our soul; whilst it animates our body, we may know some "of its properties; but when once separated we know not whither "it goes nor whence it came." This speed gave a right direction to the enquiry; and Paulinus being called in to explain the mystery, so far satisfied the assembly, that the introduction of the Christian religion was acknowledged by legislative sanction, and the great temple of Godmundham, near Market Weighton, was destroyed, the high priest himself casting the first missile.[1]

If the opposition of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities was thus easily overcome, we need not suppose that there was much resistance offered by those classes on whom example and precedent acted more forcibly than knowledge and conviction, and in no part of England were the glad tidings of the Gospel embraced with greater eagerness than in this central part of Yorkshire. From a passage[2] in Bede's History, however, suggestive of many other

(1) *Bede, Hist. Eccl. Angl., lib.* 2, *c.* 13.

(2) "In provincia Deiorum, ubi sæpius manere cum rege solebat, baptizabat in fluvio Swalwa, qui vicum Cataractum præterfluit. *Nondum enim oratoria, vel baptisteria in ipso exordio nascentis ibi ecclesiæ poterant ædificari.* Attamen *in Campodono*, ubi tunc etiam villa regia erat, fecit Basilicam, quam post modum Pagani, a quibus Ædwinus rex occisus cum totâ eâdem villâ succenderunt, pro quâ reges posteriores fecere sibi villam in regione quæ vocatur *Loidis.* Evasit autem ignem altare, quia lapideum erat, et servatur adhuc in monasterio Reverendissimi Abbatis et Presbyteri Thryduulphi quod est in silva *Elmete.*" *Bede, lib.* 2, *c.* 14.

highly interesting considerations, it would appear that the ministration of Paulinus was not followed immediately by the erection of churches or baptisteries, with the exception of the cathedral at York, and the royal Basilica at Campodunum; but that in the province of Deira, where he often resided with the king, he was wont to baptize in the Swale, a river which flows by Catterick—a practice which probably has occasioned the foundation of the churches of Marrick, Easby, Langton, Pickhill, Topcliffe, Cundale, Brafferton, and Myton, on its banks. At this period there would remain at Catterick, "Campodunum," and Aldborough, once the capital city of the Brigantes, sufficient remains of their importance under the Roman rule to render them the most convenient stations for the assemblage of large congregations; and probably on this account, there occurred in the vicinity of the latter place, that memorable celebration, when Pope Gregory, writing to St. Eulogius, patriarch of Alexandria, says that above ten thousand men, besides an innumerable multitude of women and children, were baptized in one day in the river Swale; the apparent mechanical impossibility being explained by the statement that, after Paulinus had consecrated the river, he commanded the multitude that they should, in faith, go into the water, two by two, and in the name of the Holy Trinity baptize each other.

Apart from the especial interest which this incident claims from those who inhabit the locality, and inherit the blood which on that day flowed joyfully through many a heart, it is a matter of deep importance to all those who investigate the evidences of the Christian religion, and the means that have been employed for its propagation. It is one of those strange by-past events which it is easier to call up pictorially to the eye, than satisfactorily to explain to the mind. That many of the assembled crowd were ignorant enough of the essential doctrines of Christianity, and insufficiently prepared for the reception of the rite, the most charitable enquirer must allow; but that upwards of ten thousand persons should be gathered together at one time and place, to exchange the religion of their fathers—a superstition congenial to human passions and frailties—for a religion demanding faith, charity, repentance, and self-denial, even for a debased and corrupt religion—nay, for any purpose that required moral courage, mental energy, or something more than the requirements of a temporal and sensual existence; that this should occur, I say, even under the most favourable circumstances that we can imagine, is a fact so extraordinary—so opposite to our present experience with heathen nations, and to the general degree of progress which Christianity, or even any high moral truth, has yet obtained, that, being assured of the occurrence of the fact, and in our ignorance of the dispensations of the Almighty, we are almost drawn insensibly to the conclusion, that those influences which had operated in the apostolic ages as the agents of conversion, had been prolonged to accelerate the diffusion of the gospel among that chosen nation whose privilege it should be to carry it through the world.

The particular part of the river at which the ceremony was performed is said, by the common tradition of the country, to have been at *Brafferton-on-Swale,* about nine miles from Ripon, where the parish church, like that of some other villages on the same river, occupies such an impending site on the high and shelving bank, as would have been considered most injudicious and unnecessary, unless it had been intended to commemorate and hallow the locality of some such circumstance as this. There was a church here, and endowed with glebe, when the *Domesday* survey was taken, but no traces of it now remain. The dedication of the present structure has been assigned by some to St. Augustine, and by others to St. Peter; the truth probably being, that, long after the original foundation, the name of Augustine was added, as St. Wilfrid was elected at Ripon to share the honour with the prince of the apostles. Be this as it may, on one of the bells is a mutilated inscription, in the black letter of the fifteenth century, in which the words, "hujus S Augustini" are distinctly visible. Considering the veneration which the monkish writers and the mediæval clergy paid to the memory of St. Augustine, it is therefore not improbable but that, confusing his baptism of converts in the Kentish river Swale with what occurred here, they should have prejudiced Paulinus in this instance in his favour; as they seem to have done at[3] Whalley in Lancashire and elsewhere. It is a remarkable circumstance, however, that the presence, and no doubt the preaching, of Paulinus in the adjoining parish of Easingwold is proved by weighty evidence;[4] for in the reign of King Edward the first, when the inquisitions were taken which compose what are now called the Hundred Rolls, the jurors allude both to the field and the cross of Paulinus as familiar objects; and, to this day, a field on the borders of the parish bears the name of "Paulin's Carr."

Recalling to the mind's eye the mere elements of that long vanished scene by the Jordan of England—the dull sluggish river, gliding under the high shelving banks crowded with anxious heathens—the old Roman missionary passing to and fro, counselling, reproving, or encouraging his thronging audience—the deep-wooded background of the great Yorkshire plain, and those blue hills whence many of them had been gathered, beyond—the emotions of doubt, of faith, or joy, or contemplative thought, which must have passed over the faces of that picturesque multitude, assembled on an occasion the most important that could occur to them on earth—it seems a subject most worthy to be kept before the mind through the medium of pictorial delineation; and even in the decoration of the only great national structure, in which fresco painting has been allowed to appear, a representation of this memorable incident in the history of our country—a record of no inoperative or mythological story, might more suitably, and certainly more usefully appear, than those

(3) Dr. Whitaker's Hist. of Whalley, 2nd edit., p. 50.

(4) D'ns de Stivellington tenet quoddm pratum quod vocatur PRATUM PAULINI quod factum fuit de purprestura facta super dominicum Regis tempore R. Joh'is, &c. Item Will's Peitevin tenet unam purpresturam que de novo facta est super dominicum Regis juxta CRUCEM PAULINI, &c. *Rot. Hund.* p. 122.

delineations of brute passion, selfish ambition, or mere physical courage, of which, whether in history, or painting, or poetry, or sculpture, we have had sufficient—perhaps, rather more than enough.

It is painful to learn that the baptism of thousands into a religion of peace and love was—like many another effort of the human soul to free itself from the bondage of idolatry and materialism—impaired in its immediate result by one of those fierce baptisms of fire and blood through which it seems the doom of every nation to be constrained to pass, before its energies and institutions are rendered fully conducive to the real purposes of humanity. A desolating warfare, in which the good king Edwin perished, soon after followed; and though James the deacon boldly remained, and taught at York and Catterick after his master Paulinus had fled: and during the reign of Oswald, who succeeded Edwin, the establishment of Christianity was again attempted: yet the broils and tumults that were prolonged were, doubtless, unfavourable to its progress in general, until the defeat of Penda at the battle of Winmore, near Leeds, in 635, and the settlement of Alchfrid on the throne. This prince, who during his father's lifetime ruled over that southern portion of the Northumbrian kingdom called *Deira*, appears to have been a man of more book-learning and general intelligence than many of the men who sat on the Saxon thrones. He had been educated in that celebrated school of Ireland of which we have yet so much to learn; and when he became invested with authority, applied himself ardently and systematically to the establishment of Christianity in his province. In those early days of the Church, there was no minute subdivision of districts in which particular men were appointed exclusively to labour; and no small part of the propagation of the Gospel seems to have been accomplished by men who, though they were called *monks*, yet lived together, not—as their successors in after days—so much for complete seclusion and meditation as for the facility of diffusing their spiritual comforts from certain established central churches. It pleased the Almighty that the ground on which we are now assembled was selected by the king as one of these missionary stations; and hither was brought from Melross, in Scotland, the abbot Eata, with a body of monks, among whom was Cuthbert, the subsequently sainted patron of the church of Durham.[5]

The site which they chose for their monastic establishment—which, no doubt, after the fashion of the Scots,[6] was built of wood—was most probably a piece of ground on the east side of the town, now insulated by *Stammergate* on the west, *Priest lane* on the north, and a lane leading from *St. Marygate* on the south; the church

5 "Cumque post aliquot annos regi Alchfrido placeret, pro redemptione animæ suæ, locum quendam regni sui qui vocatur in Hripum, ad construendum ibidem monasterium Eatam abbati donare; tollens idem abbas quosdam é fratribus secum in quibus et Cuthbertum condidit ibi, quod petebatur monasterium." *Bede, Vita Cuthberti*, cap. 7. See also *Bede, Eccl. Hist.*, lib. v., cap. 20; and lib. iii., cap. 25.

(6) Bede says that when Finan built the church of Lindisfarne—"more Scottorum, non de lapide, sed de robore secto totam composuit, atque arundine texit." *Hist. Eccl.*, lib. iii., c. 24.

having stood in that field, on the east side of the House of Correction, still called *Scots Monument Yard*, where the remains of Early English shafts, which have been found in the mound of gravel, shew that a building had marked the hallowed site as late as the thirteenth century.

At this period, the chief missionary operations in the north of England were conducted by these Culdees, or Scottish monks, who followed the rule of St. Columb of Iona, then radiating from Ireland and Scotland over a great part of the north of Europe, in formidable antagonism with the Papal authority and pretensions. Though the Roman bishops and their clergy in England viewed the establishment of the Scottish rule in Northumbria with a jealous eye, yet they deemed it impolitic, for a season to organize their hostility; for the Scottish Bishops, Aidan and Finan, who, in spite of Pope Gregory's injunction, had removed the seat of the northern primacy from York to the little island of Lindisfarne, exhibited that blameless life and conversation—that correspondence between their preaching and their practice—which secured from the shrewd Saxons reverence and respect both for themselves and the doctrines which they taught. The particular tenets which they promulgated have been made the subject of violent controversy; and, as some part of their history has descended to us through the medium of their adversaries, perhaps also of some injustice. They rejected, it is evident, however, many of the ceremonies and traditions of the Romish Church; and it is as evident that the Scripture was their authority and guide, as it is uncertain whence they originally derived that pure light which they enjoyed and communicated.

It is deeply interesting, therefore, to perceive that this city derives its origin neither from a mere felicity of agricultural position, nor from one of those associations of dwellings which fears of life and property often gathered round the blood-stained walls of a feudal fortress; but from the existence of one of the very first Protestant Churches which was built and established in England. And it may, also, gratify those who love to trace the existence and fortunes of the Protestant faith in this kingdom, before its triumph at the Reformation, to observe that the diffusion of Christianity, in many of the churches of Northumbria, was promoted twelve centuries ago, by the apostolic labours of men free from those ultramontane influences which for nine subsequent centuries were dominant in the land.

Meanwhile, however, an agent of much more importance than the monastic association, both as regards the future interests of Ripon as well as those of the English Church, was arising in the person of one Wilfrid, a young man traditionally said to have been born at Ripon or in the vicinity; who, having found refuge at the Northumbrian Court from the malicious disposition of his stepmother, had been sent by Eanfleda the queen, to study in the abbey of Lindisfarne, whence he had gone to Rome to cherish and indulge those inspirations which had dawned on his mind even in that "stronghold of Scottish usages." Returning to Northumbria, about

the time when the Romish party gained an accession of interest by the death of Bishop Finan, he infused new life into their lagging cause; and besides charming the Court with his talents and foreign accomplishments, he obtained among the country people the reverence of a prophet, as, indeed, his biographer Eddi roundly says, he was.

At this time a violent contention[7] agitated the whole of Christendom, as to the proper time of keeping the feast of Easter, and the true fashion of the priestly tonsure;—a contest which was conducted in the same identical spirit as the project for the alteration of the style in the last century. The Scots, following the method of the Greek or Eastern Church, and alleging the authority of St. John, celebrated their festival on the day of the full moon which happened after the vernal equinox, whether that day fell on a Sunday or otherwise. The Roman missionaries, claiming their example from St. Peter, kept their Easter—not on the day of the full moon next after the vernal equinox—but on the *Sunday* next following that day. When, therefore, Wilfrid had established his influence at Court, and confirmed the natural inclination of the Queen to the Romish ritual and practice, his ready ability to turn the current of circumstances to the propagation of his projects no doubt accelerated the convention of that Council which king Oswi called to decide those disputes at Whitby, in 664. The arguments, which were conducted by Wilfrid on the one side, and Colman, the new bishop of Northumbria, on the other, proceeded with doubtful success, until Wilfrid, claiming the authority of St. Peter, quoted that memorable declaration about the Keys, which has since done the Church of Rome so much important service. On this appeal from his judgment to his fears, the king demanded the authentication of the promise, and being satisfied of its literal truth, and that Colman could boast of no such influential patron, he decided at once that the Romish method should be adopted; fearing, as he explained, that when he came to the gates of heaven, there should be none to open them, he being his adversary who was proved to have the keys.[8]

It is lamentable to perceive how soon the tender plant of Christianity was blighted by these theological disputes, unconnected with any fundamental doctrine; nor is it less humiliating to reflect that the spiritual condition of the people was postponed by the statement of an irrelevant fact, and the decision of a prince who had not yet learned to forget the material Elysium of paganism.

The Scottish monks, being now placed in the position of nonconformists, must have found it both useless and unsafe to continue their labours at Ripon; and it was, I presume, on this occasion, that they returned again to Melross, whence Eata was soon after elevated to the see of Lindisfarne; and St. Cuthbert, who had been *hostiller* or entertainer of guests and pilgrims in the monastery of Ripon, was advanced to the post of Prior of Melross.

(7) See *Mabillon, præf. in Sæc.* iii. *Ben.* sec. 1.

(8) *Bede, Eccl. Hist.*, lib. iii. c. 25.

I would willingly believe, however, that the mission of Eata and his Scottish monks was not entirely fruitless or inoperative, and that they, or some of the contemporary Culdees who had preached in Northumbria, had baptized an extraordinary number of converts, or made some remarkable demonstration, at Topcliffe, six miles from this place; since the church of that ancient and once important little town is dedicated to St. Columb, the father of the Scottish Church; and, like that of Brafferton, four miles lower on the Swale, stands so dangerously and unnecessarily on the high treacherous bank of the river, that it is difficult to resist the impression that its site was selected from its connexion with some fact in the early history of the Saxon Church, that is now forgotten. But, whatever may be the value of the evidence indicated by the object of the dedication—which it is exceedingly improbable was bestowed in after times by the Romanists—it is evident from Domesday Book, that the church there was considered of unusual importance in the eleventh century, since it was not only endowed with glebe, but it is recorded also that there were two priests in the manor—establishments of which we have very few examples in the county. Before the church was recently rebuilt, part of an early Saxon Cross was visible in the outer wall of the north aisle; but I am afraid that, like several other interesting objects in that picturesque and venerable fabric, it has since been irretrievably lost.

After the departure of Eata and his monks from Ripon, king Alchfrid bestowed their monastery and the appurtenant landed possessions on Wilfrid, whose history from this period becomes an important element in the progress of the Anglo-Saxon Church.[9]

Into a detailed biography of this memorable man it is not my intention now to enter; for, even if its prolixity was, on an occasion like the present, admissible or necessary, the chronology of events is so much confused and unsettled, that the arguments necessary for their elucidation would perplex the thread of my narrative, without producing an adequate or profitable result. To those who are

(9) "Unde ei donaverat monasterium quadraginta familiarum in loco qui dicitur in Hrypum: quem videlicet locum paulò antè eis qui Scotos sequebantur, in possessionem monasterii dederat. Sed quia illi postmodum, datâ sibi optione magis loco cedere quam suam mutare consuetudinem volebant, dedit eum illi qui dignam loco et doctrinam haberet et vitam." *Bede, Hist. Eccl.*, lib. 3, cap. 25. Bede afterwards, having stated that Alchfrid gave to Wilfrid "Monasterium *triginta* familiarum, in loco qui vocatur Inhrypum"—adds, still more pointedly, in reference to Eata's secession—"Quem videlicet locum dederat pridem ad construendum inibi monasterium his, qui Scotos sequebantur. Verum quia illi postmodum optione datâ, maluerunt loco cedere quàm Pascha Catholicum, cæterosque ritus canonicos, juxta Romanæ et Apostolicæ Ecclesiæ consuetudinem recipere, dedit hoc illi quem melioribus imbutum disciplinis ac moribus vidit." *Hist. Eccl.* lib. 5, cap. 20.

"Terram x tributariorum Æstanforda et post paululum cœnobium in HRypis cum terrâ xxx mansionum pro animæ suæ remedio concessit ei, et Abbas ordinatus est." *Eddii Vit. Wilfr.*, cap. viii.

In these days—Eddi says—Egilbert, a foreign bishop, came to the court of king Oswin and Alchfrid, his son, the latter of whom begged he would ordain Wilfrid a "Presbyter," which he did, at Ripon. *Vit. Wilf.*, cap. ix.

anxious to realise the processional exponents of an ardent existence, which now—in the oblivious lapse of twelve centuries—has faded away, even in this beloved scene of its triumphs, its trials, and its rest, to a tinsel pageant for children and a watchword for hilarity and festivity—an unreal shadowy vision of the past—"a shadow "with not enough of cognizable substance to be reproachful to those "who play with it"—I can recommend nothing but the Latin biography of his chaplain, Stephen Eddi;[10] which, though as faithful as any chaplain's biography of his master may be, is but like a flat missal illumination, without projection, grouping, or background, necessary to depict the temper and condition of the state of society in which he was placed, or the peculiar nature of those bitter trials which it was his lot to encounter and surmount. Eadmer, a monk of Canterbury, who wrote a life of Wilfrid at the end of the twelfth century, and Frithgode, a monk who attempted the same in Latin verse, were supplied with no more real knowledge of facts than had been recorded by Eddi and Bede, but magnified them by all the zeal, and decorated them with all the affectionate fancy, which a most devoted veneration of their subject could inspire. With the fate of all other men who have initiated principles which have developed unusually influential results, his character has been as highly and injudiciously extolled by one class of writers as it has been unjustly and wilfully depreciated by another; the tone of each individual judgment being regulated by the appreciation of the influence which Wilfrid is supposed to have contributed to the introduction of the Papal supremacy. The sedate and cautious Rapin has arranged the facts of Eddi and Bede so as to represent him as "a man of very proud and haughty temper, one "of those who are for ever domineering wherever they come, "and cannot bring themselves to use towards others that con-"descension they expect from all the world." He appeared, in the theoretic vision of the indolent Hume, as "the haughtiest "and most luxurious prelate of his age;" and as having "con-"founded the imaginations of men" with the ruling topic "that "St. Peter, to whose custody the keys of Heaven were entrusted, "would certainly refuse admittance to every one who should be "wanting in respect to his successor!" On the other hand, his biography by Alban Butler is such an affectionate eulogy as a long continued microscopic admiration of the mediæval saints, through a highly coloured medium, might naturally produce; while Dr. Lingard, with an acute perception of the history and early condition of the Anglo-Saxon church, and with not a more partial leaning to his subject than may be allowed to his position, has satisfied the ecclesiastical phase of the enquiry by a just and able vindication of his character from the stereotyped aspersions of Protestant historians. After the recent revival of ecclesiastical history, compilers and ritualists have tilted on the ground for the entertainment of their respective admirers, leaving anything like a fair estimate of

(10) Printed by Gale, among the *XV Scriptores*, vol. 3, p. 40—90.

his general character, influence, objects, and social position, wholly unsatisfied. In detailing the *Lives of the English Saints*, I must confess, however, that Mr. Newman produced that vivid, animated, and eloquent biography, which would assuredly have been received as an instructive and highly suggestive memorial, if the unqualified terms of eulogy in which he systematically indulges, and the intrusively theological tendency of many of his arguments and deductions, had not occasioned a continual reference to those stern Saxon witnesses whom he has interrogated—rather with the solicitude of an advocate than the temperate impartiality of a judge. The life of our abbot, therefore—that is, a dispassionate and authenticated estimate of his services to the cause of religion, the advancement of science, and to social progress and refinement—has never yet been considered in the comprehensive and philosophical spirit which the importance of the subject deserves. For his history is neither a triumphant testimony to the truth of that system which in its nascent form rose before him, unincumbered with many superfluities which its full developement has exhibited to us; nor a voiceless and passive object on which Quixotic theologians may try the temper of their weapons with safety and satisfaction, but a weighty and powerful element in those agencies by which Christianity and civilization were established in this land; an element—if not operating through the medium which we now think we should have adopted—yet, by the faithful devotion of an existence, by honesty, and sincerity, and truth.

The decision of the Council of Whitby having rendered Colman incapable of presiding over the Church of Northumbria, the king was advised that no one could compose the dissensions, and remove the difficulties that impeded the progress of what he believed to be the true faith, better than he who had defended it so successfully on the day of trial. Wilfrid, however, holding consecration by the British bishops to be invalid, as not deriving authority from the representative of St. Peter, went over into France, where the ceremony was performed with unusual state—consequent, perhaps, on his late services—by the bishop of Paris, assisted by eleven other bishops.[11] His absence being protracted longer than the king deemed necessary, Cedda, abbot of Lastingham, near Kirby Moorside—afterwards the sainted patron of the church of Litchfield—was placed in the episcopal chair; so that when Wilfrid, who had suffered shipwreck in his passage to England, arrived in Yorkshire, he was obliged to retire to Ripon,[12] where he resided three years, until Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, visiting Northumbria, deposed Cedda and restored Wilfrid to his see.

Being now in a position to realize those plans of duty which must have filled many an hour of his pensive musings on the banks of the Ure and the Skell, how many crowds of converts he bap-

11 *Eddii Vit. Wilf.*, cap. x, xi, xii.

12 Ad sedem cœnobialem abbatis humiliter in HRypis iij annis resedit." *Eddii Vit. Wilf.*, cap. xiv.—*XV Scriptores*, p. 58.

tized, how many anxious multitudes he instructed, how many journeyings to and fro among our familiar scenes he underwent—after his practice—on foot, and in all inclemencies of weather; how great an amount of piety, and intellect, and earthly treasure he directed to the holy cause for which he lived—have passed, from a nation of recording hearts, to something more unreal than a dream. Yet, no doubt, one of his first works was to repair the cathedral church of York, which Edwin and Paulinus had built, but which had fallen into ruin when the Northumbrian see was removed by Aidan to Lindisfarne. We are told by Eddi[13] that he repaired the walls, whitewashed the pillars, covered the roof with lead, and—instead of the old lattices of wood and linen—filled the windows with glass, a luxurious article, of which this is the first *recorded* appearance in England. The material was, however, probably brought from France; for Benedict Biscop, abbot of Wearmouth near Sunderland, is said by Bede[14] to have been the person who first *introduced Glass-makers* into this country about the year 678, ten years after Wilfrid's restorations. That it was used for such a purpose on the Continent, about the time of Constantine—and therefore most probably introduced here—is evident, however, from a passage in Lactantius,[15] where, speaking of the mind seeing through the eyes, he uses the similitude—*quasi per fenestras lucente vitro, aut speculari lapide obductas.* But, indeed, glass suitable for insertion in a window is very frequently found in the excavation of Roman stations in England; and so, most probably, Biscop merely revived a forgotten or neglected art.

The metropolitan church being stablished and dignified, the remarkable affection which Wilfrid ever manifested for Ripon directed his endeavours next to the rebuilding of the monastery here; but in what particular form, or on what scale, he realized for the first time, those architectural studies which must have been suggested to his active mind during his long sojourn at Rome, we have no definite or precise information. The only account of the church left us by Eddi, who resided and ministered within its walls, is that it was a "Basilica," constructed of wrought stones from the foundation; and that divers pillars and porticoes entered into its arrangement. The employment of stone instead of the usual materials of wood and thatch, is a proof of the unusual character of the building; and the allusion to pillars and porticoes suggests the plan of a structure with side aisles, and not improbably a transept; a partial copy, perhaps, of some Basilica which had engaged his preference in France or Italy, if there were no structures left by the Romans in Britain, and even in his own diocese, which he was content to copy. It has been thought that William of Malmesbury supplies some additional particulars when he says,[16] "Sensit et Ripis

(13) *Vit. Wilfr.*, cap. xvi.

(14) "Artificiis Britaniis catenus incognitos." *Vit. S. Bened.*, c. 5.

(15) *De Opificio Dei*, cap. viij.

(16) *De Gest. Pont.*, ed. Saville, fol. 148 b.

"industriam antistitis, edificata ibi a fundamentis Ecclesia miro "fornicum inflexu, lapidum tabulatu, porticuum anfractu;" but as Wilfrid's work had been partially destroyed in 948, they can be of little importance, even if he had seen the building, which was subsequently "restored."

From some cause that is not now evident, the site of the old Scottish church was deserted for a position a few yards to the west, on the opposite side of what was—no doubt, even then—a public street, and at the base of the slope on which the city is situated; the particular piece of ground occupied by the church being now enclosed within the Deanery garden, on the west side of St. Mary-gate.

The dedication of the church to St. Peter was celebrated with all the pomp and circumstance befitting a national solemnity, for this was the fifth monastery that had been founded in Yorkshire. On a site now unknown to a majority of those who have spent their days on the spot, were gathered, on that day, the king Egfrid and his brother king Elwin, and a vast concourse of the princes and nobles and commonalty of Northumbria. Adopting the ceremonial used by Solomon, on his dedication of the Temple, as his example,[17] Wilfrid first stood up before the august assembly, and prayed—in the sublime words of his prototype—that God might sanctify the house which he had built, and the prayers of the faithful thenceforth to be offered therein. He then dedicated the altar, on which he placed a cover of purple wrought with golden embroidery; and having arranged thereon the sacramental vessels, administered the holy Eucharist to the marvelling congregation. Addressing himself, lastly, to the people, he endeavoured to animate their beneficence and invigorate their memory by an enumeration of the lands which king Egfrid had bestowed upon the church, and by the assent and subscription of the bishops and princes then present, had legally conveyed to it—enumerating, at the same time, the holy places in divers parts which had remained desolate since the British clergy—or Culdees—had fled from them. At the conclusion of the ceremony, the multitude repaired to a banquet, which, after the lingering rites of paganism, lasted three days and three nights—the prince and the peasant joining in unconstrained hilarity and exultation. Loudly and far, on those long-past days, the wild shouts of the half-christianized Saxons echoed over the green slopes, now covered by our homes; and many an after-night in the cottages of Yorkshire was whiled away with traditions of what was seen and done and heard at the Dedication of the great church of Ripon.[18]

(17) 2 Chron., ch. vi.

(18) "In Hrypis Basilicam polito lapide a fundamentis in terrâ usque ad summum ædificatum, variis columnis et porticibus suffultam in altum erexit et confirmavit. Jam postea perfectâ domu, ad diem dedicationis ejus invitatis regibus Christianissimis Ecgfridi et Ælwino patribus, cum abbatibus præfectis, et subregulis, totiusque dignitatis personis, simul in unum convenerunt; consecrantes secundum sapientissimum Salomonem, domum Domino, in honorem Sancti Petri Apostolorum Principis dicatum precesque in eâ populorum suffragantium; altare quoque cum basibus suis Domino dedicantes, purpuraque auro texta induentes, populi communicantes omnia canonicè compleverunt. Stans itaque Sanctus Wilfridus Episcopus ante altare conversus ad populum, coram Regibus,

Besides the local interest we derive from this relation, we gain a remarkable illustration of the earlier method of dedicating churches in this country. It is suggestive, too, of many useful reflections, to ascertain that on this occasion the order of Solomon's ceremonial was adopted. For, so little had the primitive habits and general intelligence of the human race advanced in the twenty centuries that separated the inspired tongue that addressed Israel in Jerusalem, and the mitred missionary of Rome, who spoke before the Saxons of these Yorkshire vales, that the terms of the supplication—which, in the ears of a more intelligent age would have appeared as an invocation of the general blessings and protection of the Almighty—fell, I doubt not, on that day on many an anxious ear, as one of those appeals to the special interposition of Providence in their individual troubles, which under all phases of superstition is so eagerly expected and demanded. Yet—amid the frequent carnage of the battle-field—the destruction of strong places —the ungovernable pestilences and visitations to which the physical condition of their country rendered them especially obnoxious—and in subjection to a system of jurisprudence whose final resort was an appeal to the decision or interposition of heaven—they might be excused for the literal application of passages, apparently more suitable to their condition than many of those "texts" wherewith men of intelligence and ability now often fight the battles of sectarian warfare.

And when, in after years, some of the secular benefits which were the subject of Wilfrid's prayer, were initiated by the protection of sanctuary for the manslayer, by the compurgation by oath, and other civil immunities which by kingly gratitude were bestowed on this house—and some of which are operating on us at this very hour—we may charitably forgive the assurance of our forefathers that the prayer of the great bishop was granted.

The building of the minster at Ripon being completed, our abbot dispatched his troop of masons and artificers to an estate he had obtained in the beautiful valley of the Tyne; and, on the site where the town of Hexham now stands, they erected, in the year 674, another minster in honour of St. Andrew, which not only exceeded their work at Ripon in magnificence, but—as Eddi[19] declares —every other structure on this side the Alps; and the account

enumerans regiones quas antè Reges pro animabus suis et tunc in illâ die cum consensu et subscriptione Episcoporum et omnium Principum illi dederunt, lucidè enuntiavit, necnon et ea loca sancta in diversis regionibus quæ Clerus Britonum, aciem gladii hostilis manu gentis nostræ fugiens deseruit. Erat quippe Deo placabile donum quod religiosi Reges tam multas terras, Deo ad serviendum Pontifici nostro conscripserunt: et hæc sunt nomina regionum, juxta Rippel, et in Gaedyne, et in regione Dunitinga, et in Caetlevum, in ceterisque locis. Deinde, consummato sermone, magnum convivium trium dierum et noctium Reges cum omni populo lætificantes magnanimes in hostes, humiles cum servis Dei, inierunt. Addens quoque Sanctus Pontifex noster inter alia bona ad decorem domus Dei, inauditum ante seculis nostris quoddam miraculum. Nam quatuor Evangelia, ab auro purissimo in membranis depurpuratis, coloratis, pro animæ suæ remedio scribere jussit, necnon et Bibliothecam librorum eorum omnem de auro purissimo et gemmis pretiosissimis fabrefactam, compaginare inclusores gemmarum præcepit, quæ omnia et alia nonnulla, in testimonium beatæ memoriæ ejus, in ecclesia nostra usque hodie recorduntur, ubi reliquiæ illius requiescunt, et sine intermissione quotidie in orationibus nominis ejus recordantur." *Eddii Vita Wilfr.*: *Gale, XV. Script.*, vol. 3, p. 60.

(19) *XV. Script.* p. 62.

given of it by the prior of Hexham,[20] in the 12th century, proves that the chaplain's veneration had not exceeded his judgment. There is no part of this building which had the appendages of aisles, clerestories, and sculptured arches, now remaining above ground; but, in digging at the west end of the abbey-church in that town about forty years ago, a crypt, or subterranean chapel was discovered, which so minutely corresponded with prior Richard's description of crypts and oratories and the passages leading to them, as to prove—in connexion with its own evidence—that it was, indisputably, part of the work of the great abbot of Ripon. On comparing the plan of this chapel with that of the crypt in our cathedral called "St. Wilfrid's Needle," I became convinced that our crypt was of his construction; and in a descriptive account which I read before the general meeting of the Archæological Institute, at York, in 1846, I trust that I successfully vindicated for Ripon the honour of possessing one of the most undoubted and singular specimens of Anglo Saxon architecture in the kingdom.[21]

As it is certain, from the testimony of Leland, who saw the remains of Wilfrid's monastery when he was at Ripon in the time of Henry VIII, that the Saxon minster of St. Peter occupied the site I have previously mentioned, and not that of the present cathedral,[22] in which the crypt is included, it would appear that Wilfrid had built *another* church at Ripon above the crypt in question; a position confirmed, in some measure, by the report of the Prior of Hexham[23] that there were, in his time, besides the minster, three other churches, all of which were attributed to the munificence of Wilfrid.

Indeed, it is by no means improbable but that he may have founded a third church in Ripon; for Leland, referring to a site about two hundred yards north-west of the monastery, says, "there "hath bene, about the north part of the olde towne, a paroch church "by the name of Alhallowes." There neither is, nor is remembered to have been, traces of any such building on Allhallowgate hill; but in using the ground as a gravel-pit, the skeletons of many bodies that have received Christian burial here have been discovered; and on the breast of one of them an iron cross, evidently fabricated at a very early period. As the graves appear to be continued westward, it is not improbable, if the building was of stone, that some remains of its foundation may yet be observed.

As the greater part of those whom I am now addressing are probably unacquainted with the appearance of the Saxon Crypt, or —as it has been called—"St. Wilfrid's Needle," I may state that it is a small vaulted chamber, 11 feet 3 inches long; 7 feet 9 inches wide; and 9 feet 4 inches high; which has been originally placed under the altar of that church in which it was constructed; but, from its archaic character and peculiar associations, has subsequently influenced the plan of the present cathedral, so as to be

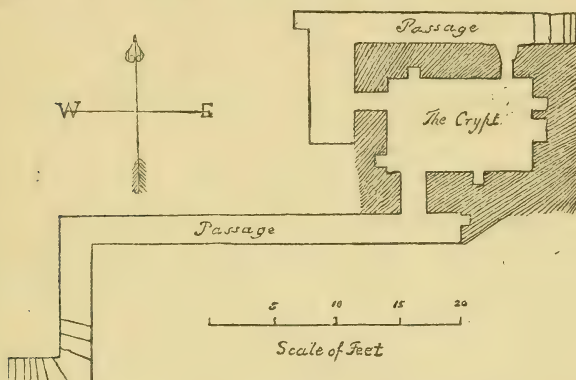
(20) *Decem Script.*, ed. Twysden, col. 290.

(21) *Proceedings of the Archæol. Inst. at York.*

(22) "The old Abbay of Ripon stoode wher now is a Chapelle of our Lady in a Botom one close distant by (200 yds) from the new Minstre."—*Leland, Itin.* vol. i., p. 92.

(23) *Ric. Hagulst. de Statu, &c.*

retained under the central—or St. Wilfrid's—tower, in the like spirit as the tomb of the Prince of the Apostles has been retained under the central dome of St. Peter's, at Rome. These crypts were originally constructed in pious imitation of those sepulchral chambers in Italy, which were the refuge and the tomb of many of the early Christians; and accordingly, this structure, whose type Wilfrid had doubtless seen there, has been for some time believed to be a Roman tomb, which the builders of the present cathedral had found upon the site, and adapted to the purposes of their ritual. After descending, at the base of the south-west pillar of the central tower, into a long passage of comparatively modern date, the crypt is entered by a narrow round-headed doorway in the south side.



On this same side, in the interior, is a plain round-headed niche in the wall, sixteen inches high, and thirteen inches wide, intended, perhaps, to contain a lamp. In the middle of the east end is a larger but similar-shaped niche, probably for the altar-piece, with a smaller one below; on the north side, two niches of like size and form to that in the opposite wall; and at the west end, another niche, and a doorway of similar character to that by which the vault is entered, leading to another apartment, measuring four feet from east to west, and twelve from north to south. This place, which has a semi-vault that has apparently supported the altar-steps of the original church above, and springs in a contrary direction to that of the chapel, communicates at the N.E. angle with a passage which runs behind the north wall of the crypt, and formerly terminated in steps, ascending to a little chamber in the choir-screen, behind the subdean's stall. One of the niches in the crypt, which correspond in shape and position with those recesses in Roman tombs where the funereal vases were deposited, has a small basin hollowed in the base; and the easternmost niche in the north wall, has, at some period subsequent to its original construction, been perforated and enlarged through the wall to the passage behind, so as to form that renowned place of ordeal, to which tradition tells us that those ladies who loved—" not wisely

but too well"—were occasionally subjected. The passages have never been vaulted, and are covered with large slabs. The crypt is built throughout of large stones, roughly hewn and plastered, and was, no doubt, a creditable work at a time when there were not probably more than three contemporary stone churches in Yorkshire; but, of course, presents nothing which could not be executed by the most inexperienced of our masons. Twelve hundred years have not, indeed, bowed or crumbled its vault, and its walls are still as vertical and firm as when Wilfrid saw them; but the Saxon artificers were content to form the heads of the doors and niches by hewing the semicircle from the horizontal course which passed over them, nor attempted to improve their effect even by chamfering the angles. After John Carter was here on one of his painful peregrinations in 1790, he reported[24] that he had seen "remains of the altar," and that "on the south side of the chapel" was a small opening, communicating with a receptacle for bones; but no traces of such things now remain.[25] The crypt at Hexham is more complicated in its arrangement[26] than that of Ripon, or—at least—than this now appears, after it has been disturbed by the builders of the original, and of the renewed, central tower. It is manifest, however, by comparison of the plans, that not only in the general spirit of the design but also in the details, such an identity is manifested, as leaves no doubt that they had one common purpose and founder. There is, in both, the same vaulted chapel, with niches in the walls; the same semi-vaulted space at its western extremity; and—so far as we can infer—there has been, nearly, the same arrangement of the passages by which the crypt was to be approached. There is, in both, the same kind of semicircular-headed doorway, agreeing in the height of six feet, three inches; the same mode of construction in the niches of the chapel; nay, even the width of the passages agree, within an inch.

The purposes to which this very singular place has been successively applied are not certainly ascertained, though there seems no doubt but that, originally, it was intended to serve as a place of retirement, humiliation, penance, and prayer. Camden was told, within memory of the Reformation, that women were drawn through "the Needle," as an ordeal of their chastity—the culprit being "miraculously" detained; or, as Fuller wittily observed, "they "prick'd their credits, who could not thread the needle." As far, however, as the contraction of space was concerned, the frailest of

(24) *Gent. Mag.* for 1806, v. 2, p. 624

(25) Since this paper was read, the niche on the south side of the Crypt has been more particularly examined; and by the removal of some mortar with which a fracture at the back of it had been closed, after the time of Carter's visit, the "receptacle" has been discovered to be a large cavity wrought in the substance of the wall, probably by treasure hunters, after the Reformation. It still contains a number of human bones mixed with those of animals, thrown there most likely in modern times; though a flat bronze needle or bodkin with three eyes, apparently of Saxon date, was found among the rubbish, and a small hoop and several pieces of wrought iron half decomposed, of uncertain age. No trace of the altar remains, but two pieces of plain wrought stone have been found, in situ, among the indurated earth and rubbish with which the floor of the Crypt is covered.

(26) See a plan in *Archæol. Journal*, vol 2.

the frail might have rioted in intrigue, unconvicted. A conscious reluctance to assume the necessary prostrate position was, I apprehend, the real difficulty.

As it is obvious that "the Needle" is but an enlargement of one of the niches that were originally introduced into the walls of the Crypt, it may be presumed that its intent or purpose, whatever it may have been, has been devised at a period subsequent—probably long subsequent—to the construction of the building, when an anxiety prevailed among the religious houses, of exhibiting miraculous agency through the intervention of their patron saint, or of some person of pious memory connected with their foundation. The manner in which the purpose was developed in this case is, however, very peculiar, and may have been derived from, or connected with, an extremely ancient heathen superstition, which ascribed miraculous powers—though generally of a sanitory nature—to certain objects, such as cloven rocks, and ash trees, through which the patient was to pass, and which, in remote parts of England, is not yet extinct; the practice being, perhaps, symbolical of a "second birth, whereby a living being is ushered into the world, "free from those impurities and imperfections incorporated with a "former life."

That this process of purgation, in which the people had faith, should have been adopted for the ordeal of female chastity—considering, particularly, the artful management of which it was capable—is, therefore, not unintelligible; but why it should have been used in connexion with the name or influence of St. Wilfrid has not, hitherto, been explained. It would seem the most probable supposition that the Canons, remembering the sagacity that Wilfrid had exercised in discovering "the glory of perfect virginity"[27] which queen Etheldreda had retained, after she had been married to king Ecgfrid twelve years, had wished to create a belief that, by this agency, he could exercise the same discrimination, throughout all future generations.

Although a knowledge of the legerdemain practised by our Canons will support the belief of an ordeal more absurd than that which Camden has recorded, it might be, sometimes, through its medium, as a confessional, that "the Needle" mortified the spirit rather than the flesh. The penitent might, conveniently, kneel on the steps, that remain before the narrow orifice he had reached from the nave; and the priest sit by the embouchure on the other side, to which he had descended from the choir.

Lastly, this convenient peculiarity of ingress and egress would also render the Crypt a fit sepulchre, whence the host or image of Christ—thus deposited on Good Friday from the nave, a type of the Church militant on earth—might be brought up into the choir—the emblem of the Church triumphant in Heaven, on the anniversary of the morning of the Resurrection.

At the period to which our attention is directed, the district under the episcopal supervision of our abbot Wilfrid was almost

(27) *Bede, Hist. Eccl.*, lib. iv. c. 19.

co-extensive with the present metropolitan jurisdiction of York. Originally the Saxon dioceses were of immense extent, and nearly commensurate with the kingdoms of the Heptarchy. Thus, that of Winchester embraced the kingdom of the West Saxons, extending from the confines of Kent to those of British Cornwall. Mercia, extensive and populous as it was, had but one bishop; but, greater than all, was the jurisdiction of the Northumbrian prelate, who, from his cathedral of Lindisfarne or of York, presided over all the Christian congregations of the Saxons and the Picts, from the Humber to the Frith and the Clyde. The district was, in fact, commensurate with that kingdom of Northumbria which the Saxons had established over the Brigantes—the most powerful tribe in the island; and thus,—so latent are the effects of one institution upon another—had determined the extent of the bishoprick, when Christianity was introduced into the north. To suppose that any individual—even with the energetic powers of Wilfrid—could be equal to the government of a district so vast, even though the churches were numerically few and tolerably easy of access, is absurd; yet no serious attempt was made to remedy an evil which was every day increasing with the number of converts, until Theodore of Tarsus, an acute observer and most learned man, was invested with the primacy of Canterbury. It was the grand object of this able man to reform the divisions of the English dioceses,[28] thus distributed without reference to spiritual œconomy; so, having divided Mercia into five sees, he turned his attention next to the great diocese of Northumbria, which he divided by his legantine authority into the sees of York, Lindisfarne, Hexham, and Whithorne. From some reason—which has not emerged from a choice of several conflicting insinuations—this division, apparently, was made without Wilfrid's consent, and, therefore, according to the canon law, illegally and ineffectually. Wilfrid represented this *to the king*, and assured him of his readiness to join in any plan of division that might be proposed, but Egfrid refused to interfere, and the bishop left the kingdom to seek redress *from the Papal court.*

Meanwhile, Theodore proceeded quietly with his plan of reform; and finding that a more minute supervision was required, caused an episcopal see to be created at Ripon, and appointed Eadhead, who had returned from the newly-formed see of Sidnacester, as the first bishop.[29] We have no information as to the extent of country placed under his jurisdiction; but as the limits of the see of York bounded it on the east, it is probable that much of the same district was assigned as that which now constitutes the second bishoprick of Ripon. As there is little said of Eadhead in the annals of the Saxon Church, we may enjoy a charitable belief that he was one of those humble and unobtrusive characters "whose praise is not of men, but of God."

(28) See *Bede, Hist. Eccl.*, lib. 5, c. 24; and *Anglia Sacra*, tom. 1, p. 426.

(29) "Edhedum de Lindissi reversum, eo quod Æthilred provinciam recipisset, Rhipensi Ecclesie præfecit." *Bede, Eccl. Hist.*, lib. 4, c. 14.

"Hrypensis Ecclesiæ præsul factus est." *Ibid.*, lib. 3, c. 28.

Whatever might be the abstract legality of Wilfrid's cause, we must, to this hour, regret that the tide which occurs in the affairs of nations as it does of individuals, was not taken at the height, and that this most favourable opportunity for advancing the interests of the northern church was deferred to a mere technical objection, and sacrificed to an undue assumption of personal sufficiency. The Venerable Bede, not many years afterwards, in advocating the necessity of Pope Gregory's plan of division, asserts—what remained too true at a long subsequent period—that many districts in Northumbria "had not seen their Diocesan, and that thousands had never received the Holy Spirit by the imposition of hands." Some part of the inconvenience was subsequently diminished, the *cathedra* of Lindisfarne being transferred to Chester-le-Street; and, at the death of the last bishop of Hexham, that see was incorporated with Chester, and subsequently transferred to Durham; but Northumbria neither then nor since has enjoyed the benefits which would have been ensured by retaining the divisions of Theodore. It has not been until twelve centuries have passed, that Ripon has recovered the position to which this great man's judgment deemed it was entitled, and another tardy measure of justice has provided Lancashire with a closer episcopal supervision; but the churches of Northumberland—if not of other districts in the province of York—still lack that privilege which a Saxon archbishop of Canterbury, living within memory of the introduction of Christianity, perceived was necessary, and endeavoured to obtain for them.

After some time, Wilfrid returned from Rome with a record of the Papal judgment in his favour; but it was not until Egfrid and Theodore were in their graves that he could avail himself of its provisions; but, about the year 687, the young king Alchfrid was induced to recall him to his monastery and possessions at Hexham, and, after a while, to his see of York and abbey of Ripon.[30]

After several years, chequered by alternate periods of enmity and friendship, the disinclination of Wilfrid to the conversion of the church of Ripon into an episcopal see,[31] and his attempts to recover the territories of which it had been divested, were so unfavourably represented to the king that he was once more compelled to leave the realm. At a Council, however, that was held soon after in Northumbria,[32] he was offered the possession of his ever cherished monastic retreat at Ripon, on condition that he should not pass

(30) *Eddij Vita Wilf.*, c. 43. *XV. Script.*, v. 3, p. 74.

(31) "Prima causa est dissentionis eorum de antiquâ origine descendens, quia Ecclesia, quæ S. Petri Apostolo dedicata est, territoriis et possessionibus suis injustè sesivatur. Sæcunda est, ut Monasterium supradictum, quod in privilegium nobis donabatur, in Episcopalem sedem transmutatur, et libertatem relinquere quam Sanctus Agatho et quinque Reges censuerunt fixè et firmiter possidere."—*Eddii Vit. Wilf.*, c. xliv., *XV. Script.*, v. 3, p, 75.

(32) Eddius says, ch. 45, Gale 75, that the Council met "in campo qui dicitur *on estrefelda.*" It has been generally conjectured that Nosterfield, about six miles north of Ripon, was the place; but, judging from the orthography of the word, I think it is more probable that Austerfield, in the parish of Bawtry, has a better claim: the letters ON being merely a prefix. Yet, in the heading of the same chapter, Eddi calls it the Council of *Ætswina wath.*

beyond its limits; but with this offer he was justly dissatisfied, and once more took up his staff and resorted to his faithful friend at Rome.[33]

The judgment was, of course, in favour of the appellant; but the thunder of the Vatican rolled more unheeded over the Saxon king's head than it has done over many of his successors, and Alchfrid[34] resisted its execution until his death. When Egfrid, Alchfrid, and Theodore were gone, a new race of men had obtained their authority without inheriting those antipathies which the prolongation of their disputes must have generated; and so, reviewing the trials and afflictions of a great soul, that so long had contended consistently with princes and potentates for a principle, they yielded at last, to that undaunted perseverance and determination of purpose, which, even when exhibited in a cause which bears the semblance of truth, at last overawes and confounds those who were originally most opposed to its progress. The archbishop of Canterbury called a Council, which Eddi,[35] speaking in general terms, says met on the east side of the river Nidd, but which I think may imply on the site of the adjacent village of Nidd, seven miles from Ripon, of which the little Norman church is dedicated to St. Wilfrid; and, though severed topographically from "the liberty of Ripon," was, even when the Domesday Book was compiled, accounted—as it still remains—parcel of it. After some discussion it was at length agreed that Wilfrid should be restored to his monasteries of Ripon and Hexham, with all their appurtenant possessions.[36] Though he failed in the attainment of the particular object which had originally moved the strife, he had lived long enough to see that the principle for which he had contended would be established. Bosa from York and St. John of Beverley, and Eadbert from Lindisfarne, and others who had been his opponents, then gave him "the kiss of peace," and joined in the mass that was sung by that dark river's side; and let us trust, with his biographer, that the communion was not one of form only, but of heart; a shadow—yet a truthful shadow—of that unimaginable communion which may now exist between their blessed spirits in heaven.

Sixty years of continual warfare and vicissitude enhanced the brief rest that was now allotted him on earth. At length he declared his will touching the disposition of his estate in a Chapter of the monks at Ripon. On leaving this place soon after, he was taken ill at the abbey of Oundle, in Northamptonshire, and on the 12th of October, 711, and in the 76th year of his age, felt that the

(33) Wilfrid especially prayed the Pope, that, if he thought fit to bestow his See of York and his other benefices on others, he might be allowed to retain Ripon and Hexham —"duo monasteria, quod primum dicitur HRypis et alterum quod Hagulstadens vocatur, quæ a Sancto Agathone Papâ, &c., sub uno privelegio adscripta sunt."—*Eddii Vit. Wilf.*, c. 49, *Gale* 3, 79.

(34) "Ad quem Sanctus Pontifex noster de exilio cum filio suo proprio veniens de HRypis, quasi ad amicum nuntios emisit."—*Eddii Vit. Wilf*, c. 57, *Gale*, 85.

(35) "In locum juxta flumen Nid, ab oriente, congregati Rex cum suis et tres Episcopi cum Abbatibus, necnon et Beata Ælfleda Abbatissa semper totius provinciæ consolatrix, optimaque consiliatrix: Berchtwaldus quoque Archiepiscopus."—*Eddii Vit. Wilf.*, c. 58, *Gale*, 2, 86.

(36) *Bede, Hist. Eccl.* l. 5, c. 20.

last enemy had come. Having[37] bestowed his benediction on those that stood around him, he turned his head calmly to the pillow, and so, without a murmur or a groan, passed away from this troublous scene. The monks, who were singing day and night, in the adjacent choir, had repeated at the moment the 30th verse of the 104th Psalm; while they who witnessed the solemn scene, deemed, in the excited distraction of their hearts, that they heard the approaching sound of viewless wings that should bear his spirit home.[38]

According to his own request, his body was conveyed to Ripon for interment; to that beloved and then sequestered spot to which, in his weary journeyings in foreign lands, in prison, in exile, among pagan nations, in trials and afflictions before the potentates of earth, his mind must continually have reverted for soothing remembrances of tranquillity and rest. The ceremonial of his funeral, as it is recited by Eddi, is a remarkable example of the manner in which these solemnities were conducted in the early ages of the English church; but having been several times translated and published, it need not be repeated. As they approached the town, or village, as it then would be, all the members of the monastery went out—doubtless amid the congregated population of the surrounding country, bearing their holy relics, to receive the mournful procession; and, joining them in the Psalms they were singing, conducted the venerated remains of their master to the church, where they were deposited on the south side of the altar.[39]

When we turn our attention from this powerful agent in our civilization—from the energetic means through which he operated, and the peculiar difficulties and dangers which he was daily called upon to surmount—to the intellectual condition of the population for whose benefit his extraordinary gifts and qualifications were to be exercised, we perceive that the pure rays of light then dawning upon it were refracted from an element deeply imbued with the colours and forms of Paganism; and that among many other manifestations of our unchristianized nature, was that anxiety for the exhibition of superhuman agency, by which the missionaries of all religions have been desired to demonstrate the truth and efficacy of their doctrines. Mahomet, even in promulgating his debased system—at a period almost contemporary with that of Wilfrid—objurgates in the 13th chapter of the Koran, "The infidels say, unless a sign be sent down to him from his Lord, we will not believe; thou art a preacher only." Thus too, eleven hundred years after, but in a similar condition of intellectual culture, when the Moravians made the unsuccessful attempt to convert the inhabitants of Greenland, the heathens demanded the repetition of such miracles as they were told were wrought in the apostolic days, before they would consent to the truth of their representations. How far, therefore, these first Roman missionaries found it politic to con-

(37) "Defunctus est autem (quarto Idus Octobris) in monasterio suo quod habebat in provinciâ Undalum."—*Bede*, lib. 5, c. 90.

(38) *Eddii Vit. Wilf.*, c. lxii.

(39) *Ibid*, c. lxiii.

tinue the practice of the Pagan priesthood, in using the magic of superior intelligence for the satisfaction of their proselytes; how far occult natural causes and effects, witnessed under the influence of excitement, or ignorance, or imperfect vision, were misunderstood—how far human patients might be wrought on by that mysterious sympathy, of which we yet know little more than that it exists—are subjects on which curiosity will be excited long after the ability to satisfy it has ceased. But by whatever agency these demonstrations were produced, it is evident and unquestionable that certain circumstances, and often very remarkable circumstances, *did* occur; and as something in which our forefathers—human souls seeking for salvation and the way of eternal life—once hoped in, trusted in, something which they thought had spiritual power to aid and to bless them, they are not unworthy of being reported to the ears of those whose minds are not patient of their operation, only because it has been the will of their Maker that their existence should be tried in another scene.

In recording the life and labours of Wilfrid, his chaplain seems to have been particularly anxious that posterity should be fully satisfied of his possession of miraculous power; and has—if they have not been subsequently inserted—occupied chapters in their detail, which we would readily exchange for a few more incidents of his life, which he might, and indeed ought to have given us. But this is not all: for it is pretended that even deviations from the ordinary course of nature had been celebrated in his honour. When his mother was about to be delivered, and a company of women were standing about, it appeared, says Eddi, to men outside the house, that the building was on fire, and that the flames reached up to Heaven. They ran, accordingly, to endeavour to quench them, and save the inmates; when they were met by the women, who announced to them that a child was then and there born into the world. It is stated, also, that before his decease, he was warned, by an apparition of St. Michael the Archangel, of its approach. Eddi devotes a chapter to record that when bishops and abbots were assembled at Ripon, to celebrate the anniversary of his decease, a halo of white light was observed, by a few monks outside, to encircle the monastery; and that at compline time on the eve of the feast, it appeared again to the whole assembly, in the similitude of a pearl-white illumination, rising from that angle of the church where the bishop was buried, and embracing the whole of the building within its arch. But the legend which will serve our purpose of illustration the most usefully, as well from its relation to an inhabitant of Ripon, as from its graphic illustration of the expectations of the first recipients of Christianity, is one to which Eddi[40] has devoted another chapter, and which seems to have become such a popular story that Matthew of Westminster—writing at the least six hundred years after—pauses in his chronicle of national transactions, to record it. Wilfrid, it appears, being engaged in

(40) *Vit. Wilf.*, c. xviii.: *Gale*, 3, 60. See also *William of Malmsbury, De Gest. Pont.*

one of those pedestrian visitations of his diocese which he frequently made for the purpose of administering the rites of baptism and confirmation, came to a village called *on tandanufri*—a place now forgotten. Among the crowd that surrounded him was a woman in great agony of mind, bearing her first born son, apparently lifeless, in her arms; and, pressing forward in her turn, held the child's head towards the bishop to be baptized, believing that thus it might be revived. When the bereaved mother perceived that he had discovered the imposture, she threw herself on the ground before him, and with bitter tears adjured him that, in the name of the Almighty, he would by his holiness revive her son, and baptize him. After some hesitation, Wilfrid "indubitate "Christi virtute," as Eddi says, having uttered a prayer, placed his hand upon the body of the child, and immediately it breathed again, and revived. He then baptized it and delivered it to its mother, charging her that when he was seven years old, she should return him for the service of God. The woman's gratitude was not, however, equal to her faith, and, by her husband's wish, she concealed the child: but, an officer of the bishop's having found him, he was brought to the monastery of Ripon, where he lived until he was cut off in a great pestilence. His name was Eadwald.

It gives us an insight into something more than Wilfrid's personal habits and appearance, when we are told by him who was seldom from his side, that "he was affable to all, penetrating in "mind, strong in body, a quick walker, expert at all good works, and "had never a sour face." So constant and rigid was his self denial, that though when in prosperity he had kingly appliances of luxury, he walked throughout his immense diocese, even in the most pitiless and inclement weather, in rugged roads and through flooded rivers. In his diet also, he was very abstemious, drinking only, in the hottest weather, a little phial of water daily. Nor were these austerities mere impotent results of a gloomy idiosyncrasy; for when he was driven from his authority and his home, he neither retired to the anchorite's cell, nor the many monastic retreats that would have been honoured by his preference, but in all meekness, undertook the more than bodily perils of a missionary's life; neither, when the Primacy of Canterbury was within his grasp, would he accept the authority and freedom it would have afforded him, when its acceptance would have involved the infraction of his principles. At all events, let those who estimate his self-denial lightly, reflect how often, in the whole period of their existence, they have been victorious over the seductions of sense: how complete a mastery they have obtained, even over one bad passion or evil habit: and follow his example when they would otherwise uselessly criticise his failings and his faults.

To those who, in the blinding conflict of the present, can realize in their minds the trials and difficulties incident to these early times—and none else can judge—an enumeration of some of Wilfrid's acts and deeds, may, in the absence of a sufficient biography, best testify what manner of man he was who could be the

exponent of facts like these. "He was the trainer of St. Acca—the educator of the northern nobles—the tutor of St. Willibrord the apostle of the Frisians—the converter of St. Cedwalla—the confessor of St. Etheldreda—the adviser of St. Ethelred—the consecrator of St. Swibert; he converted to Christianity the men of Sussex, of the Isle of Wight, and of Friesland. He introduced and established the Benedictine rule into the north, and finished the conversion of England." Yet these were not his only acts, though if he had done none of them, his memory would have received greater veneration from posterity—as Milton would, a few years ago, have been thought a greater poet had he not been a republican. It was not only the mode of religious worship which he changed, but everything that he took in hand was attuned to the lofty tone of a dignified and philosophical mind, far in advance of the age in which he lived. In this spirit, he repaired the cathedral of York: built the abbey of Ripon, that was for ages after a theme of admiration: and the abbey of Hexham, which excelled all the churches of northern Europe: he founded the abbey of Stamford, with others in Mercia: the abbey of Oundle in Northamptonshire, and the cathedral of Selsea, since translated to Chichester: as well as caused the erection of Ely abbey, on the site of the cathedral there. Some of these churches—probably all—he built of stone, instead of the usual material of wood, and covered with lead instead of thatch. In repairing the minster of York, he employed the useful article of glass, for the first time, in northern churches; and bestowed on his minster of Ripon embroidered altar covers, and a superb copy of the Gospels written in gold on purple vellum, and bound in a cover of jewelled gold. He introduced also the Roman church-music into his Province; and it is not improbable that the melody of some of the first bells that were heard in the Yorkshire vales was heard from the abbey of Ripon.

It was, doubtless, this introduction, to a rude and unappreciating people, of the luxuries and arts and cultivation of Italy, that sustained—if it did not originate—those reports of pomp and pride with which his name has been associated; just as the uncivilized remnant of that population still delight to insult every person more respectably attired than themselves, and denounce as the exponents of pride and ambition, the comforts and conveniences of a more refined social condition. To assert that he was the greatest agent of progress that the Northumbrians of the seventh century knew, may provoke the ridicule of modern tongues, but progress, like the everlasting law from whence it springs, never changes its nature, though men's perceptions of it do; and, in this light, we may see that many changes which he effected, both in the spiritual as well as in the social condition of the country, would encounter opposition and misrepresentation, not because they were thought false and inapplicable, but, because they were untried and new.

To him—as I said before—Rome came not as the sovereign Rome of the sixteenth or of the nineteenth century. With whatever superfluity it was invested—a superfluity imperceptible to the general intel-

ligence of the age—and opposed, as a Church, rather from a sturdy nationalism than from an intellectual perception of its errors—he found in it the best agent and most powerful lever of civilization which the world *then* contained. He looked out from an element of crude unorganized matter; and—often, perchance, while wandering over the spot where we are gathered together—saw that it had method, regularity, system, cohesion, and an adaptable principle—a power to inculcate—to speak directly and authoritatively to the strong but bewildered intellects around him. Working with this mighty influence, he changed not only the spiritual but the intellectual character and social condition of his Province; and let no man, after contrasting his own efforts for the improvement of mankind, believe that self-seeking and gross apprehension were more vincible in the seventh century than they are now. He left his countrymen, instead of their poor wooden churches—so contemptible in comparison with the august temples of Paganism—structures, inferior in magnificence to none in northern Europe, and one which we have been told, and are not enabled to deny, surpassed all on this side the Alps. He introduced from foreign lands where he had sojourned, refinement and luxuries to noblemen who slept, in what we should call hovels, on straw. He translated that reverence which had been excited by the pagan priesthood for the forms and ceremonies of religion, and which might have perished in the more abstract ritual of the Culdees, into an element through which the soul might at least be guided to more active and intelligent humiliation. He engaged arts in the decoration of his churches by which the splendour of the House of God was elevated above that of the king, and the type of the "house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens," was derived from the most consummate beauty that could meet the eye of the worshipper, on earth. And above all, taking the mighty rule of St. Benedict—its comprehensiveness—its flexibility—its intuition of the human heart—he beat down that dominant rule of St. Columb, which, however exalted might be the virtues and intentions of its followers or of its founder, lacked that confidence in those by whom it was to be administered—that power of applying settled principles to varying circumstances which, like the analogous defect in the Saxon criminal jurisprudence, was an inherent fault of the times when it was instituted, and would alone have disabled it—as the monastic element—for assisting the national church in the powerful impulse which it has contributed to the national civilization. In whatever circumstances he was placed —whether on his throne at York, or in his quiet home among our familiar scenes at Ripon, or wandering as an exile among the heathens of Sussex and the Isle of Wight, or preaching to the wild Friesland men on the banks of the Rhine, or in the darkness of his lonely dungeon at Dunbar—he held fast the principles which Rome had taught an ardent, sensitive, and energetic soul—argued for them —toiled for them—suffered pain and danger and punishment for them—but maintained them consistently and strenuously to the last. From this stern tenacity of principle, in the midst of much that was

unsettled and undefined, and more that was envious and rude, arose those disputes, and thence those appeals, which tended equally with the inclination of his energies, to establish that papal authority in England for which his memory has been so ungenerously traduced. It is fortunate, however, that a record of the amount and nature of his works has survived for appreciation by a juster estimate of the spirit, wants, and standard of his age, and that we have also the testimony of his adversary, archbishop Theodore, who—in offering him the administration of his metropolitan see, declared that he "did not know of any one of the English nation so capable of it, "considering the eminence of his learning, and skill in the ecclesi-"astical laws of Rome." That he might have maintained his principles, without the amount of pride and arrogance which is imputed to him, will be retained as the last count in the indictment, when the rest are discharged; yet, tested by the general tenor and spirit of his life, even these terms may appear rather as the malevolent misconception of that ardour and energy—that impetuosity of purpose and eagerness for action, which led him to dare the perils of a missionary's life—drove him thrice across Europe, through the most imminent dangers, to Rome; and which, when exhibited in affectionate attachment to a spiritual brother, carried him to that stake of martyrdom whence he was delivered, not by the infirmity of his soul, but by the grace of God. In short, this patron and founder of Ripon was one of the most exalted characters which the seventh century produced; and would still have received the respect due to such a position, if he had not established the papal power in this kingdom; for we are prone to estimate men's individual characters by the politics or religion which they profess, and in biographical analysis, we have still to learn how to separate the alloy and vehicle of the times from the active principle that moved in them.

The towering form of Wilfrid has so completely absorbed our attention, that we have little time to devote to the several other memorable and influential men who found a refuge and a home at Ripon. Of these we meet incidentally in the contemporary Saxon writers with the names of St. Eata, St. Cuthbert, St. Acca, St. Willibrord, Stephen Eddi, and abbot Tatbercht: yet, besides these, many a forgotten yet noble friend of humanity has looked back on his early days of study and rest at Ripon; and many a heathen tribe, even in foreign lands, have caught their first glimpse of Christianity and civilisation from that central light which then radiated so brightly from this place.

Even down to the time of king Edward the Sixth, a particular supplication was desired in the Bidding-Prayer, used throughout the province, "for the Church of St. Wilfrid of Ripon," as one of the three mother churches of Yorkshire. And in the return, made to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners at the dissolution of colleges and chantries, now in the Augmentation Office, it has a proud, and perhaps unique, distinction, in being styled—"THE CATHEDRAL, MOTHER, COLLEGIATE, AND PAROCHE CHURCHE OF RIPON."

Of Eata, the first abbot of Ripon, I need add nothing more to my previous notice than that he was a pupil of the celebrated Aidan, bishop of Lindisfarne, a disciple of the school of Iona; that for a short time, he held that bishoprick himself, and died in the possession of the see of Hexham, about the year 685; having been a burning and a shining light to the churches over which he had presided.

St. Acca was the chaplain and constant attendant of Wilfrid, and must consequently have passed much of his early life in this monastery. He was educated first by Bosa, bishop of York; but, having subsequently attached himself to St. Wilfrid, shared all his fortunes, with a kindred temper and disposition. Towards—or perhaps at—the close of his master's life, he was advanced at once from his private station to the see of Hexham, and is said by an ancient writer to have employed all the powers of his mind, and expended all his resources, in the completion and decoration of his church. His honorable appreciation of literature is testified by the foundation of what was then considered a most noble and ample library; and his own abilities are recommended to us by the fact that he was the friend of Venerable Bede, who dedicated some books to him which he had written at his request. Besides his skill in theology, he was deeply versed in the science of church-music, and for its better encouragement, detained for twelve years in the church of Ripon, one Maban, an Italian, who taught the celebrated choir of Canterbury with great applause, and was a pupil of the pupils of the great Gregory of Rome. This most worthy member of the church of Ripon died in the year 740, and was buried in the abbey-church of Hexham, where many strange "miracles"—indicating the popular estimate of his character—were, long after, said to have been wrought at his tomb.

Of St. Cuthbert's history I need say no more than that he was the celebrated patron of the church of Durham. He came to Ripon on the first establishment of the monastery, with his master Eata, and, during their sojourn, attended to the reception of the pilgrims and guests, in which capacity—his biographers say—he once entertained an angel unawares. When Eata was displaced, Cuthbert accompanied him to Melrose, whence, after some years, devoted to the most rigid austerities, he was advanced to the see of Lindisfarne, where he died, in the odour of sanctity, in the year 688. He visited Ripon, however, again; for, three hundred and twenty-seven years after, when the Danes were ravaging the north of England, Aldune, bishop of Chester-le-street, with his clergy, raised the body, and brought it with their valuables to Ripon, where they remained a few months. In a previous flight, which ended at Craike, in the year 882, Wessington, prior of Durham, says that where the bishop and abbot for a while sojourned, many churches and chapels were afterwards built in honor of St. Cuthbert. The chapel of Pateley Bridge, in the parish of Ripon, is dedicated to him; as is also that of Winksley, in conjunction with St. Oswald, but whether in consequence of his having been once a member of

the church of Ripon, or as resting-places in his journeying to or from Lancashire—where Wessington's statement would shew he had been carried—is of course, matter only for conjecture. But it is a remarkable illustration of the powerful tendency directed by the merest trifles, in the earlier periods of civilization, as well as of the immense influence which the superstition of those times has exerted on subsequent ages, and even on ourselves, that, if the attendants of Cuthbert's body had been induced to remain here, neither the city of Durham, nor the princely Palatinate would have existed. For it was on their return to the north, and, as it would appear, in no great certainty as to their destination, that his bearers chose the site on which the City of Durham now stands, for the future resting-place of his body; and so originated that church, and thence that episcopal see and city, which, for ages, enjoyed so much wealth and authority.

St. Willibrord was another of the celebrated men who went out from Ripon. He was born in the north of England, about the year 657; his father's name being Wilgis. When he was but a child, seven years old, his parents brought him to the abbey of Ripon, where he was educated about fourteen years. His master Wilfrid being exiled, he went over, like many other English youths, anxious for superior instruction and accomplishment in polite arts, to Ireland, where he associated himself to St. Egbert and Wigbert, who had just made an unsuccessful attempt to convert the inhabitants of Friesland in Germany. Believing that Wigbert did not possess the forbearance with which a missionary should be especially endowed, he set out, about the year 690, with eleven companions to attempt the work in which his friend had failed. After a severe and painful probation, he established a Church, over which he was appointed Bishop; and to the end of a life protracted to eighty-one years, successfully directed his energies to the conversion of the people for whom he had, in youth, deserted his native land. There is an anecdote related by one of the monastic annalists which will sufficiently depict the element in which he lived, and the nature of the trials he had to encounter. When one of the Pagan kings of the country was disposed to be baptized into the Christian faith, and was apparently prepared for the reception of the rite, he halted when he had put one foot into the water, and desired to be informed whether there was a greater number of Friesland men in heaven or in hell. On being told—as incautiously as uncharitably—by our missionary, that all the unbaptized kings and nobles who had preceded him were in the latter place, he withdrew his foot, saying that he would rather prefer going where he would meet with his ancestors, to that place which might be peopled, only, by some of his descendants.

Stephen Eddi, the chaplain and biographer of Wilfrid, is another of our Ripon worthies. In the early part of his life he was the precentor of the choir of Canterbury, but was persuaded by Wilfrid to come into Yorkshire, along with Eona, another celebrated musician. He appears to have been exceedingly well skilled

in the practice of church music, and was the first who taught in the north the Roman method of singing by double choirs, responsories, and antiphons. His devotion to St. Wilfrid was most affectionate and sincere; he attended him in at least one of his perilous journeys to Rome, and, after his death, remained in the abbey of Ripon, where he, no doubt, prepared that biography from which our chief knowledge of Wilfrid is derived. It is written in Latin, or rather that monastic patois that was never spoken on earth, and was first published by Dr. Gale, Dean of York, in his collection of ancient English historians. The treatise is divided into chapters, each one being occupied by some act or passage of his life, and is, in substance, a mixture of facts with miraculous legends, interspersed with numerous quotations from the Scriptures.

Tatbercht, the third abbot of Ripon, was another of those men by whom the early social and religious condition of the surrounding district must have been promoted. He also, like his fellow chaplains, Acca and Eddi, shared many of the perils and inconveniences to which their master was constantly exposed; and was so far actuated by a kindred spirit, that Wilfrid, when about to die, confided to him the government of his favourite monastery of Ripon. If his name was synonymous with that of Tylbert, mentioned by Eadmer in his *Vita Oswaldi*, it would appear that he enjoyed the dignity in contravention of the strict letter of the Benedictine rule. His successor—but most probably not his immediate one—the venerable Botwine, died in the midst of his sorrowing brethren in 785, or 6, when Albercht was chosen, who, after the brief rule of one year, resigned the office with his life. After him came Sigred; and then Wilgend, with whom this brief list of the abbots of Ripon must close.

Near the outer gate of this monastery in 792, Eardulf a Northumbrian noble, was stabbed by the command, or as some say, by the hand of Ethelred his king. The monks, compassionating his fate, bore him with solemn dirges to the church, and placed his body in the porch. But the murderous weapon had missed its deadly aim; and, after midnight, the monks had the gratification to discover the intended victim alive in their church. After four years, spent, as some affirm, in concealment in the monastery, he ascended the throne of Northumbria.

During the period over which our review has extended, we find no express or direct allusion to any other inhabitants of the site of Ripon than the inmates of the monastery. If there had been, indeed, no settlement here previous to its foundation, which there is some evidence to prove there was, the services which the monks would be compelled to engage for the tillage of their land and assistance in secular business, would attract a population to the spot, which would be speedily increased by the sanctity and privileges of the place. But from whatever period it commenced, or in whatever ratio it progressed, it seems certain that the population had become so numerous, before the middle of the tenth century, that Ripon

was held to be a manor—that is—an allodial territory, wherein the lord of the soil exercised certain jurisdiction over all the resiants within it, and let out the district to tenants, some of whom paid their rent in kind, and some by personal service; the greater portion, however, being slaves. When king Athelstane was marching his army against the Scots, he came to Ripon;[41] and—in that church where Wilfrid had implored success for them, who, "going "out to battle against their enemy," should pray unto the Lord towards this house[42] which he had built for his name—vowed, that, if he should be victorious, he would confer upon the church of Ripon, profitable gifts and immunities. On his return he fulfilled his promise by bestowing—as mediæval records say—the Manor of Ripon, with great privileges; but, much more probably, that power of exercising extraordinary powers over lands which had been given to Wilfrid on the foundation of his church, and which became the exempt franchise or "Liberty of Ripon."

A recital of the immunities that were granted to the church, and to those living within its jurisdiction, will suggest, by comparison with our ideas of privileges, a more forcible illustration of the ordinary character, wants, and condition of the society which demanded them, than the most elaborate exposition that could be detailed.

First, and eminently illustrative of the period of transition from barbarism to civilisation—when the law, or moral direction of the ruler is not strong enough to vindicate itself, and to restrain the ferocious passions of men—was the liberty to institute a *sanctuary*, or place of refuge, where he who should have taken the life of another might be defended from the summary vengeance of the injured relatives or pursuers, until satisfaction to them and to the law should be made. The boundary of this place of refuge was indicated by eight crosses, each placed at the distance of about a mile from the church; but one of these only—*Sharow Cross*—now remains, and it is a restoration of the fifteenth century. *Athelstane's* stood on the road to Thirsk, not far from Hutton Hall, by a field, still called *Athelstan* or *Hailstone* close. The stump of *Archangel* or *Kangel* cross was lately sunk in the hedge of a lane leading from the navigation-bridge to Bondgate; and I believe that another—known upwards of two hundred years ago by the name of *Studley Stone*—stood by the side of "the Baronway," or the road now leading from Studley lane to Galphay. Of the other crosses there are no remains, nor

Within yair kirk gate
At ye stan yat Grithstole hate.[43]

The capture of an offender within the crosses might be compounded for; but he who presumed to follow his enemy into the church, forfeited his goods and life, irretrievably.

(41) *Mon. Angl.*, vol. 1, p. 172. *Rotul. Parl.*, 3 H. 5, vol. 4, p. 85. *Plac. de Quo War.* R. C., p. 197.

(42) 1 *Kings*, c. viii., v. 44.

(43) *Carta Adelstani, Mon. Anglic.*, v. 1. p. 172; but it is evidently a composition of the thirteenth century.

The second privilege[44] was the power to administer the ordeal of fire or water to persons suspected of crimes, when the ordinary means of conviction failed in certainty. This practice was the soul of the Anglo-Saxon system of law; and has probably been, among all nations, the first resort in the attempt to substitute any other law for that of mere brute force. And although it is not, in fact, more equitable than the law of force, it still produced decided advantages, in other respects, over the rule of mere physical strength; inasmuch as it was the substitution of policy for violence, and that was necessarily in itself, a humanizing and productive change. The subject is one of deep interest in the consideration of our early jurisprudence; but I can only now observe that the kind of ordeal that was practised by the officers of the church of Ripon required the person accused to plunge his arm, up to the wrist, in boiling water; or to carry a red-hot piece of iron in his naked hand for the space of nine paces—the sentence or acquittal being determined from the presence or absence of the injury which might be visible after the lapse of three days. Although the jury system—which infers the existence of the science of evidence, and a patient examination of facts—supplanted this process when men came to exercise rational belief and faith, yet I apprehend that the men of Ripon still trusted in the infallibility of their ordeal; for it appears from the Fabric Rolls of the cathedral that, even down to the time of the Reformation, there was a series of payments for the use of an implement which—until the records of the church can be investigated—may be believed to have been the very hot iron which the culprit was compelled to handle. In the year 1511, "*Saynt Wilfryde Birnyng Iron*" produced for the Fabric-Fund a sum no less than £5 16s. 7½d.; *but in* 1535, *only* 26s. 8d.[45] The principle of the ordeal, indeed, was recognized by the law of this country, until the memorable case of *Ashford versus Thornton* was tried in the year 1818; and it is an apt illustration of the danger and fallacy of estimating the progress of civilization by the mere outward exponents of secular luxuries or conveniences, rather than by the manifestations of the mind and of the heart, that when, a few years ago, evidence was, apparently, wanting to prove by whose hand an unfortunate gamekeeper had been murdered at Hutton Moor, near this city, it was currently reported—and was, so far, evidence of popular feeling and belief—that the person suspected would and should be compelled to lay his hand on the body of his presumed victim.

(44) Yet it is open to question whether this power might not have been derived from an *ecclesiastical* source; since we find it conferred by archbishop Thurstan on the abbey of Whitby in the following charter, which, being earlier in date than the supposititious charter of Athelstan, throws an unquestionable light, also, on some of the other spiritual franchises of the church of Ripon:—"*Carta Turstini archiepiscopi Eboracensis.* "Omnibus s'c'e matris eccl' filiis, T., Dei gratiâ Eborac. archiep., salutem. Notum sit "vobis et omnibus videntibus vel audientibus literas has, me Turstin. archiep'm concessisse "eccl' s'c'i Petri de Wyteby *omnem libertatem quam eccl' s'c'i Wilfridi de Ripum* et S. Joh. "de Beverlaco; *viz., synodum quietum, et sacrum chrismam et ferrum judiciale necnon et* "*fossam;* et quæcunque alia privilegia prædecessores mei eid. ecclesiæ concesserunt, con-"firmasse et rata habuisse.—Teste Hugone de (cano) et Hug., archid."—*Regr. de Whitby*, fol. 54. (*Young's Whitby, vol.* 2, *appendix*, 934.)

(45) "P'ficuu' ferri S'c'i Wilfrid: xxvjs viijd." *Valor Eccl.*, vol. 5, p. 249.

This kind of ordeal has been practised in the North Riding of Yorkshire within recollection; and it is *still* believed by many that if it should be applied, blood will follow the touch of the murderer's hand. Another kind of ordeal was formerly practised, by causing the accused person to swallow a piece of bread—or, more probably, a portion of the sacramental wafer—in which case, if the bread seemed to stick in the culprit's throat, or he turned pale, or trembled, while he swallowed it before the piercing eyes of the judges, his guilt was held to be proved. If this kind of ordeal was not used at Ripon, the principle is operative here, still; for we may occasionally hear persons, when charged with misconduct, wish that their "bread may stick in their throats," if the accusation is not groundless; or express surprise that what they believe to have been a false oath, had not choked the person who took it.

The third privilege was the grant of criminal jurisdiction, and other legal franchises, within the dependencies of the Church of St. Wilfrid—a subject on which time will not allow me to say more than that it is the foundation of the peculiar exempt jurisdiction which the archbishops of York have since enjoyed in the "Liberty of Ripon."

Another privilege granted by the grateful monarch was, that the men of Ripon should be believed—I suppose in judicial proceedings only—by affirming simply by the assertion—*yea*, and denying by the negation—*na*. It is now difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain the cause of this remarkable, and perhaps unique, exemption; but when, in the determination of a legal suit, "everything depended "upon the number and legal worth, or estimated value, of the class "of witnesses which each party was enabled to bring forward," it must have been considered a most proud and honourable distinction, which I am afraid was too often abused: more especially if a position which I have heard argued can be maintained, that the continual presence of the Grithmen and their associates left an influence on the character of the population.

In the absence of all written records, I apprehend that at this time, may have been obtained the license to hold a market here; which, at a period when commercial transactions, however trifling, could only take place in particular chartered localities, must have materially accelerated the importance and prosperity of the town. In fact, it is more than probable that the municipal corporation of Ripon originated in a Trade-Guild founded here in the Saxon times: —a speculation heightened in interest when it is remembered that the celebrated Guild of Preston, in Lancashire, is presumed to be of Saxon origin; and that at the Dedication of the church of Ripon, lands in "Hasmunderness," of which Preston is the capital, were granted, for its endowment, to bishop Wilfrid.

Under these powerful influences and advantages, there is no wonder that a considerable population was attracted round the monastery, and that a town was, soon after, formed. The troubled state of the times, however, ere long arrested its progress; and in the year 948, when king Edred came into the north to revenge the

perfidy of the Northumbrians, the great minster of Ripon was destroyed by fire.[46]

Whatever might have been the extent of a devastation that was probably confined to the wooden monastic buildings, and the roof and fittings of the church, it is certain that the site was not abandoned. We know, however, neither by whom the building was restored, nor to what extent, nor for what particular religious service it was dedicated; our only knowledge of it being derived from Leland, who saw it on his tour, and has left us the following circumstantial account of what, otherwise, would have perished irretrievably.[47]

"The old Abbay of Ripon," says he, "stode wher now is a "Chapelle of our Lady, in a Botom one close distant by [200 yards] "from the new minstre.

"One Marmaduke, Abbate of Fountaines, a man familiar with "Salvage, Archebishop of York (1501-7) obteined this Chapelle of "hym, and Prebendaries of Ripon: and having it gyven onto hym "and to his Abbay, *pullid down the est end of it, a pece of exceding* "*auncient Wark*, and buildid a fair pece of new Werk with squarid "stones for it, *leving the west ende of very old werk stonding.*

"He began also and finishid *a very fair high waul of Squarid* "*ston at the est end of the Garth that this chapel stondyth yn:* and "had thought to have inclosyd the hole garth with a lyke waulle, "and to have made there a cell of white monks. There lyethe one "of the Englebys in the este end of this Chapell, and there lyith "another of them yn the chapelle garthe, and in the chapel singith "a cantuarie prest.

"One thing I much notid, that was 3 Crossis standing in row "at the este ende of the Chapelle Garth. *They were thinges antiquis-* "*simi operis*, and monumentes of sum notable men buried there, so "that of al the old monasterie of Ripon and the toun, I saw no "likely tokens left after the depopulation of the Danes in that "place, *but only the Waulles of our Lady chapelle and the crossis.*"

The indefatigable antiquary was no doubt correct in his supposition; and it is only a little less probable that the head of one of the crosses remains for our inspection, over the doorway of the Bone-house in the Minster. It is of early Saxon date, and was found in 1832, in taking down a wall of "squarid ston," that had been built, for some inscrutable purpose, across the east end of the choir, at the extremity of its buttresses, apparently after the Reformation. On one of the faces is the representation of two birds, turned towards a mutilated boss in the centre; the other, and part of the sides, is covered with interlaced scroll-work. If these crosses had not been set up at the memorable dedication of the church, no doubt they had been "monumentes of sum notable men," who, like good old Bishop Hall, accounted not "God's house a meet "repository for the dead bodies of the greatest saints."

(46) "Anno gratiæ DCCCCXLVIII Eadredus pro infidelitate Northanhumbrensium "illam provinciam devastavit. In quâ et monasterium in Ripun, a sancto Wilfredo olim "constructum, est ignibus concrematum." *Rog. Hoveden: Matt. Westm.*, 368.

(47) *Itin.*, vol. 1, p. 92.

From a note, elsewhere, in the *Itinerary*,[48] it would appear that abbot Huby—who, in whatever his hand found to do, did it with all his might, and seldom raised any of his many structures without an inscription—had left this memorial on his "new "werk":—

Inscriptio in novo muro Capellæ S. Mariæ Ripioni.

S. Cuthebertus episcopus Lindisfarnensis hîc fuit monachus.
S. Eata archiepiscopus Ebor. hîc fuit monachus.
S. Wilfridus archiepiscopus Ebor. hîc fuit monachus et i. abbas.
S. Willebrordus archiepiscopus Walretensis hîc fuit monachus.

From returns, made at the time of the Reformation, it would seem that the "*Cantuarie*" was the only foundation connected with "*the Chapelle called the Lady Church in Stamergate.*" It was founded Feb. 15, 1392, by John Clint and Robert Durham, priests, "to the intent to pray for the sowles of the founders and all X'pen "sowles, and to say masse, and other suffrages in the sayde chapel "or church contynuallye." It is also added in the "certificate"[49] that "the necessitie is to say masse in the said chapell, and to pray "for the sowles of the founders, and *in tyme of plage for the saue-"guard of the parochiens, to here masse in the same*"—maintaining thus, it may be, the assurance to the last, that "whatsoever plague "or whatsoever sickness there might be," here—more surely—would be answered, "what prayer or what supplication soever "should be made by any man" who should "spread forth his "hands towards this house."

On the suppression of Chantries in 1547, the fabric was given up to the hands of the spoiler, to tear away as much as could be converted into gain; and for many years a suit at law was pending respecting a claim to the lead and bells. Deprived thus of the shelter of its roof, it became, no doubt, a quarry for all who were avaricious and wicked enough to remove the remnants of the shattered pile—though I am afraid that the hands of false friends contributed not a little to its demolition. In a curious paper that I have seen, containing arrangements for the college that was to have been founded at Ripon by Queen Elizabeth, are several suspicious disbursements for levelling the ground near or on its site, preparatory to the formation of a stately garden-alley, and other horticultural designs. A grassy mound alone marks the site; and nothing of importance has been found there within memory, except a few small tesseræ of the floor, that were turned up in 1837,[50] and were unquestionably of Saxon, or early Norman, date. Abbot Huby's wall, which merits Leland's encomium of

(48) Vol. 8, p. 23.

(49) In the Public Record Office.

(50) As nearly as I could determine, on a hasty inspection, a very similar pavement still remains before the stone altar in the chapel of St. Mary Magdalene in Ripon, and is often supposed to be of Roman execution. It is not known whether it was removed from the ruins of Wilfrid's church when the chapel was erected, in the Norman period, or occupies an original position; but it is unquestionably not later in date than the first half of the twelfth century, and is one of the earliest Christian works of its kind in the kingdom.

a "fair pece of work" still remains, partly enclosing the "Chapelle "garth," at the north-east corner of the Deanery garden. There is every reason to believe that the foundation of the Saxon church might still be traced; and I need not add that such an operation on a building whose pre-eminent antiquity is so well ascertained, could not fail to be deeply interesting.

But although the great work of Wilfrid was ruthlessly despoiled in king Edred's ravages, the veneration in which his memory was held, provided the church and town of Ripon with another benefactor; for Odo, archbishop of Canterbury, "cumming ynto the Northe "partes had pitie on the desolation of Ripon Chirch, and began "or causid a new work to be edified wher the Minstre now is;"[51] and, on the re-establishment of its privileges and influence, the town seems to have continued to prosper, until the coming of the Norman Conqueror.

The cloud of contention in which Wilfrid lived, and which has attended his history, rests also over his tomb. It is disputed where he sleeps. Archbishop Odo[52] in his preface to Frithgode's metrical life of Wilfrid, states—or is made to state—that on visiting the old monastery, he found the grave of Wilfrid in a state of scandalous and indecent neglect; and that he removed his bones to a proper receptacle in his metropolitan church,—where it has been for ages affirmed that he was enshrined on the north side of St. Thomas's chapel, near *Becket's Crown*, and under the monument of Cardinal Pole. This was denied, at an early period, by those who favoured the pretensions of the see of York in the ancient controversy[53] as to the primacy of all England, on the ground that it was archbishop Wilfrid *the second* that was removed. Leland quotes a chronicle that gives Dunstan—the arch-fiend's opponent—the honour of translating Wilfrid;[54] but he states elsewhere that he rested at Ripon, together with St. Acca and St. Egelsi, bishops: St. Egbert, and St. Ythburga.[55] It is to be remembered, also, on behalf of Ripon, that John, prior of Hexham, in narrating the violent entry of Alan, Earl of Brittany, into Ripon minster in 1144, particularly records that he insulted archbishop William—"*secus corpus beati* "*Wilfridi*." Eadmer,[56] who was living at or about that time, states[57]

(51) *Lel. Itin.*, vol. 1, p. 92.

(52) The passage is wanting in some copies, but is found in that given by *Mabillon*, *Act. Bened.*, Sæc. 5, p. 283.

(53) *Historia Controversiæ, &c.*, *Angl. Sacra*, tom. 1, p. 66.

(54) *Leland Coll.* i: 216.

(55) *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 10, 123: vol. 3, p. 80.

(56) "Hoc templum ante tempus Beati Oswaldi barbarorum irruptioni patuit; qui illud magna ex parte dirutum, non ministeriis divinis sed latibulis ferinis fecerunt accomodum. Hujus templi conseptum vir Dei subintrans, noctu pervigil in orationibus inibi mansit. Illic ergo divina revelatione lustratus, didicit ipso loco Sanctorum corpora condita esse; quæ investigans cum nominibus singulorum dubio procul inveniret. Facto mane suos convocat; quid noctu acceperit, eis enarrat. Ad audita cuncti exultant. Igitur ad jussum Pontificis semirutæ Ecclesiæ pavimentum effoditur; promissus Thesaurus sancta curiositate investigatur. Sanctorum corpora cum tabula hæc continente reperiuntur: 'HIC REQUIESCIT SANCTUS WILFREDUS ANTISTES EBORACENSIS ET REVERENDI ABBATES TYLBERTUS, BOTWINUS, ALBERTUS, SIGREDUS ATQUE WILGENDUS,'" &c., &c.—*Eadmerus de Vita S. Oswaldi Arch. Ebor.*: *Angl. Sacra*, tom. ii., p. 205.

(57) *Vita Oswaldi, Angl. Sac.*, tom. ii., p. 205.

however, in his life of St. Oswald, archbishop of York, 971–992, that he found not only the body of Wilfrid, but of the other abbots of Ripon, in the ruined minster, and translated the bishop's body into a shrine. If, however, this latter statement is—as it seems to be—of authority, the weight of evidence is in favour of Ripon; for there remained within memory, and probably still remains, among the unsunned record-treasures of the cathedral, a relaxation[58] from archbishop Walter Grey, dated at Otley, 21st January, 1224; wherein, believing in the first translation by Oswald, he records that, at the request of the canons of Ripon, he had removed the body of the holy father from an old into a new coffin, no portion of his bones, either great or small, being, as he believed, deficient; and furthermore, had caused the head to be exposed, to strengthen the faith and increase the devotion of the beholders, each of whom, on visiting the church of Ripon, after penitent confession of his sins, was to enjoy a relaxation of thirty days. After the extension of the old presbytery, the shrine of St. Wilfrid was removed to the eastern extremity of "the Northe Syde of the Quire," where Leland[59] saw it shortly before the Reformation, under the arch by the High Altar; and where generations of our forefathers had testified their affection for his memory, by contributions to the "red chest," which stood at his feet.[60]

Disputations also, which I cannot now recount, have been held respecting the days that are observed in his honour. One is generally set down in the kalendars on the 10th of February; the feast of his translation is on the 24th of April, and the anniversary of his death on the 12th of October; but none of these are publicly commemorated here. There remains, however, the shadow of a celebration that has doubtless been transmitted by generation to generation, from those whose eyes witnessed the joyful reality—heralded by the acclamations of a province. On the Saturday after

(58) "Universis sancte matris ecclesiæ presentes Litteras visuris vel audituris, Walter, Dei gratiâ Ebor. Archiep's, Anglie primas, salutem in domino. Quoniam summâ veneratione digna sunt corpora eorum in terris quorum nomina felici titulo scripta sunt in celo, nos ad supplicationem et instantiam dilectorum filiorum canonicorum Ripon., anno dominicæ incarnationis millesimo ducentesimo vicesimo quarto corpus sancti patris et eidem ecclesiæ patroni Wilfridi a veteri capsâ in novam s'c'di die Natalis domini transtulimus, et corpus ipsum totum nullo majore vel minore osse vel articulo ut pro certo credimus deficiente. Caput autem ipsius Sancti duximus externis servandum et honorificè collocandum, ut ex ejus visione et fides fidelium roboretur, et devotio augeatur; volentes q' honorem ipsius beatissimi patris ampliare et saluti animarum in ipsius veneratione providere, de....diam dei confisi omnibus qui ad eundem Sanctum venerandum et ecclesiam Ripon honorandam et promovendam accesserint; vel alio modo per alios si.... pedici fuerint visitaverint, confessis et verè penitentibus de....sibi....triginta dies relaxamus. Hoc videlicet proviso ut hæc indulgentia triginta dierum a die translationis Sancti per nos factæ duret usque ad diem Epiphanie completum in festis verò tam sue deposicionis quam translationis primi per beatum Oswaldum facte, duret per octo dies ut qui ....eosdem dies ipsum Sanctum adierint vel quocunque modo pia devotione visitaverint ejusdem indulgentiæ plenum consequantur effectum. Universitatem igitur vestrum monemus attentius et exhortamus in domino quatinus ob salutem animarum uestrarum talem circa ipsius Sancti venerationem exhibere studeatis devotionem ut ipsi intervenientibus meritis eternam a deo sperare possitis remunerationem. Datum apud Ottele, duodecimo kl. febr., anno gratiæ predicto pontificatus nostri anno decimo."

(59) "*On the Northe Syde of the Quiere.* S. Wilfridi reliquiæ sub arcu prope mag. altare sepultæ, nuper sublata." *Leland, Itin.* vol. viii., p. 22.

(60) "Oblac. ad rubiam sistam ad pedes S'ti Wilfridi xxxv s—
Firma indulgens. S'ci Wilfrid....................lxvj s—viijd."
Valor Eccl., 1535: vol. 5, p. 249.

Lammas Day—representing probably the time when Wilfrid returned from his last exile—a figure attired in rude canonicals, and mounted on horseback, is brought into the city and led through the streets, accompanied by idle people and children ; the next day—"Wilfrid Sunday"—being kept throughout the parish as a festival.

And this, and a few mouldering stones are all that remain in the place he loved so well, to remind either the eye or the ear of Saint Wilfrid ! Yet I trust that, in those Christian virtues and graces in the appreciation of which all men can coincide, many a heart will join in the aspiration that was inscribed above his tomb :—

"Dona Jesu ut grex pastoris calle sequatur."

FOUNDATIONS OF THE ROMAN VILLA IN APETHORPE PARK, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

1859.

Reference.

1. *Entrance*
2. *Charcoal Depository*
3. *Furnace*
4. *Hypocaust*
5. *Cold Plunging Bath*
6. *Dressing Room*
7. *Groove*
8. *Unfinished Wall*
9. *Drain*
10. *Fine Tessellated Pavement*
11. *Hypocaust*
12. *Smaller Tessellated Pavement*
13. *Diverging Walls*
14. *Small Hypocaust*
15. *Segment of curved Wall*
16. *Dipping Well*
17. *Painted Plaster Floor*

NOTE.

Portions in Black represent Brick or Tile work

SCALE.

sur

ARCHITECTURAL SOCIETY

OF THE

ARCHDEACONRY OF NORTHAMPTON.

The Roman House at Apethorpe. A Paper read at Stamford, September 7th, 1859. By the Rev. EDWARD TROLLOPE, F.S.A., Rector of Leasingham.

VERY appropriately was the earth represented by the ancients as a fruitful mother, possessing ample sustentative powers; but with at least as much truth was her title of "Bona Dea" characteristic of her preservative character, seeing with what care she broods over such works of man as may be committed to her charge, hiding them awhile when annihilation would certainly attend their revelation, and only revealing them when their value may be appreciated and their safety insured. Thus for some centuries the soil of Northamptonshire has veiled from view the remains of a Roman villa, when ignorant destruction would have followed its exhibition; but has now at length most discreetly thrown these open to view, and placed them at the disposal of the present noble owner of Apethorpe, with the utmost confidence that such an unexpected act of liberality will be duly appreciated. As straws show which way the wind blows, so the merest trifles often lead to valuable results. Long had the Genius of the spot about to be noticed sat in silence, declining to speak of the artistic pavements, the hypocausts, the pottery, and the coins left in his charge by his classical patrons, although those treasures were all the while lying only just beneath the surface. At length, however, he made a sign—gave a mere nod, as it were, but it was sufficient.

A change was about to be made in Apethorpe park, which led to the filling up of an old ditch and the formation of a new drain, when something like an ancient drain-tile was discovered, which immediately attracted the notice of one whose mind, accustomed to fathom the secrets of nature, could not allow such a circumstance connected with art to pass by without investigation. I allude to the Rev. M. J. Berkeley; his first step was to send me an impression of the scoring of this tile, accompanied by a request that I would assign a date to it. My reply was, "You have found a Roman flue, "and if you dig in the vicinity you will be almost sure to discover a "Roman building close by." Shortly after this I had the satisfaction of hearing that search had been made by Lord Westmoreland, who was then carrying on the diggings with the greatest zeal, and of receiving a note from Mr. Berkeley, in which he said, "If you had "been on the spot you could not have delivered a more accurate "judgment, for we have found a Roman house at Apethorpe." The date of this building cannot be fixed with any degree of precision; but it must be looked for within the period bounded by A.D. 79, when Agricola, having entirely subdued the whole of this island, began to encourage peaceful pursuits, and 410, when the Emperor Honorius gave up all title on the part of Rome to further dominion in Britain. We have, therefore, a period of upwards of 300 years from which to select the date when Roman workmen, aided by British slaves, were engaged in building the country residence now under our notice; but it was probably long after Agricola's time before Roman families dared to live in detached rural residences, and from internal evidence of its own, this house can scarcely be assigned to a date earlier than the fourth century.

But to what a wonderfully different scene do the fifteen hundred intervening years lead us back in thought! Stamford, and the various lines of railways connected with it, are now ready to supply all the wants of the noble occupants of Apethorpe house, or to convey them to any other part of England; but a very different town and road were then the attractions leading the Roman proprietor of its site to establish himself on that spot. Six miles to the east of it there stood the great town of *Durobrivæ* on the Nen, well supplied with all necessaries from the surrounding fertile district, and with at least occasional importations from Rome—a little stale perhaps, but well enough for distant colonists of the remote Britain. The site of this town is clearly indicated by an entrenched camp of an irregular oblong form, a little to the south of Castor and of the Nen; but its principal buildings appear to have been grouped round Castor church, and were noticed by Stukeley, and examined by Artis. More have been revealed in Normangate field, between these two points, others on Mill-hill, and many in Water Newton. From this town and its suburbs a rich array of pavements, altars, furnaces for smelting iron, potter's kilns, pottery, glass, spears, knives, hatchets, buckles, beads, pins of bone and jet, and a vast quantity of coins have been extracted. Hence the Roman occupants of the Apethorpe villa could readily travel to the south along the great

Ermin-street, which actually intersected the camp of *Durobrivæ*, by *Durolipons*, or Godmanchester, *Ad Fines*, or Broughing, to London; and also to the north by *Causennæ*, or Ancaster; the great *Lindum Colonia*, or Lincoln; *Segelocum*, or Littleborough, on the Trent; and *Danum*, or Doncaster, to *Eboracum*, or York, the second city of Britain under the Roman rule. *Durobrivæ* also possessed the convenience of water communication; for, dropping down the Nen, to a spot on the outskirts of the present Peterboro', the southern mouth of the great Roman canal to Lincoln could be reached, now termed the *Car-dike*, whence by the Witham, the Fosdike, and the Ouse, goods could be taken to and from York and the north: whilst on the other hand by passing into the Wash, or *Metaris Æstuarium*, as it was then termed, such Roman traders as dared to carry on their traffic over our strong northern seas, could fetch and carry goods from the south, and bring news from London, Gaul, and the Imperial city. But another smaller road, or "via vicinalis," still existing for the most part as a grass lane, was much nearer to Apethorpe than the Ermine-street: it ran within a mile and a half of the villa on its course from the Nen at Fotheringhay, a little to the east of Wood Newton, by New Sulehay, Whiteley's Coppice, on the eastern edge of Bedford Purlieus, across Wittering Heath, by Stamford Race-course, and—after crossing the modern road between Stamford and Wansford—joined the Ermine-street again in Burghley Park.

The Apethorpe villa is by no means a solitary evidence of the former occupation of this portion of Northamptonshire by the Romans, either remains of their habitations, or evidences of their industrial pursuits, having been discovered in Sibson, Stibbington, Sutton, Wansford, the Bedford Purlieus, King's Cliffe, Tixover,[1] Bulwick, Weldon,[2] and Cotterstock. We may ask, then, what was the attraction that led the Romans to scatter themselves so thickly over this district in detached houses? and the reply will be "iron and wood!" The ironstone of Northamptonshire has of late attracted much attention, not as a novelty, but because the formation of railways has rendered it in some instances valuable in the metallurgic market. It was, however, still more valuable to the Romans, because of the forests that then so amply covered this portion of Northamptonshire—long in some measure represented by Rockingham forest, and still indicated by the abundant remnants of the same preserved in the many existing parks and woods of this district. They had not to convey their ironstone to a coal district, because they had an abundant supply of charcoal at hand; and most ample use did they make of it, as evinced by the many spots still covered with iron slag, cinders, and ashes, interspersed with coins and other unmistakeable Roman relics. Three such spots exist in the adjoining parish of King's Cliffe, viz., in the church-yard, at Lordley-well, and Redford, and two others in Bulwick—one by the Willow-brook, on the confines of Blatherwycke parish, where there is a mound of slag, and the other in Blacklands, where the soil to a very considerable extent is still darkened by the charcoal, ashes,

and slag of the Roman furnaces once existent there, amongst which not a few Roman coins have been from time to time discovered;[3] but, still more wonderful, a furnace itself was disclosed at Wansford some years ago, and figured by the late Mr. Artis. The ironstone was first roasted in a kiln by the Romans, and then placed upon charcoal in a funnel-shaped pit, constructed of stone lined with clay, having holes at the bottom for the double purpose of letting in air and allowing the metal, when melted, to flow into a channel, whence it was distributed into pig moulds. Such a rude mode of smelting of course led to much waste, and will account for the great quantity of iron scoriæ, or slag, always found about the sites of these old works, and from which much metal might, I believe, in many instances be still extracted.

I am not at all prepared to conjecture that the original possessor of this country house at Apethorpe was an ironmaster, but I am inclined to think that the abundant supply of iron[4] and wood, as well as of water, in this locality, may have induced him to settle here as a British colonist; and from the size of his residence we may clearly gather that he was a person of some importance.

The site of the villa has elicited some surprise from its very low situation, and its consequent liability to inconvenience from the descent of the upland waters behind it to the little Willow-brook below. Such, however, was not an unusual position for the camps and residences of the Romans, water being always held in high estimation by that people. This residence, therefore, was boldly reared on a site scarcely raised above the adjoining brook; upon a "lacustrine" deposit,[5] five feet thick, resting upon a gravel bed that tops the upper lias.

Let us now examine the remains of the villa. These occupy an area of 230 feet from east to west, by 240 feet from north to south, and their general character will be clearly seen from the subjoined plan, very carefully and accurately prepared by Mr. Edward Browning. There appears to have been a central open court, surrounded on all sides by irregular groups of apartments, probably added from time to time in accordance with the tastes or requirements of the former occupants of this large country residence.

It would be perfectly futile to attempt to conjecture the character of the many rooms whose foundations have been revealed, excepting those clearly used as baths; but the irregular shapes of several of these should be observed, in some instances no side of a room being parallel with the opposite one—a very common, but to our ideas a most uncomfortable arrangement. The masonry of the walls is composed of inclined courses of stones, each usually pointing in a different direction to the one above and below it. Their construction is rude, and they chiefly depended for stability upon their thickness and the excellence of the mortar used.

A carriage road paved with small stones (No. 1) gave access to the court of the villa; and from the size of the two large piers on either side of this entrance, we may fairly conjecture that they carried an archway over it, which was closed by doors when necessary.

Turning to the right upon entering the court, the Baths will be seen, intersected (as shewn in the plan) by the modern drain, which led to the discovery of the villa. The first small apartment (No. 2) was probably the charcoal and ashes receptacle; No. 3, adjoining it, contained the furnace, whence, by means of a channel or tunnel, the heat passed into the hypocaust beyond; this is narrow at first, having two *pilæ* only, and then widens into a square originally having sixteen such supporters of the pavement above, placed in four rows; next, two very large *pilæ* will be seén, four times the size of the others; and beyond these twenty more, also arranged in four rows. These are constructed of bricks 1¾-inches thick, and 8 inches square, set in mortar nearly an inch thick. The whole of the hypocaust was nearly filled with charcoal ashes whose smoke flue appears to have had an exit opposite the larger *pilæ*, which will account for the greater heat to which the bricks of the first portion of the hypocaust have been exposed; and as those beyond that point are in a very much better state of preservation, we may almost be sure that over the first range of *pilæ* was the *caldarium*, or hot vapour bath, with a *laconicum*—or exceedingly hot recess—at one end, and the marble basin of the hot water bath at the other, probably placed over the greater *pilæ*, and that beyond these last was the *tepidarium*, or cooler apartment.

Adjoining the hypocaust on the right was a narrow room (No. 6), and on the left two others, one of which was certainly furnished with a tesselated pavement, as remains of it were found partly under a large oak tree; these, we may surmise, were *apodyteria*, or dressing rooms. No. 5 was a cold plunging bath, 8 feet long, by 6 feet wide. This was lined with cement, and supplied with a drain for the exit of the water; round the bottom is a plain plinth in cement, and the whole may possibly have been faced with thin slabs of Alwalton marble, similar to some found at Durobrivæ. At one corner of the cold bath is a deeply cut groove (No. 7) above a small lateral cavity, which I can only conjecture may have been connected with weighted *valvæ*, or swing doors, to prevent the cold air from passing into the *tepidarium*, or other warmer apartments; and at No. 9 is a large stone serving as the bottom of a drain in the angle of that portion of the villa.

The baths were abundantly supplied with water, either from the little river close at hand, or from the springy rising ground behind the villa; but probably from the latter, as from the very low situation of the building, its Roman owner was almost compelled to protect it by artificial drainage from the often too abundant waters descending into the valley; and by so doing he could also make them pay toll to his baths to the amount required, as they passed on to the river. But even if this villa had been placed far above the stream, and occupied the highest site in the vicinity, the knowledge of hydraulics and the engineering skill possessed by the Romans would soon have compelled the water to ascend to it. Most wonderful ignorance has until lately prevailed with regard to Roman information on such points, and Roman practice. Formerly it was generally considered doubtful whether the Romans possessed

"fontes salientes," or jets d'eau at all, although in reality the *atrium*, or open court, of almost every Roman citizen in southern Italy could boast of one or more; and no wonder, for, most of the Roman towns having been supplied with water by means of aqueducts, whence it was conducted along their principal streets, any one who wished for the luxury of a jet d'eau within his premises had only to apply to the town *librator* for leave to join a private pipe on to the public one, and to pay for this accommodation in proportion to the diameter of his pipe, in order to possess himself of so agreeable an appendage to his mansion. But the knowledge and skill of the Romans went further: they not only were fully aware that water would always find its own level—Pliny saying plainly enough, when speaking of water, "*subit altitudinem exortus sui*," and a Roman leaden pipe having been discovered at Arles, that extended under the Rhone, for the purpose of conveying pure water from one bank to the other—but they could force water up from a lower to a higher level by mechanical power. The channel, or pipe, required for this purpose may be seen in Nettleham parish, Lincolnshire, which once conveyed water from a spring there to Lincoln, a distance of a mile and a half: it is formed of circular earthenware tiles six inches in diameter and twenty-two inches long, set in a thick casing of cement, so as to exclude the air entirely, and to strengthen and protect the piping. There is a considerable rise from the spring when this watercourse first leaves it, consequently the water *must* have been propelled thence by art. We should of course effect this by a force pump, by an hydraulic ram, or by steam power: the Romans did so by the first named means, using an engine called *ctesibica machina*, because it was invented by Ctesibius, the son of a barber of Alexandria, who lived B.C. 135. This was greatly improved by Heron, the pupil of Ctesibius, who has left a description of it. Vitruvius and Pliny also minutely describe this engine, whence we gather that it was just like a modern fire-engine pump, and could force water up a pipe of almost any length required; but happily one of these still exists, found at Castrum Novum, near Civita Vecchia, during the last century, which had been used for the purpose of pumping up water to the public baths of that town from below, during the palmy days of Rome.

Over the pilæ of the hypocaust flanged tiles were laid; and upon these, three coatings or layers of pounded bricks, sand, and lime, each finer than the other, and termed respectively *ruderatio*, *rudus*, and *nucleus*. Upon the surface of the last the artist then arranged his *tessellæ*, or small cubes of stone, terra-cotta, marble, or glass, so as to form those graceful and sometimes most artistic designs which still attest the skill of the Roman artificers in this department. Unfortunately, the pavement over the hypocaust, usually the best in a Roman villa, is altogether wanting, but another still remains in a tolerably perfect state of preservation (No. 10). This is for the most part composed of plain and rather coarse *tessellæ*, but in the centre is a square compartment of that species of mosaic work termed "opus vermiculatum." At the four corners are vases, from which issue branches suggestive of the honeysuckle tube and its

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termed "opus vermiculatum." At the four corners a...
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stamens, or some similar floral produce; within is a circle having a double border, the one ornamented with small semicircles, the other with figures something like galley prows: this encloses a central square compartment, which, although not rich with the form of Orpheus, and the beasts enchanted by his lyre, nor with Ceres, nor Actæon, nor an ornamental vase, as were other pavements, yet contains one which at least has the merit of novelty. At first, taking it in conjunction with twenty-four little crosses once appearing around it, I thought that figure might possibly point to the *faith* of the original owner of this house. I should not have been deterred from entertaining such an opinion because the Christian emblem of the cross was mixed up with the Pagan altars, or other evidences of heathenism—the inmates of a British house of the Constantine period probably in many cases holding very antagonistic religious opinions, so that the master might have adopted the Christian faith, whilst the servants, or some of them, retained the creed of their youth; or even husband and wife, or parents and children, may have totally disagreed on this head. Hence altars, dedicated to Mars, Mercury, Faunus, or to the imaginary tutelary deities of particular localities, may be found in certain portions of a Roman house, indicative of the cloud that still enveloped some of its inmates; whilst elsewhere the Christian insignia may clearly indicate that a light had pierced the darkness there, and that truth had prevailed against fiction, as in the instance of the Roman pavement found near Dorchester and figured by Lysons, whereon the *labarum* of Constantine, composed of the two first letters of our Lord's title, appears in conjunction with a head of Neptune. But as the cross alone, even when distinctly figured, beyond all doubt, is so simple a form, we cannot be surprised to find that it has often been pourtrayed by Roman polytheist artists simply as an ornament. In the centre of the Roman pavement found at Cotterstock something like a mediæval cross was displayed, which I mention as an example in this vicinity; but there are many others, such as the one found under the Bank of England, and figured by Mr. Roach Smith in his "Illustrations of Roman London," displaying in its centre an ornamental figure precisely resembling a foliated mediæval cross; I cannot therefore suggest, without further evidence, that we may here grasp even at the shadow of the Cross. The whole pattern of this pavement is formed with terra-cotta tessellæ, here and there mingled, or slightly touched up with others of a dark grey, upon a white ground. The subjoined representation of it is taken from a beautiful drawing, made purposely to illustrate this Paper, by the desire of the late deeply lamented Earl of Westmoreland, and has been engraved at his expense.

Near this pavement, a portion of a smooth plaster floor was discovered (No. 17), that had been painted with a linear pattern in red, white, and brown. Such floors are not common, but one was found at Cirencester, and I am informed by Mr. Roach Smith that he has observed one or two others in Roman London. The next room had a plain mosaic floor, a portion of which was laid bare,

and is indicated below No. 17. The apartment No. 11 was heated by flues running round it and bisecting it in opposite directions, so as to form a hypocaust, heated by a furnace, probably once existent at the south-eastern angle of this room, but now destroyed. The adjoining room, No. 12, was adorned with a square piece of mosaic surrounded by ordinary tessellæ. The design of the former when uncovered was much mutilated, but sufficient remained to enable Mr. Browning to make a drawing of it as it appeared when perfect, from which the accompanying engraving was made, and presented as a second illustration to this little treatise by the late noble proprietor of the original. Its colours are grey, red, and white, and it will be observed that the most artistic portion does not form the centre piece, but is placed on one side. A curious diverging wall will be seen at No. 13, which I think can only indicate the fact of some alteration or rebuilding having been effected here, and that a portion of the foundation of some destroyed room was allowed to remain, when an enlargement of the villa in this direction was carried out.

No. 14 is a very small hypocaust, similar to the larger one (No. 11) already alluded to. The flue leading from its furnace is still very well defined, although the latter has perished. At 15 a portion of one of those semicircular walls has been uncovered which are so common in Romano-British residences, and within it are remains of a rude pavement. No. 16 appears to have been a circular dipping well; this was surrounded with masonry, and lined at the bottom with large slabs, found on their removal to have been supported by two oak logs, or short piles.

Such are the remains of the Apethorpe Villa, amongst which the following building materials have been found, viz., corn-brash, Whittering-pendal, sand-stone pebbles, (or cheese-stones), conglomerate, ordinary oolite, freestone, Collyweston slate, and bricks.

Its appearance, when perfect, was not that of a Pompeian house, or one in the Roman metropolis; but consisted of an irregularly formed court, surrounded by groups of buildings, more like the detached pavilions of Roman country houses occasionally pourtrayed on the walls of Pompeii, which could be altered or added to with the greatest facility by their respective owners; and a wall, continued along the river front of this Apethorpe villa, terminating with a large stone placed there apparently to mark its end temporarily (see No. 8), appears to point to an intention on the part of its former owner to have added to his house, in that direction, which he never fulfilled. The roof was for the most part covered with flat flanged tiles, or *tegulæ*, of which heaps of fragments were discovered, some still having the iron nails in them, once serving to fasten them on, and also many of the semicircular tiles, or *imbrices*, which were placed over the flanged ends of the flat ones. It is interesting however, to perceive that the Romans were fully aware of the merits of Collyweston slates, as a portion of this villa was certainly covered with them; some slates from that district and other thin slabs of the Whittering pendal stone, cut with flat edges, and some in a diagonal form, having been found

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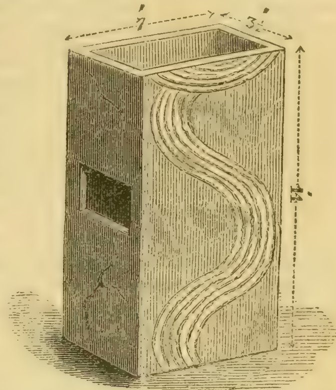
here, thirteen inches long and ten and a half inches wide, pierced with nail holes.

I regret to say that the Apethorpe diggings at its recently opened Roman mine have been unusually unremunerative. Some scored flue tiles have been found, 14 inches long, 7 inches wide, and 3½ inches thick, one of which is given in the subjoined cut; a quantity of broken pottery from the Durobrivan kilns, as well as of Samian, grey, and cream coloured wares, including a portion of a vast *dolium*, and a well executed female head in dull red ware; a portion of the base of a pillar; part of a conglomerate quern stone; also some cream coloured mortars —having had their interior surfaces studded, when soft, with pounded slag, or iron scoriæ, of different degrees of coarseness, to aid in the abrasion of cereal produce, &c. Amongst the glass fragments was a portion of a delicately formed pourer, or funnel, of a bluish tint—perhaps a lamp feeder; also an amber coloured bead, and some good specimens of clear white glass. About forty coins were collected, for the most part illegible; but amongst them was a small silver one of Severus, with the legend, SEVERUS PIUS AUG.; a third brass of Constantine the Great, bearing his effigy and the inscription, IMP CONSTANTINUS AUG.; *Reverse:* SOLI INVICTO COMITI, with Phœbus holding a sceptre in his right hand, and a globe in the left; and others of the Constantine period. Two small rude and dilapidated altars were also disclosed; one quite plain, that had been inserted in a wall, the other having a *Pan* on one side, and a *tripus*, apparently, on the reverse. Many bones of animals and boars' tusks were collected from the diggings, as well as cockle, whelk, and oyster shells, in great abundance; the last, in some instances, never having been opened. A spindle whirl of clay, a ring of twisted brass wire, part of a bone hair comb, and a leaden weight, close the short catalogue of objects offered to notice by this Roman villa.



We should, however, be deeply ungrateful to mother earth, if we murmured at the quality or quantity of her Apethorpe revelations, adding, as they do, one more link to the chain of our knowledge respecting the character and proportions of a Roman colonist's habitation in Britain; and if any are inclined to feel disappointed with what they have seen here, let these remember the extreme antiquity of the objects they have been permitted to gaze upon; that after a burial of 1500 years the shroud has been removed from remains that had previously suffered a fiery death, and have since been confined to an extremely wet tomb in a climate not well adapted to preserve such objects of art.

At all events, after an inspection of these Roman remains, the reflexion can scarcely fail to arise in all thinking minds that we, who live on British soil in the nineteenth century, have much reason to be thankful that we are neither oppressed by any stern rule, either foreign or domestic, nor called upon to witness any of those remarkable or troublous changes, such as the Roman subjugation of England, which, when it occurred, was with reason considered to be a great national affliction; although at the same time, I firmly believe that each successive foreign flood that has swept over our island with great incoming violence, was laden also with matter producing a permanent and most beneficial impression upon our national character. From the intelligence and perseverance of the Romans, from the solidity and enduring powers of the Saxons, from the maritime boldness of the Danes, and from the martial spirit of the Normans, our present British character having been derived, which is a subject of so much wonder to continental nations. May our men be ever justly entitled to the epithets of "hearts of oak;" may our women be as truly represented by the combined charms of our *national flower!*

Originally, this Paper concluded with a just tribute of thanks to the late Earl of Westmoreland; first, for the liberal and intelligent manner in which he had prosecuted the Apethorpe diggings, whereby he had added to the archæological knowledge of the associated Societies of Northamptonshire and Lincolnshire; and, secondly, for the very hospitable and kind manner in which he had entertained so large a number of their respective members; but it is sad to reflect that such thanks can now only be offered upon his tomb. We may still, however, express a hope that the ancient and distinguished family of the late noble Lord of Apethorpe may long continue to give wisdom to our British counsels, and soldiers at our need; and that he who has been borne far beyond the reach of any further ailments or weakness of the flesh, is now resting in perfect peace.

NOTES.

(1) In 1831 a skeleton was discovered in front of the late Mr. Hotchkin's house at Tixover, and about four yards from the river; with it were found portions of a Roman fibula, some fragments of iron, and some coarse Roman pottery. At another spot in that parish, on the right of the Uppingham road, portions of a red deer's horns were turned up two years later, bearing evident traces of the knife, a bronze ring, many fragments of Roman pottery, and a few illegible coins. These articles were extracted from that black soil usually indicating its former occupation by the Romans. I understand also that last year further Roman traces were observed close to Tixover house, including portions of a hypocaust.

(2) A fine Roman pavement was discovered at Weldon about the year 1737. It was engraved on copper, and the plate was rescued from destruction by the Honourable and Rev. D. Finch Hatton, who discovered it doing service in one of the fireplaces of Kirby Hall. Another pavement was found at Cotterstock about the same time.

(3) The following are a few that have come under my notice. Small silver: *Obverse:* The head of Julia (the daughter of Titus) and JULIA AUGUSTA; *Reverse:* Venus with the apple, and VENUS FELIX.——Small brass: *Obverse:* IMP. CARAUSIUS. PM. AUG.; *Reverse:* A lion, and ML. Ditto, *Obverse:* CONSTANTINUS AUG. (Constantine the Great); *Reverse:* A triumphal arch. Ditto, *Obverse:* The same as last; *Reverse:* Two standard bearers, with spears and shields, and GLORIA EXERCITUS. These are in the possession of T. Tryon, Esq., and also a remarkably fine specimen of slag found in soil on his estate, still black with Roman charcoal, causing the field to be termed "Blacklands," with much truth, where slag and coins are still occasionally found.

(4) At Spa lodge, on the Apethorpe estate, there is a large quantity of ironstone, apparently of a very productive character, a specimen of which was exhibited to the company present.

(5) This was found to abound with shells by Mr. John F. Bentley, of Stamford, through whose microscopical examinations I am enabled to give the following list, viz:—

Freshwater Species:

Planorbis nautileus	Bithynia Leachii
——— spirorbis	Lymnæa peregra
Succinea putris	——— palustris
Physa fontinalis	——— truncatula
Bithynia tentaculata	Valvata spirorbis

Terrestrial Species:

Pupa muscorum	Helix pulchella
Carychium minimum	——— arbustorum
Vertigo pygmæa	——— rotundata
——— pusilla	Helicella crystallina
——— antivertigo	——— cellaria
Cionella acicula	——— radiatula
Acicula lineata	——— lucida
Helix fulva	Cyclostoma elegans
——— aculeata	Clausilia plicatula
——— rufescens	——— laminata
——— hispida	Zua lubrica

On Picturesque Building. A Paper read at Stamford, Sept. 6, 1859. By GEORGE AYLIFFE POOLE, M.A., Vicar of Welford, Honorary Member.

ALTHOUGH I am proposing to speak on the subject of *Picturesque Building*, I hope no one will ask me what is meant by "*Picturesque*." To define the term would take more thought and pains, and perhaps more skill, than I could and would give to it; and as for finding a definition in the dictionaries, that is out of the question. In Johnson's day the word does not seem to have had a recognized place in our language; which I mention not only because it proves the recentness of the word, but because I wish to take it as one indication that the very thing which it expresses has been but lately *discovered*, although it has long—and indeed always—*existed* in the utmost perfection. Walker defines it "*expressed happily, as in a picture;*" in which sense it can be applied only to *a description*, and not to the *thing described:* as if we might call Scott's description of Melrose picturesque, but not Melrose itself. This is a most monstrous limitation of the term; the more so because the use

which it approves is in fact incorrect, though, I admit, very common. Nor, indeed, is the word wanted in this sense; and language would lose nothing of its precision, and but little of its flexibility, if we called a vivid description "picture-like," instead of "picturesque." *Picture-like*, as being what is now called skilful and successful *word-painting;* but not *picturesque*, for a vivid life-like description has in it nothing analogous to those qualities which distinguish picturesque beauty from every other kind of beauty. A fine and finished picture is itself as far removed from the picturesque, whatever may be its subject, as possible: and so, a picture-like description, or a skilful and elaborate piece of word-painting, though it describe the most picturesque object in existence, is itself wholly wanting in every element of distinctively picturesque beauty. Here, for instance, is a description, with life, and form, and colour, and motion, and character in every word—in short, a perfect *picture;* but so far from there being anything of the rudeness, or disjointedness, or apparent carelessness of the picturesque, there is not a syllable out of place, or harshly fitted, or a phrase less delicately musical than the greatest skill or care could make it:

> "To-day, my lord of Amiens and myself
> "Did steal behind him, as he lay along
> "Under an oak, whose antique root peeps out
> "Upon the brook that brawls along this wood:
> "To the which place a poor sequestered stag,
> "That from the hunters' aim had ta'en a hurt,
> "Did come to languish; and, indeed, my lord,
> "The wretched animal heaved forth such groans,
> "That their discharge did stretch his leathern coat
> "Almost to bursting; and the big round tears
> "Coursed one another down his innocent nose
> "In piteous chase: and then the hairy fool,
> "Much marked of the melancholy Jaques,
> "Stood on the extremest verge of the swift brook
> "Augmenting it with tears."

Here, I repeat it, is a *picture* as perfect as words can paint, but the picture itself is as far removed from that particular kind of beauty called picturesque as possible.

From my recollections of Gilpin's works, who wrote several volumes on the subject, I fancy that he uses the terms *picturesque beauty*, and the like, as synonymous with such beautiful objects as are suitable to the pencil, or that which looks well in a picture. This definition answered his purpose admirably, because he adapted his remarks to a very limited class of pictures; but it is altogether inadequate, and is, in short, about as true as it would be to say that *grotesque* is that which would look well in a grotto. Every thing that is picturesque is indeed suitable to the pencil, and will look well in a picture if happily treated; but not every good subject for the pencil is picturesque. All grand and beautiful objects, in their best estate, reject that epithet; and yet, according to the true appreciation of the painter's art and office, they are by far the most worthy to engage his energies, to test his skill, and to arrest the admiration of the rest of the world.

I fancy, indeed, that the termination *esque*, correctly applied, indicates something of derogation. It falls into the same category with *ism*. *Liberalism*, a spurious liberality: *Sentimentalism*, a sickly or affected sentiment. So *Rembrantesque*—having a *trick* of Rembrandt: *Romanesque*, a debased Roman: *Grotesque*, having the uncouthness of the grotto, without the least hint of its special beauties, its deep shadows and pale half lights, its cool and refreshing recesses: *Picturesque*, that which has a beauty fully capable of being expressed in a picture—and that a picture of no very lofty aim; or that which in a picture is well enough, but everywhere else carries with it some touch of suspicion or repulsion. Such that one would rather have a picture of it by Morland, or Prout, or Fripp, than the thing itself.

All this is dry enough, (though necessary to my purpose) treated in an abstract way. Dickens shall say the same for me in the concrete. You will remember Will Fern's description of his cottage, with the illustrative vignette. "Gentlefolks, I've lived many a "year in this place. You may see the cottage from the sunk fence "over yonder. I've seen the ladies draw it in their books a hun-"dred times. *It looks well in a picture*, I've heerd say; but there "a'int weather in picters, and maybe 'tis fitter for that than a place "to live in. Well, I lived there. How hard—how bitter hard—"I lived there, I wont say. Any day in the year, and every day, "you can judge for yourselves. 'Tis harder than you think for, "gentlefolks, to grow up decent—commonly decent—in such a "place. That I growed up a man and not a brute says something "for me."

I have said that the *word* picturesque is new, and so, I think, is the *perception of the picturesque;* though the thing itself is as old as the second, though not, perhaps, as the first century of the world's existence. The recognition of the quality of picturesqueness seems to be a part of the development of our national character within a recent period. Hitherto it had been like the light of those distant stars which has not yet travelled so far as our earth, and so has not been seen by us, though it has always existed. I doubt whether, in conditions of society differing much from our own, it would be possible to convey the slightest impression of what is meant by *picturesque*, at least as a term of approval. The man's taste must be *very artificial*, and those who were utilitarians from the very exigencies of their existence would add *very much depraved*, who could look with greater pleasure on an ass than on a horse; on a ruined hut than on a snug cottage. And as it requires a large social development to find any beauty in the picturesque, so I can conceive that there may be a yet future development, in which the same quality shall fail to be recognized, for a very different reason. We may get *beyond* it, both practically and æsthetically. We may get to be so *utilitarian* as to admit no beauty which does not indicate the perfection of usefulness, or so *fastidious* as to find nothing but depravity in every departure from the most nicely balanced symmetry; and, in either case, adieu to our sense of the picturesque!

Meanwhile, this new sense is now universally professed, and the thing itself is largely felt and understood, as a kind of beauty quite distinct from any other, and having a peculiar piquancy which nothing else can imitate. And it is well. The countless tourists who wander about our lochs and mountains and glens, our cathedrals and ruined castles and abbeys, and stand still every now and then to say—"How picturesque!"—are the better and the happier for having sought and recognized the beauties of these external objects. Only, let them not imitate even the least of them when they return home; for they might as well try to pile Snowdon or Ben Nevis on their lawns, as to give the slightest touch of the picturesque to a new barn, cottage, or pigeon house.

It may seem paradoxical, after admitting the picturesqueness of many of our old buildings in their present state, and after denying that we have now any power to build picturesquely, to assert that we have, nevertheless, a sense of picturesque beauty which our forefathers were without. But I doubt whether the Druids who built Stonehenge-Henge—if they did build it—whether a Saxon thane, or the Norman baron by whom he was evicted; whether William of Wykeham, who built more than one royal castle, and founded the college and restored the cathedral of Winchester;—I doubt whether all or any of these, who have bequeathed to us countless examples of the picturesque, ever thought about it, or could have been made to conceive that there was such a quality in things, actual or possible; and, most certainly, had they conceived it, they would not have aimed at it, but have left it consciously and purposely, as they really did, however unconsciously, to be added to their designs by Time.

For Time must work, in almost every case—perhaps in every case—upon the builder's creation, before it acquires a picturesque beauty. And let us see *how* Time works, upon how unpromising materials, and with what results. Of all the unpicturesque objects we can imagine, perhaps none could be more so than a plain square Norman keep; Scarborough, Castle Rising, almost any one will answer my purpose, though at present I have Cæsar's Tower at Kenilworth especially in my eye. Enlarge a few of the windows, break down the roof, interrupt the sky-line as much as possible, throw down one whole side, cover the rest with weather stains, and ivy, and a thousand weeds and flowers and bushes—and you have a perfect specimen of the picturesque. Roger Clinton neither could nor would have made his keep what it is. He built according to his requirements, in the best way that he knew how, which is precisely the way to the picturesque in the end, but the end will not ensue for many generations. Take Ragland, Chepstow, Carnarvon, Warwick, even down to Tattershall. It is impossible to doubt that the great object in all was to do well and substantially what was really wanted, without a single thought of picturesqueness; yet here we have so many fine examples of this quality. Tattershall, perhaps, partly fails from a sort of unreality, in looking strong, though strength was not required; in short, in being a *castle*,

whereas a *house* was wanted: but, at all events, the picturesque was not sought; or, if it was, that very fact—in proportion as it seems to be a fact—disappoints the purpose.

I need not repeat the same of our ruined abbeys and churches. I will take, however, one instance of the way in which Time works, not by destruction, but by picturesque aggregation—though, again, the picturesqueness is never sought, or, if sought, never attained. Peterborough cathedral is perhaps as picturesque a building, not in ruins, on a large scale, as any that we possess; but who will venture to suppose that any one, from Ernulph's day to the present, ever thought of the picturesque in designing any portion of it—except only Dean Kipling, who did what he could to spoil all by adding four corner turrets to the central tower? All do what has to be done for use, in the best and noblest style at their command; and this is in their thoughts and in their hearts; and another result, which, happily, was neither in their hearts nor in their thoughts, came, for that very reason. The requirements of many generations altered, added, rebuilt. Meanwhile several successive changes in architecture had occurred, and so we have an outline remarkably varied, filled up with details of many characters: incongruous as parts of *the same plan*, most harmonious as parts of *the same picture.* The low square Tudor eastern chapel gives piquancy to the lofty Norman semicircle of the choir, flanked by its noble pinnacles. The central tower, raised above its original height in the fourteenth century, still contrasts with the loftier pinnacles and spires at the west end, themselves of various dates and characters; and so we might go on for a long while, pointing out sources of the picturesque, which could not have existed except in a building which has been enlarged again and again, by many successive generations. Time, therefore, has been again at work for us; not with his destructive finger, but by the mere necessities arising out of a long period of use, and of various adaptations. Like the whimsical man in Horace's Epistle, he builds and alters as well as destroys—

> "Diruit, ædificat, mutat quadrata rotundis"—

though in a different spirit, and with different result.

The same remarks, or nearly the same, may be made upon our less elaborate buildings, which are perhaps more typical specimens of the picturesque, just because they are less remarkable for any other kind of beauty. In all, either by positive ruin, or by a series of aggregations and additions, incongruous in style, or destructive of mere symmetry, Time has made that picturesque which at first was not so, nor was meant to be so, but was intended to serve its purpose honestly, with perhaps some other kind of beauty, as grace of form or richness of decoration. Our old mansions, with their strange wings, and lean-tos, and corbelled chimneys, and the like; with their

> "Windows that exclude the light,
> "And passages that lead to nothing"—

do not owe a single stone or timber, a single corbel, or dormer, or

wainscot to the affectation of picturesque beauty; and some part of their picturesque effect is not only *in spite of* this, but *because of* it. It is partly because the mind reverts to the original use, and perceives that it was well served, that we are struck with the picturesque effect now that the use is gone or altered. The grotesquely shaped stone that falls out of a deserted quarry would be a mere lump, without beauty or interest, but we give it a place in our cabinet, because we know that on being broken it will reveal the secrets of long past organic life and action; and just so the memories, or at all events, the certainty that there might be memories of home business and associations, must give the last touch of beauty to a house or other building, even of the lowest form.

Perhaps it may be needless to mention instances by which all that I have asserted seems to be borne out; for every one will, of course, test my remarks by his own experience and observation; still it may serve to show that I have not spoken without thought, at all events, if I allude to some of those examples which have most struck me, and which are at the same time likely to be remembered by others. I may recall to your recollection, then, the *Eagle Tower* at Carnarvon, with the cluster of rude cottages at its foot; *Guy's Tower*, at Warwick Castle; the *Bishop's Bridge*, at Norwich; *Baginton Church*, in Warwickshire, and as a general rule, *the churches with detached steeples* in Norfolk and Lincolnshire: and also, as a general rule, all *small cross churches*, and churches where the *tower is between the nave and the chancel: overshot watermills*, as a rule, and especially one near Ambleside; the *rude bridges* which cross the Welsh streams, which consist of a flat road way, not arched, resting on large rough piers, of which one in the Dolwiddelan valley may stand as an example. Most of these owe some of their picturesqueness to surrounding objects; but they are also in themselves in a great degree picturesque, and in all of them will be found (as well as in the more stately examples I have adduced) these characters—that they owe a very great deal to the hand of Time, and that they do not for an instant suggest, or even admit the thought that they were designed with the slightest view to the picturesque.

When we examine the late Tudor architecture, and the still more debased forms of the Stuart period, we may at first suspect that the picturesque was aimed at; and indeed something so different from real beauty, and so unconnected with the requirements of the occasion, *was* aimed at, that, unless I could say what that was, I might fairly be pressed to admit that it was the picturesque. If you will throw yourselves back upon those times, and enter into their character in everything else as well as in architecture, I think you will feel that it was *quaintness*. Still, touched by time, their buildings make a nearer approach to the picturesque, without the necessity of recent additions, or of happy accessaries, than those of any other age. Even in the buildings of that period, the best examples of the picturesque are those in which construction and convenience alone were considered, which I take to be the case

with the many-gabled wooden-framed buildings, then so common; with the additional element, in towns, of overhanging upper storeys. The old market-places of this construction are perfect specimens of the picturesque; and the houses and town-halls now and then to be seen—as at Shrewsbury, Chester, Salisbury, Coventry and Ledbury—are still charming examples, though everything around them is against their effect. Let it be remembered, however, that the happiest feature of this construction—the overhanging gable—was exacted by the want of room in walled towns. No merchant who submitted to this necessity, ever thought that the ladies and gentlemen of the nineteenth century would stand before his house, sketch-book in hand, and say, "How picturesque!"

Here then, once again, we have the constant conditions of this kind of beauty—that it is unpremeditated, and that it arises out of efforts to do the best that could be done for real use.

In making this rapid survey of examples and causes of the picturesque, it has been my wish to suggest the practical inference that it is not a legitimate object of our pursuit, nor one which we shall obtain by seeking it. This will yet further appear, if we bear in mind the fact that all buildings are designed, or ought to be designed, in the first place and chiefly, to be lived in, or otherwise used, and not to be looked at; that their prime requirement is adaptation to their home uses, and not pleasantness to the eye of the stranger. Now, beauty, grandeur, elegance, simplicity, are all quite compatible with usefulness in offices, and comfort in dwelling-houses; but the picturesque is attained—where it is attained—by means altogether adverse to the most perfect and obvious convenience. Of course, the mere natural effects of time, decay and ruin, are out of the question. But even the additions and changes of more recent times always involve a certain confession of inconvenience, and of original imperfection. The addition of an upper perpendicular story, with its square buttresses, octagonal dome, and pierced chimney, to the Norman square basement and its circular buttresses of the Glastonbury kitchen gives one of the most picturesque buildings in the kingdom; but to erect at once the same complexity of styles, and to imitate after-thought and after-requirement, would be simply absurd. Again, the angular buttresses added to the old circular piers of the *Bishop's Bridge* at Norwich, greatly increase the picturesque effect of the whole; but it would be a ridiculous device in a bridge designed and erected at one time.

It is related of no less a person than Scougal, author of *The Life of God in the Soul of Man*, that he dwelt for several of his last years, and died, at the top of one of the towers of the cathedral at Aberdeen; and that it was found impossible to lower his coffin except by letting it down from the outside. He had chosen, certainly, a picturesque place to live and to die in, but one hardly suited to the last of these purposes. But what would one say to an architect who should set dwelling-rooms, or any portion of a mansion intended to be inhabited, on the top of a tower, accessible only

by a newel stair? This would be an extreme perversion; but it would be the same in kind with any sacrifice of real use and pleasantness to some fancied gain of picturesque effect. And I say especially, *fancied* gain; for if the object is palpable, as it most likely would be—still more if the resulting inconvenience is manifest—the end is utterly defeated. And then, what cruelty to the occupants of the *soi-disant* picturesque cottage or villa, or whatever else it may call itself! If a man chooses to squeeze *himself* into all sorts of queer shapes, let him; but he has no right to do the same with his wife, and children, and servants; still less, if possible, with his less intimate dependants. If it is absurd in a mansion or a parsonage to sacrifice comfort that you may hear people outside admire your picturesque dwelling, it is almost immoral to fall, with your eyes open, into the same snare in building a school-house or a keeper's lodge.

Another method of aiming at the picturesque is to imitate something which is rightly classed among picturesque objects in its own place, but, wanting its natural accessories and associations, ceases to be really so. The gate-house of an abbey, with the quadrangle beyond it, and the church-towers rising over all, *was* part—and an appropriate part—of a noble group; and *is*, now that it is in ruins, a very effective part of a picturesque scene: but, imitate the same gate-house as a lodge to an open park, and you remind me of nothing but of that which is wanted to form the picture. The Swiss *chalet*, clinging to the side of a snow-peaked mountain, with a torrent roaring at its side, is picturesque, without being intended to be so; but no effort can give a title to the same character to a reproduction of the same cottage in a little enclosure of dusty flower beds, with green palings, and a turnpike road outside. Such a scene reminds one of a reply of a living prelate (and may he yet live longer) to a young lady who admired his marine villa with about as much discrimination as would build a Swiss cottage in a cockney garden; "How pretty, my Lord, how like Switzerland!" "Very like indeed, considering that in Switzerland there is no sea, and here there are no mountains."

I wonder whether a bandit's cave has ever been thought of for a lodge. It would be very picturesque to see the gatekeeper emerge from a cavern under ground, or from behind rocks, in a correct Bravo uniform; but I fear it would be uncomfortable, and therefore I could not honestly recommend it. But I do not see that there is much more common sense, and certainly, there is as little true beauty, in half the conceits that one sees in the suburbs of some of our large cities, where some people choose to live in one kind of thing, and some in another; but few in exactly what we should think best suited to their wants—a compact house or a modest cottage.

When the thing imitated is not even a building at all, the absurdity is still greater; but it is strange how popular the love of making everything like something else has sometimes been; and, to make it still more strange, it has generally been something less graceful that has been imitated, than the thing itself would naturally be.

Who does not remember the days when ladies made purses like jugs, and pincushions like bellows or dustpans, or jockey's caps, the ugliest objects possible, and the meanest in their associations—and called them pretty? How many of us have little beer-barrels or brandy-kegs upon our chimney-pieces, filled with string or wax allumettes? Where are the seals like bugle horns, and the watch keys like horse pistols, that used to be so common? Who shall sum up the number of absurdities that dangle together in a young lady's bunch of charms—as they are called—I am sure I don't know why? And yet all these are more than matched—though, happily, in but few cases—in architecture. Two cases only occur to me just now, the Palace of the Escurial, built on the plan of a gridiron, in honour of St. Laurence; and the thing like an aggravated admiral's telescope stuck on the Calton Hill in Edinburgh, in remembrance of Lord Nelson. If those who are departed have any interest in their monuments, we may hope that the British sailor turns his blind eye to this, as he did to its prototype at Copenhagen; and that the Roman Deacon duly appreciates the tender memento of the instrument of his torture.

There is but little connection between these last remarks and the exact subject of my paper, except that all through we are exposing *conceits*, for under that general head picturesque building ought to be classed. An exception would perhaps be pleaded in behalf of buildings avowedly and solely intended to ornament the landscape. To this I should reply, that all such buildings are themselves conceits; and that, if they affect that particular phase of beauty properly called picturesque, they are conceits doubly conceited. Are they not all by common consent called "*Follies?*"—a term so heartily and universally adopted by the people that there are few neighbourhoods without some special example singled out as "*The* Folly" par excellence, and gibbeted under the just opprobrium of this name to the terror of all others. But they always fail of the low end at which they aim. I cannot call to mind a single example of a picturesque "Folly." The most egregious failure is in mock ruins. The man who *would* build a ruin if he could, must labour under some mental obliquity, not to say moral deflection: but the man who *could* if he would must be an incomparable architect, and must have powers besides which fall to the lot of no mortal upon earth. The only way *towards* making a picturesque ruin would be to build a really good building, as lofty, as massive, as varied in outline, as well proportioned, as considerately adorned as if it had a purpose, and a high purpose too; and then to blow it up with gunpowder. This method would give some approach to the deep shadows, and rugged breaks and chasms, which help to make a ruin picturesque; but, even then, we must wait half a century at least for the weather-stains, and waving grasses, for the wall-flowers and campanulas, for the stunted ash rooted in the wall and the grand old ivy climbing up it, which alone can perfect the supposed ideal. The starlings and jackdaws—the very bats and owls—will refuse to be deceived, long after the cockney sight-seers have agreed to vote "The Ruin" *so* picturesque!

The truth is, that, though many of the works of man become picturesque in due time, and under certain circumstances, the favourable circumstances cannot always be commanded, and Time will not be hurried in his work. If we could make a picturesque building, we ought not, as a matter of taste, for it would be a mere conceit; but, besides, we cannot. It is the one kind of beauty which is beyond our reach. We may seize upon what is already picturesque, and appropriate it: we may plant and build in harmony with what is ready to our hand: we may group the keeper's lodge and the antlered herd with the gnarled oak, which it took two centuries to make a noble tree, and two centuries more to make a picturesque one: we may cherish the old bridge,[1] with its projecting buttresses, and angular recesses for the wayfarer, and keep the pebbly ford close to it, and leave it open to the pastures on either side, that the cattle may resort to it for coolness and shelter in the summer sun: we may open glades through forests, that the ruined abbey may appear to the best advantage, or that the village church and the path to it may be seen together; but not all or any of this could we create, if we had the lives, and fortunes, and talents of thousands of our fellows at our disposal.

Are we, then, to give up all thought of the picturesque in building? Yes, most emphatically; because it cannot be had, and if it could be had, it would be but a conceit. Grace, grandeur, simplicity, decoration, obvious use and comfort, we may have: or, if our tastes be perverted, we may have deformity, uncouthness, quaintness, incongruity; but picturesqueness—no. That is not *now*. If we build well, our heirs will have it. And in what we build the best, our heirs will have it the most perfectly: but, may it be long in coming to them! What are our really good and grand works—but our most useful ones? Our aqueducts of the generation of canals, and now the vast bridges and viaducts which suspend our railways over deep valleys and mighty rivers, and even over populous cities. These will have a grandeur in decay which few of our present ruins attain, and to which the parallel works of our forefathers, their roads and bridges, do not aspire. May it be long before they are seen in ruins! But how grand, as well as picturesque, will then be the aqueduct and the viaduct at Llangollen and the high bridge at Newcastle!

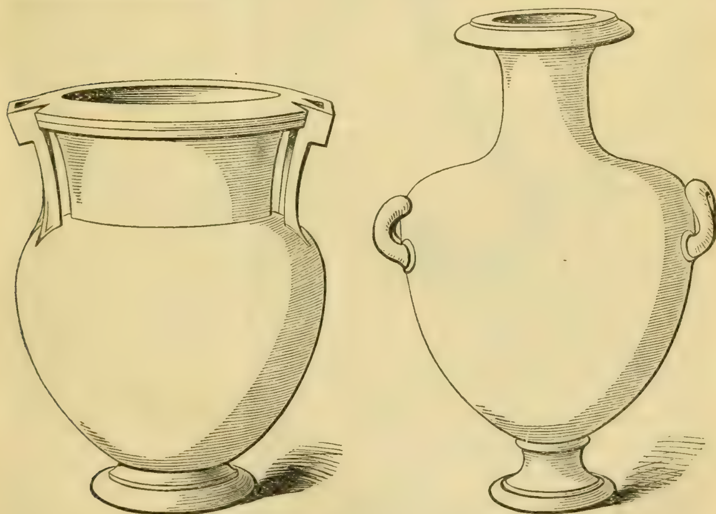
Our heirs, then, will inherit picturesque objects from us, but they will come to them by a process which we ought not to invite, which it is humiliating even to contemplate, and which it would be contemptible to imitate. We might as well order our coats with

(1) It may be worth while to note, as accounting for the peculiar character of beauty in our old bridges, that for obvious reasons they were almost always attended by a ford, and that they were themselves raised out of a natural flat For equally obvious reasons our greater bridges and viaducts generally pass in a perfectly level line, over natural valleys and chasms. The charm of the ford is gone; but the long reach of arches, often of enormous height, and always rising to the same level beneath a perfectly straight roadway, contrasted with the curved and broken lines of Nature in the banks, and chasms, and rocks, and trees, form—and will form to the end—an incomparably finer picture.

benevolent prevision of expectant scarecrows, as build with especial reference to beauty in decay: and as for aping in a new building a kind of beauty which comes perfectly only by time, we might as well convert ourselves into scarecrows by ordering a new suit of tatters. We may, we must, submit to decay for ourselves and all our works. We may hope that we and all we love may be comely in old age—that our works may be beautiful in ruins. But if we would have our hoar hairs a crown of glory, or our works beautiful in decay, in both it must be by a hale, healthy, truthful, vigorous, and useful youth. A "folly" never made an interesting ruin; and *the hoary head is a crown of glory, if it be found in the way of righteousness.*

Ancient and Modern Pottery. A Paper read at Stamford, Sept. 6th, 1859. By John M. Blashfield, Esq.

The most ancient kind of Pottery with which we are acquainted is of common red and buff colours, and free from glaze. This is known in the history of the arts by the term *Terra Cotta.*

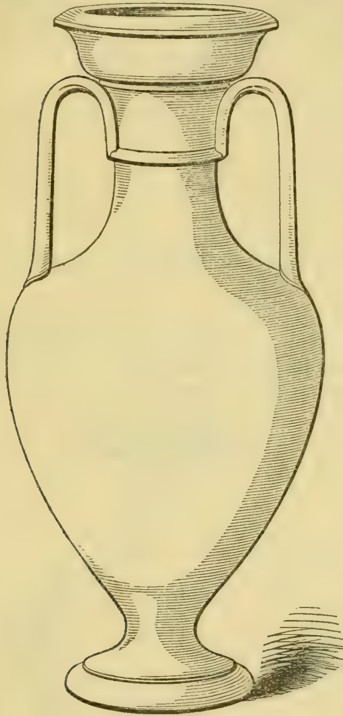


Greek Vases, from the Antique, in the British Museum.

These words—*Terra Cotta*—have become a name for a certain class of pottery exhibiting artistic design, and are often applied in architectural description. For instance, we read of Terra-Cotta bricks,

tiles, brackets, mouldings, friezes, capitals, altars, finials, &c.; but, whenever the words *Terra Cotta* are so used, it will be found that the bricks, tiles, or other details have a certain artistic character about them, discovering a marked difference from the common examples of such things.

All statues, vases, lamps, and other useful and decorative articles made of baked clay, and found in the debris of ancient cities, or in the tombs of Athens and Magna Græcia, are called terra-cottas, whether glazed or unglazed. Those made by the Greeks are in red and buff clays, and usually painted in black, yellow, and brown colours. The red vases painted black are the most common. The finest of these are found in southern Italy, at Nola, Cumæ and Vulci. Great numbers have reached our hands as perfect as new works from the potter's kiln. The paintings upon these fictile remains convey a more intimate knowledge of the manners and customs of their authors than the most costly monuments in marble, erected to perpetuate their prowess and grandeur. The mythological allegories on the vases give a great insight into the style of dress, furniture, and habits of daily life among the Greeks. The chairs, tables, couches, musical instruments, mirrors, parasols, embroidered garments, and other details, are drawn with scrupulous care, and serve as patterns to modern manufacturers.



Greek Vase, from the Antique, in the British Museum.

For more than 2500 years, vast quantities of these beautiful pieces of pottery have lain by the side of the mouldering marble and canker-eaten bronze, without injury or stain. The worthlessness of the material of these relics has saved them from the spoiler. Had they been in brass, silver, or gold, very few would have been preserved for our instruction.

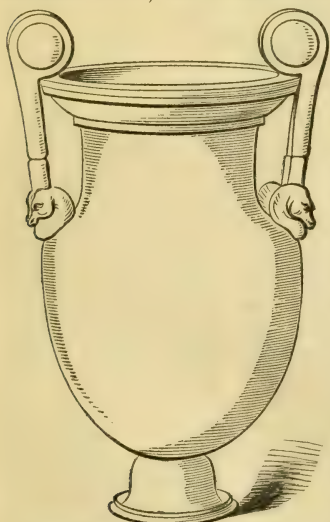
Pottery was deemed a grand art in the time of Pliny, and he devotes an entire chapter to it in his 35th book, and especially refers to the great works performed by the Greeks in this way. Among Roman works he speaks of an enormous dish made for the Emperor Vitellius, which cost a million of sesterces, for which a furnace was especially erected in a field. He also particularly mentions a Samian ware, as the best for domestic use.

The Greeks had no monopoly in the art of pottery. It was common to all the great nations of antiquity, but there are peculiarities about the Greek workmanship in which they especially excelled. Their ware is lighter in weight, larger in size, thinner, more even and true on the surface, and more elegant in outline than that of any other nation, ancient or modern. The best ware appears to have been fabricated about 500 years before Christ; and the art, as practised at this date, seems to have died out about the time of the last Punic war. The Italian, French, and English artists have tried to make such ware, but have never succeeded; all modern copies pale by the side of the originals.

The outlines of the best Greek vases are found in the hyperbolic, parabolic, and elliptical sections of the cone; and I would now observe, that it would be of great service to the arts if more especial attention was given in drawing schools to the value of these beautiful curves.

These vases have been frequently called *Etruscan*, but the correct term is *Greek*.

The Etruscans decorated their temples with statues, antifixæ, and relievi, in baked clay, and also made vases; but none are found like the famous terra-cottas of the Greeks. There are many fine fragments of statues made by the Greeks, which appear to have been original models baked. Pliny says it was common, in the early periods of Roman history, to make the statues of the Gods in clay; some of which existed in his own time. The people of Pompeii and Herculaneum patronized pottery in the decoration of their houses; and the terminations of their roof-tiles are full of beautiful modelling. Amphoræ and vases abound in the ashes of their cities; and some of the latter are of the purest Greek form.

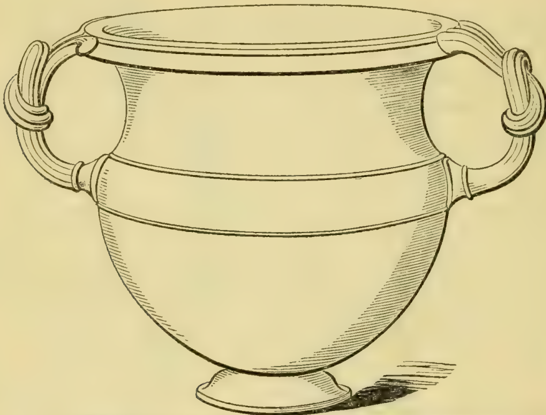


Greek Vase, from the Antique, in the British Museum.

The conventional form of meander, or fret-work, the laurel leaf, dotted line, and honeysuckle borders, rendered so exquisitely chaste in vase decoration by the Greeks, is more or less to be traced on the monuments in marble and the fictile works of the ancient Chinese, Persians, Babylonians, and Egyptians. Other nations and savage tribes seem also always to have used the meandering fret as a form of ornament. Large quantities of pottery have been dug up in Central America of brown and red colour; and upon these curious relics of a people of whose history we know nothing, the same conventional form is seen. Some of the most beautiful borders upon Greek pottery are similar to patterns on woven fabrics entwined around Egyptian mummies.

Abundant remains of Egyptian art decorate the museums of Europe, and shew how well the Egyptians understood making pottery and glass. The most ancient pottery found in Greece is in form and colour like the Egyptian, especially the ware made of a light brown earth, and painted black and red. The progress of improvement in outline always kept pace with improvement in painting and glaze.

The potter's wheel is represented in bassi relievi at Thebes, and it is practically the same as that now used in England. It is supposed to have been invented in China, and to have passed by Bactria into Egypt, and through Scythia or Egypt to the Arabs. Some authors on the keramic arts believe its introduction to the Greeks, and to the inhabitants of southern Italy, to have happened about the same time; and that it was at a much later date introduced into Etruria.



Greek Vase, from the Antique, in the British Museum.

Much of the ancient pottery of China, Babylon, Egypt, and Greece has the mark or seam of the mould upon it, especially the lamps, inscribed bricks, or figures of Gods; but it is not to be seen on the grand Greek vases. I believe their moulds to have been made of calcined gypsum and water, exactly the same as those now used by potters. The seam is common on the ancient terra-cotta lamps, and upon pottery recently discovered at Thebes.

The grand vases of the Greeks were, in my opinion, thrown upon the wheel in parts, and carefully joined, when in a half dry state, with soft pasty clay of the same character as the thrown parts. The handles of the vases were, I think, often made in a mould, and attached, as at the present time.

Among the remains of ancient pottery there are examples of original models, bearing the marks of the skin of the fingers and the indentation of the modelling tool. Cracks are frequently found in such works, arising from the inequality in thickness of the clay of which they are made; probably these were the sketch models of

grander works executed in marble and bronze, like the sketchy models (terra-cottas) of Michael Angelo. The most perfect original terra-cottas of ancient workmanship, of a sculptural character, are very small statues, bassi relievi, consoles, antifixæ, and lamps.

It is remarkable that, after the decay of art in Greece and Sicily, we find no recurrence of the beautiful conventional leaf and other borders and details, except in the works of the Arabs, Chinese, and Hindoos; and in their works we do not find the flowing honey-suckle, as conventionalized by the Greeks. The ravages of the Romans seem to have blotted out, at once, the pure and elegant mode of decoration and the grandeur of form prevalent in Greece up to about 150 B.C. The annals of art in our own country shew how soon in the fifteenth century civil strife destroyed architecture and smote her handmaids. The conventional forms of ornament common to all structures of that period, the painting on glass, enamelling, and casting of brass, and numerous other arts were at once lost, and we are only now groping our way for their recovery. A true school of Art is that which has its foundation in the youth of a people, and grows with their greatness, and imbibes the spirit of their religion and their nationality. It should be full of zeal, freshness, and freedom. No academies or schools devoted to lecture and drill art will make a nation artistic. Art must be national, and inspired by religion.

There are numerous specimens of very ancient terra-cottas met with in India, especially panelled perforated ornament of a dark brown colour. The art of making porcelain is said to have greatly flourished in China about five centuries before the Christian era, and it is very probable that India acquired a tolerably perfect knowledge of the art from the Chinese.

The Romans made a peculiar fine ware, of a bright red colour. It has a thin transparent glaze, apparently made of silicate of lime coloured with per-oxide of iron. Much of it has been examined and analyzed, with a view to discover its composition. Its chief ingredients are alumina, silica, lime, and oxide of iron. It seems to have been made upon a wheel, with the hands and incised ornament pressed upon it when it was partially dry, or stiff, with metal tools, similar to what are now used in Staffordshire, and called *jiggers*. These impressions I believe to have been made by placing the articles on a potter's lathe, such as now used, whereby the inside as well as the outside of articles may be ornamented, without deforming the outline of the vessels. (The outside of a basin to be ornamented by a turner's tools is fixed into a *concave* mould, or what we call a *chum*, which is fixed to the spindle of the potter's lathe, while the inside is wrought upon; and when this is finished the vessel is reversed, and the inside fixed upon a *conical* mould attached to the spindle of the lathe, and what is called a *chuck*, and the outside of the basin or other vessel finished by the turner.)

If this was not the mode adopted by the Romans, it is certain that ware like that called "Samian" may be so made. Some of this ware has figures in relief upon it; these figures have evidently

been in many cases modelled upon the ware, and in other instances the embossed ornament has been made from a mould, and pressed upon the vessels when soft.

It is supposed that this peculiar ware was not made in Britain, although great quantities of fragments have been found, but that it was imported by the Romans, and was of considerable value. Instances of broken ware of this class being found, mended with brass rivets, like the present mode of mending china, have occurred. Some of it was made at *Aretium* (the modern Arezzo) where moulds, dies, kilns, and the peculiar tools for making it have been found. The remains of the ware made by the Romans in England are of a coarse kind, and never so smooth and finely glazed as that called Samian.

The Roman pottery made in England for architectural use, in the form of tiles and bricks, is found in large quantities in the neighbourhood of Roman towns.

The Roman bricks and tiles of London, St. Albans, Lincoln, Wroxeter, Castor, Cirencester, and those recently discovered at Apethorpe, are greatly superior in size, form, and texture, to what are now made. The London-made bricks are generally crumbling rubbish, held together by the mortar and cement in which they are laid, and will not bear the pressure, by many tons, that a Roman brick would sustain after the wear and tear of sixteen centuries or more. The remains of hypocaust and roof tiles, found at Apethorpe, are of the same texture and form as those found at Pompeii. The roofing tiles are also alike in size and structural character to the Pompeian tiles. (Having moulded tiles for the roof of the Pompeian house at Sydenham Palace, after the antique, I was particularly struck with the similarity of those found at Apethorpe.) There is not, at this time, any manufactory for tiles or bricks in England of the same large size as those of which the nave of St. Alban's abbey is built, and which were brought from the ruins of the Roman city of Verulam. I will not venture upon the subject of Roman mortar now, though it is one I have carefully studied, and often, in architectural papers, written upon ; but I cannot allow this opportunity to pass without calling attention to a most useful ingredient used by the Romans in their mortar, and which led me to the discovery of the first Roman pavement found at Apethorpe, viz., the use of pulverized pottery. Pliny speaks of it, and the use of pozzolana, with lime and sand, to make mortar. In this country, where pozzolana was not to be had, the Romans seem at all times to have pounded broken pottery into a grit, such as would pass through a sieve of about six meshes to an inch, and used it in about the proportion of one fourth part with the lime and sand they made their mortar with. Upon trial, it will be found that mortar so made dries or hardens quicker than with lime and sand only ; and the oxides of iron contained in the potsherds render it, to a certain extent, a hydraulic cement.

The foundations of all Anglo-Roman baths and pavements that I have seen have this cement.

In the walls of Verulam a small quantity of unburnt pounded chalk has been added to the mortar, which is now as hard as granite.

The practice of using pounded chalk with new mortar appears also to have been frequently adopted by mediæval architects.

The domestic Anglo-Roman pottery affords valuable evidence of the perfect knowledge they had of the art.

Their colours are red, buff, brown, and bluish black. The latter produced by a sudden smothering of the fire at a particular stage of firing. The glaze of this ware is dull and opaque, generally red, white, and black.

The strongest Roman pottery is of red and buff colours. It is commonly painted with white bands and scroll borders, and the paint is generally laid on thick, and contains lead. It is not at all like what is called Samian ware. Pliny speaks of the isle of Samos as famous for pottery. Some authors have denied that this Samian ware was polished in the lathe, but I believe that if the Samians were famous for the art, they would soon have discovered the economy of so polishing their goods; moreover, the continuous and true circles left by the tool could only have been performed upon a lathe or moveable disc. The ware made in England by the Romans was evidently finished upon the potter's wheel, when soft, with the thumbs and fingers, as the wavy and uneven circular lines indicate. The bassi relievi on Samian ware are supposed by many to have been stamped. I do not think this was the case, from the practical difficulty of stamping such embossed patterns upon soft clay, without injury to the form. Moulding was an art well understood at the period this ware was made; and there is no reason to suppose, as the Greeks had commonly made moulds for pottery, that the Romans did not adopt the same method.

The Roman remains discovered at Castor furnished a tolerably perfect insight into the Roman mode of making pottery. Even the frit for making the glaze was there found, and the bronze modelling tools of the workmen. These remains were presented by the Earl Fitzwilliam to the Museum of Practical Geology, and are some of the most interesting and valuable relics we possess of Roman mechanism.

The Anglo-Roman pottery shews a bold, free, sketchy style of drawing, and differs from most ancient pottery. The workmen must have been draughtsmen acquainted with Greek forms, and evidently expert in those operations.

Some of the best Roman ware has been found in southern Germany, and has a coating of thin clay, or what we call *slip*, upon it, for representing the ornament. A large lamp of eight burners, and some vases, in the Museum of Geology, London, are made in this way.

We know very little of Anglo-Saxon pottery; but there cannot be a doubt that a very large quantity of the fragments constantly turned up, and often called Roman, are Anglo-Saxon. Much of this is very coarse in grain, made evidently from unground clay, and also imperfectly burnt. Zig-zag ornament is scratched upon it, and a coarse blue black glaze is common. It is also very likely

that, about the latter end of the eighth century, pottery was imported into this country from France, as the arts of Italy were at that time freely disseminated on the continent of Europe; and the Arabs, who were great potters, were then most powerful in many places bordering on France. Metal, wood, and leather were, however, the substance of most domestic vessels of that time.

The secret of making good pottery, there is no doubt, remained with the Arabs during the dark ages of European civilization; and it is generally supposed that the fabrication of enamelled tiles originated in Europe through them. It is said that Moorish tiles were introduced into Italy by the Pisans, for the decoration of churches, at the beginning of the twelfth century. About this time we may date the revival of the use of terra-cotta for architectural purposes in Italy. At the commencement of the eighth century the tomb of Mahomet, at Medina, was covered with blue, green, and black enamelled tiles.

In the thirteen and fourteenth centuries very large buildings were erected in the north of Italy, in which moulded brickwork prevailed; and among the beautiful brick structures in Italy, having terra-cotta decorations, may be mentioned the church of Santa Maria della Grazia, Milan; the campanile of San Antonio, Padua; the Ospedale Maggiore, Milan. In Verona, Bologna, Perugia, Padua, and Venice, there are terra-cotta cornices, friezes, tracery, bassi relievi, chimney shafts, and other prominent architectural details.

One of the earliest existing specimens of good modern brickwork in England is at Little Wenham, Suffolk, (*circa* 1260). Sutton place, Guildford; Hampton Court Palace, and Eton College, are very fine specimens of brickwork, having terra-cotta chimney shafts cornices, panels, and other marked features, very well executed in red clay.

Passerio says that pottery flourished at Pesaro, in Italy, long before the period fixed for its revival, viz., the fourteenth century; and that the art of color-enamelling became common at this date. Lucca della Robbia was born in 1388, and began at the commencement of the following century to make terra cotta bassi relievi, and statues, and also enamelled tiles. Pottery was also made at Majorca long before the time of Lucca della Robbia; and the art of enamelling was there well known before the fourteenth century, most probably from intercourse with the Moors. In the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries the Moors manufactured in Spain some of the most beautiful works in pottery, having an enamelled surface, ever produced.

In the fifteenth century, enamelled ware was made at Urbino, the birthplace of Raffaelle, the painter; and many of the best works of this great man were imitated on the pottery made at the place of his nativity. Some say that the painter himself worked upon this ware, and from that circumstance it has been called *Raffaelle ware.*

About the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries, Pesaro, Urbino, Gubbio, Faenza, Castel Durante, and

other places, became famous for the enamelled lustrous ware called *Majolica*, of which there are some very fine specimens at the Museum of the Department of Science and Art, South Kensington. The forms of this ware are generally good, and the drawings are full of masculine vigour, exhibiting great freedom of hand, and perfect knowledge of pagan and Christian history in the allegories.

About the middle of the sixteenth century, Bernard Palissy, who had been bred to glass painting, and was born in the diocese of Agen, began to make experiments upon enamelled pottery; and after great trouble, labour, and affliction, he discovered the mode of making a thick lustrous enamel, altogether different from the ware made by the Italians. His ware was remarkable for imitations in relievi and colour of natural objects. He painted flat dishes and beautiful tiles for walls and floors.

Contemporaneous with Palissy there were many potters of note in Germany, and some very excellent stoneware was made at Nuremberg during this century. Holland, also, was now famous for its Delft-ware; and the beautiful strong glaze made by the Dutch at this period showed that they had become, through their connection with Spain, acquainted with the arts of the Moors.

Coarse ware was made in Staffordshire in the sixteenth century, and a flourishing trade carried on at Burslem, and elsewhere, in the making of butter pots. Dr. Shaw, in his history of Staffordshire, says that in 1670 the trade in butter pots was so large that an act of Parliament was passed to regulate their size.

Up to this period (the end of the sixteenth century) nearly all pottery had been what is termed *soft*; and although much of it was coated with hard and durable enamel, not easily injured, yet the body of the pottery could be very generally scratched with a knife. Of course, in speaking of all ordinary pottery I do not include oriental porcelain.

A new fashion now commenced, in many places, and about the same period, of making hard pottery, of a vitreous character; and porcelain from China began to find its way into all the mansions of the rich. The old soft enamelled wares had—with all their beauty of form and color—to give way to a new substance, akin to porcelain.

As this period—the seventeenth century—is the great one for marking a difference in the manufacture, and for the complete establishment of Pottery in England, I shall confine what I now have to say to the progress of this art in our own country.

About this time Stone-ware—as it is termed—became much sought after in England, and works for making it were established at Stratford-le-Bow.

A family of the name of Elers, from Nuremberg, settled in England about the latter part of the seventeenth century, and commenced making stone-ware at Bradwell, near Burslem. A person of the name of Astbury discovered their secret by feigning idiotcy, and getting employment at their works. It is said that the Elers removed from Bradwell to Lambeth, and established the first pot-

tery in that quarter of London. It is possible that they may have been concerned in the Chelsea works. About the same time porcelain was made at Chelsea under the especial patronage of George II. Works also for making stone-ware began at Fulham, and a manufactory for porcelain at Bow. About the latter end of this century there were twenty kilns at work in Burslem. The clays first used in Staffordshire were from Burslem, and the sand from a place called Baddeley Hedge. The glaze first used was a silicate of lead.

About 1750, earthenware works were opened at Swansea, Nottingham, and Liverpool; and about this time the use of plaster moulds was introduced into Staffordshire, by Mr. Ralph Daniel.

In 1751 Porcelain works were established at Derby; and the models and moulds and workmen from Chelsea were transferred to Derby, and *Chelsea-Derby* became the name of the ware. The models and moulds of the Bow works were also transferred to Derby. This same year the Worcester porcelain works began, and the Devon and Poole clays were chiefly used at these works; and it was at this place the printing on biscuit-ware was first introduced into England.

In 1755, the value of the kaolin and porcelain granite of Cornwall became known.

In 1760, cream colored earthenware was made at Leeds, and about the same time a pottery was established by the Marquis of Rockingham, at Swinton; in 1768, Lord Camelford carried on porcelain works at Plymouth, and in 1772, porcelain and earthenware works were established at Bristol, and the moulds transferred from the Plymouth potters to that place.

In 1780, the Coalport works were established for the manufacture of porcelain. It is at this place some of the finest china is now made, and the beautiful colors *Turquoise* blue, and *Rose du Barrè*, for which the French were so famous, are now produced equal to French works of the best time.

About 1760, Josiah Wedgewood commenced making pottery at Burslem. His first efforts were cream colored terra-cotta vases. About 1770, at Etruria in Staffordshire, he began to form his magnificent collection of models for vases, and other articles. He greatly advanced the arts, and he lived to see England become an exporter of pottery for foreign markets.

In 1800, Mr. Joseph Spode introduced the use of bone, or phosphate of lime, into porcelain; and at their works *Parian* or statuary porcelain is said to have been first made by Mr. Alderman Copeland, the present proprietor.

From the commencement of the present century, the trade in china and earthenware has so largely increased that, probably, the amount now manufactured exceeds three millions sterling per annum, and that at least one-third of this quantity is exported.

One of the greatest revivals in pottery, connected with architecture, took place about 1833. Mr. Wright, of Shelton, obtained a patent for making inlaid tiles. This patent was bought by the late Mr. Herbert Minton, who improved upon it, and produced the tiles now so commonly used in churches.

In 1840, Richard Prosser, of Birmingham, took a patent for making buttons in china. In 1841, buttons made from the body of which porcelain is constituted, were very largely manufactured by the late Mr. Herbert Minton, under this patent of Prosser's; and having, myself, for several years, made inlaid pavements and imitations of old mosaic and tessellated work, I conceived that Prosser's invention would make *tesselloæ* and tiles, and I suggested to Minton and Prosser the enlargement of the patent for this purpose. I then made arrangements to carry out this invention, and laid the first designs and specimens I made before the then President of the Royal Society (the Marquis of Northampton), who kindly permitted me to exhibit them at one of his soirées, at his house in Piccadilly, about the commencement of the year 1843. He then introduced the subject to a great number of noblemen, and especially to his Royal Highness the Prince Consort, who requested an especial account of the process to be written for him, and which was done, and forms now the appendix to the second edition of a work I first published in 1842, through Mr. Owen Jones, on *Tessellated Pavements*. In 1843, I published a work upon *Encaustic Tiles*, with ninety-six copies of antient tiles drawn half the full size, and also designs of pavements. The drawings were arranged and copied on stone by Mr. Owen Jones. I also employed Mr. Lewis, Mr. Kendall, and other architects on the same subject, and especially Mr. Digby Wyatt, who copied for me in Italy the remains of the mosaic works of the middle ages, from San Lorenzo, St. Mark's, and other places; and which has since been drawn on stone, and published by him, under the title of *The Geometrical Mosaics of the Middle Ages*.

The Society of Arts, London, also kindly permitted me to lecture on the subject, and constantly to bring it forward—so that, by the end of the year 1845, the trade in tessellated pavements, inlaid tiles, and Venetian floors, had gained a firm footing; but, from various circumstances, and after spending many thousand pounds in bringing the subject fully into notice, I was obliged to surrender all interest in it to the manufacturer, Herbert Minton. Since this date, Minton and Hollins have revived the art of majolica and Palissy ware, and produced the most magnificent specimens, both in point of size and color, ever attained in this description of pottery.

Having now gone through some portion of the history of Pottery, I will turn to that portion of the art with which I am more immediately connected. To do this properly, I must, however, go back to what was done by some others in this walk before I commenced.

The first great advance made in Terra-Cotta was by Coade and Sealey, of Lambeth, who began, about the end of the last century, to make statues, bassi-relievi, capitals, coats of arms, and a great variety of architectural work, for large houses in London and elsewhere.

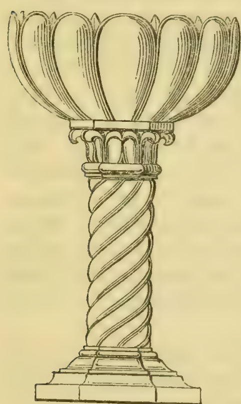
About 1825, Mr. Rossi made of terra-cotta the statues, capitals, antifixæ, and other ornaments of St. Pancras church, London. Also, about this date, Mr. Bubb executed in terra-cotta the frieze of the Opera House, in the Haymarket.

The terra-cotta made by Coade and Sealey, by Rossi, and by Bubb, was chiefly from the Poole clay, combined with flint and sand. It has withstood heat and frost; and wherever it has been used it is now found more perfect than stonework adjoining, of the same date. The Portland stone pedestals and columns supporting many of these works, are in a complete state of decay, while the terra-cotta is as sharp as when fresh fixed.

In the year 1836, Sir Frederick Fowke made at Lowesby some very fine terra-cotta vases; and in 1849, the Earl of Leicester made at Holkham some good Tudor chimneys and moulded bricks in red terra-cotta.

At the Great Exhibition of 1851 there were many specimens of terra-cotta work, from manufacturers in England, France, Switzerland, and Germany, but none equal to the works formerly produced by Coade and Sealey. At present, there are manufacturers of terra-cotta at Ipswich, Lambeth, Darlington, Manchester, Wisbeach, Toulouse, Wiesbach, Wiesbaden, and elsewhere. At the present time the Florentines are making large works in buff terra cotta, similar to those I make at Stamford. A fine specimen of this ware was, last year, purchased by Government for our Museum at Kensington.

The clays best suited for terra cotta are found in the tertiary beds, or those occurring above the chalk, and corresponding with the lower Bagshot sands of the London district; also those in the Oolite and lias formations.



A small Tazza, of Romanesque character.

The clays I use are from Wakerley in Northamptonshire; from Uffington, Lincolnshire; from Mr. Lumby's field near Stamford; and from the neighbourhood of Poole, in Dorsetshire. It is important to obtain clay as free from iron, and lime stone, as possible. The clay should be cleansed of all impurities. Sand is an essential ingredient and should be free from iron.

The chief materials constituting the paste or body of what I call terra cotta are clay, sand, flint, glass, and phosphate of lime. The mode of obtaining the latter in a cheap form is from coprolites, and the fossil bones abundantly found in the red crag formation in Suffolk. These materials may be combined by dry grinding, and sifting, and mixing them in a pug-mill to a paste; or by washing them together in a slip bath, and partially drying them, so as to form a paste on a slip kiln. For large ware, the former mode is the best and cheapest; for small vases, and for all ordinary purposes of earthenware and china, the latter is the mode preferred.

Having these materials ready, a due proportion of the prepared clay—say, a piece as large as a foot cube—is well beaten with an iron bar on a wooden or stone bench, until, when cut with a wire,

it appears smooth on the face, and free from bubbles of air. Small balls of this clay are then made by the hands of a girl or boy, and furnished to a workman, who sits in front of a wheel or disc—a potter's wheel. The workman places this lump of clay on the wheel, and the wheel is put in motion. He presses his hands close upon the clay, and draws it up in a pyramidal form ; and he then presses it downwards, and forces his thumbs into the centre, by which a cavity is produced, which he gradually enlarges, and by his thumbs and fingers forms the basin, vase, or other article.

The piece of ware so formed in the rough, is removed to be dried; and when nearly as hard as a piece of soap, it is placed on a lathe, and turned, similar to the turning of wood, and smoothed or polished with an iron tool. It is a nice operation to fit some articles on to the lathe, and this is effected by hollow and conical blocks of wood called *chucks* and *chums*, which are made to fit the inside and the outside of the vessels, and to carry them safely through the operation of turning.

The article is now ready to be burnt, if no ornament or handle has to be affixed to it. If it has to be "handled," another workman takes charge of it, who makes handles by pressure into a mould, and attaches them by moistening the points of junction with a sponge, and luting them with a very little soft clay.

This simple operation refers to plain bowls, jugs, cups and plates ; but where ornaments are required and large vases and statues have to be made, the mode of working is altogether different; and to make that properly understood, I must explain the terms "modelling" and "moulding."

A Model—say for a statue—is an original work made in clay by the thumb and fingers, and by small bone and metal tools. The clay for making a model is usually built up around a piece of iron or wood, in a rough state, and allowed to shrink and settle down before it is wrought upon. After it has become properly kneaded together the sculptor exerts his skill upon it, and by paring off and making addition, and by the use of his fingers and tools, reduces the unshapely mass of clay into the human form, clothing it with as many graces as the power of his genius can devise. All works of sculptors in marble, stone, or bronze, are first produced in this way; and the operation of reducing a block of marble to form, after a model is complete, is almost one of pure mechanism, save and except the final touches, which require the refined mind and delicate hand of the real sculptor—the originator of the work—and who, probably, has purposely omitted in his model the finished beauties intended alone for the marble. While speaking of an original model in clay, I will

Bust of Bacchus, from the Antique.

observe that if in the first instance the sculptor determines to use a clay that will burn and form a terra-cotta, he will build up his statue without iron or wood. He will gradually form the rough outline hollow, in a cellular, honeycomb sort of matter, and prop up his work externally, and use various mechanical aids to keep his model true, until it is quite finished and dry and fit to be removed into a kiln to be burnt. Such a model is an original Terra-Cotta. The trouble to effect this is exceedingly great, but the result, if perfectly burnt, fully compensates for the trouble. No moulded copy presents such vigour, freshness, and grace, as the first model. Now as to moulding. The term *Moulding* means the making of an impression with plaster, when in a liquid state, upon a model. Plaster of Paris or gypsum, if heated to about 400 degrees Fahrenheit, loses its water of crystallization; if it is then reduced to a fine powder and mixed with water, it will take the form of any article upon which it may be placed, and it will become what is technically called "set," that is hardened, in about fifteen minutes. If plaster is mixed as thick as cream, and poured or spread with a round ended knife upon a part of a clay statue, and as it stiffens it is made np at the sides and ends, at angles of about 45 degrees, a piece of a mould is formed. Repeat this operation until the figure is covered; afterwards remove the pieces from the model, and put them together, they will form a sort of box with an intaglio throughout the inside. If this mould is carefully preserved, a great number of clay impressions may be made from it, similar to the original model, requiring only the finishing hand of an artist to remove the seams of the mould and give a few delicate touches in undercutting and relief.

A statue is seldom moulded in one piece; all projections—such as legs, arms, and drapery—being cut off and moulded alone, and pressed separately, and fixed with soft clay. Into plaster moulds, all potters—whether for making porcelain, earthenware, or terra cotta—press or cast clay for statues and sculptural works. This operation is frequently called "moulding," but it should be "pressing," or "casting."

There are three distinct operations in the production of statues, &c.; *first*, modelling: *secondly*, moulding: *thirdly*, pressing or casting.

Possibly it may be thought I should have said *drawing;* for, without a good knowledge of that science it is impossible to model well; and so simple is the operation of modelling flat articles in clay, that, when a full sized drawing is made, it is only necessary to spread it over a smooth sheet of clay of the required thickness, and rub over the outline with a bone tool, and then remove the drawing and cut out the pattern.

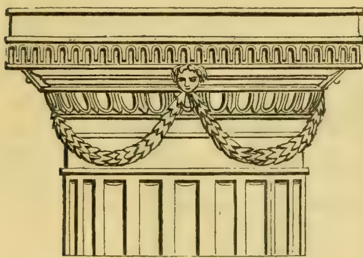
After articles made of clay are perfectly dry, they are removed to a kiln, or reverberatory furnace (for all potter's kilns are reverberatory furnaces), and carefully packed in fire-clay troughs, or *seggars*, or placed one over the other; and when the kiln is full, the doorway is bricked up, and iron bands are bolted across it, and the fires are lighted in the furnace holes around the kiln. For large articles

it is neccessary to fire very slowly for four or five days, and then for about forty-eight hours fire sharply, until a temperature is attained sufficient to bake the ware, and flux the ingredients of which the body is formed into a vitreous mass without melting the whole. The intensity of heat I find necessary to attain, to perfectly burn the buff clay of this neighbourhood, is that at which soft iron would melt.

Articles may be protected from the coal flame in various ways: by coating the ware with paper and clay, by a muffle throughout the kiln, or by seggars; but it is important to do this, because the flame is apt to crack many clays openly exposed to it; and also the vapour from the coal is sure to discolor the ware, generally turning it a foxy red.

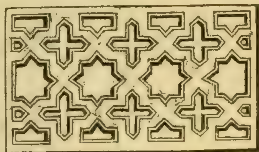
A kiln of large goods takes about a week to cool; and the process of opening the door and removing the articles is one of exciting interest to the potter, but is readily performed, and is the least troublesome portion of a potter's business.

Space will not admit of any description of the operations of glazing and gilding Terra-Cotta, and I will conclude by calling attention to this material for *architectural* work.



Capital of a Column from Pompeii.

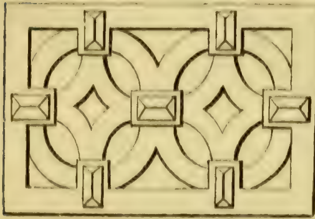
There is no country in the world in which there are finer materials for pottery than exist in England, and it is well known that good pottery is more durable than stone or marble. At present, the noxious gases in large towns destroy much new stonework a few years after it has been finished. The sulphureous and alkaline bodies given off in the combustion of coal gas are alone sufficient to destroy lime stone; and the more highly and delicately the stone is wrought, the quicker the work of destruction goes on. For commercial buildings and street architecture, brick and Terra-Cotta are cheaper, more durable, and keep longer clean than stone or stucco. Mr. Scott, in his work on *Gothic Architecture, Secular and Domestic,* especially recommends brick and terra-cotta for street architecture. He says, "Terra-Cotta seems the natural ac-"companiment of brick, but it should not "be used as an artificial stone. It is the "highest development of brick and should be used as such." He also says that "by a judicious use of brick, moulded as well as "plain, encaustic tiles, and terra-cotta, we might develope a variety "of constructive decoration peculiarly our own."



Tracery, arranged from a Mosaic in the Church of St. Francis, at Assisi; by Owen Jones.

The cost of the raw material of Terra-Cotta is only half the

cost of Portland cement, and not one-fourth the cost of good stone. Mouldings having a girth of two feet can be wrought at two shillings and sixpence per lineal foot. Tracery for parapets can be made, four inches thick, for three shillings per foot superficial. Small capitals for columns, friezes, coats of arms, bassi relievi, and a very large number of articles, can be modelled and burnt, as original works,

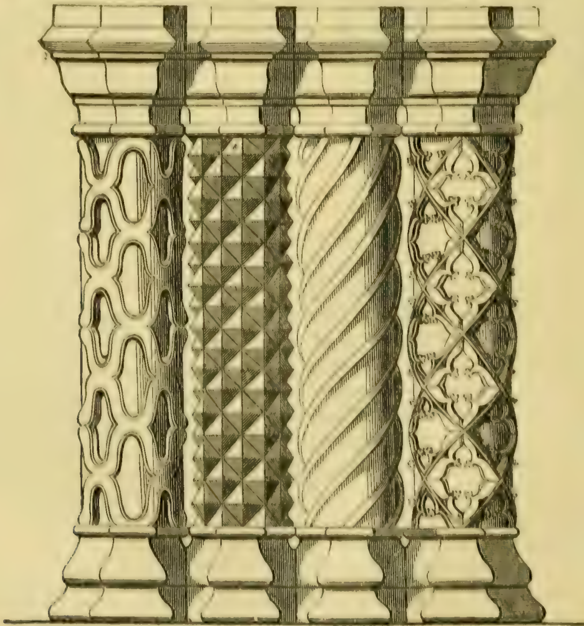


Elizabethan Tracery.

Elizabethan Tracery.

for less than the same work would cost after modelling, moulding, and casting, in compo.

I have so tempered clay that original models of statues and groups have been burnt in one piece, of colossal dimensions, and weighing several tons, and free from warp, flaw, or twist; and I



Four Chimney Shafts, from Ancient Examples.

have made many *tazzi*, from 12 to 15 feet circumference, as true

on the upper edge as rubbed stone, and am now engaged upon one which will be 21 feet round before it is burnt.

All these large original works have cost less than they would have done had they been made by moulding and casting in compo; and they have the sharpness of the best carved stone, and are free from the roughness and faults always found in large blocks of stone.

Balusters.

The body of which Terra-Cotta is made—that is clay, sand, flint, &c.—is a paste more suited for *free* modelling of large works than the ordinary modelling clay; and after a few months practice in the use of this material, sculptors, can manipulate with greater ease, and dexterity, than in any other substance. Stone carvers would find it a better material than the tough clay they generally use for roughing out their sketchy models for Gothic foliage. If stone carvers would turn their attention to the use of this material, for fine and delicate relievi, and for finely pointed terminations (crosses, for instance) a great saving of money in the first instance would be effected, and the external parts of a new building would not so frequently show symptoms of premature decay—as is now commonly seen. The clay for such purpose should be well kneaded, and allowed to get stiff and firm, so that a carver could cut it with the freedom he is accustomed to cut soft stone. A small kiln of a temporary character, about four feet square in the inside, would be found large enough to burn the more exposed and prominent details of a very large church. If portions of the work were too large to be burnt in one piece, the same could be cut into small parts; and, after burning, be united with molten lead.

Gate Pier Terminal.

The best Terra-Cotta is a species of stoneware, similar to that used for making chemical vessels for holding acids and alkalies; and it will not, after years of use, show signs of decay from contact with these substances. This can not be said of any building-stone now in use. By a little additional cost, and the operation of a second firing, a soft dull glaze could be put on all Terra-Cotta bricks, mouldings, and ornaments; so that façades executed in this way could be washed clean by water from a fire engine.

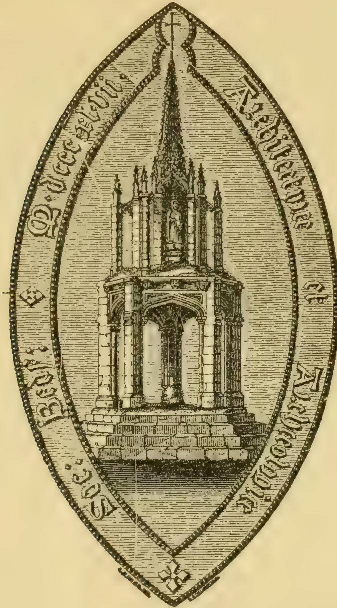
A mould could be made of wood or iron at a trifling cost, in which hollow blocks of clay could be pressed, for building poor men's cottages, so as to save internal plastering. Window-sills, label mouldings, jambs, water-tables, copings, sinks, fire-hearths (with massive rounded edge to serve as a fender), stove backs, chimney shafts, &c., could be more elegantly and cheaply wrought in clay than in any other material. For such purpose, it is important to mix up with the new clay about

one fourth part of old broken ware, reduced to powder, about as fine as bricklayer's sand. If old ware cannot be obtained, new clay should be burnt, and then pulverized. This leaven of old clay prevents the new from warping and twisting in the fire.

The more widely the knowledge of Pottery is diffused, the more certain the architectural potter is to succeed in developing the use of argillaceous and vitreous substances, in the construction of monumental and sylvan works of art. The public will benefit by obtaining better and cheaper buildings: it will be a new wing for the genius of the architect: it will improve and advance the study of modelling in all its ramifications; and it will give refinement and taste to the labours of the poorest brickmaker.

BEDFORDSHIRE

ARCHITECTURAL AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.



An Account of the Life and Labours of Dr. S. E. Castell, formerly Rector of Higham Gobion. A Paper read at the Annual General Meeting of the Bedfordshire Architectural and Archæological Society, October 28th, 1858. By JOHN MENDHAM, M.A., Rector of Clophill.

THE Paper which I am about to submit to your notice contains a succinct account of the life and labours of Dr. Stephen Edmund Castell, formerly Rector of Higham Gobion in this county, a divine in many ways worthy our notice and regard.

The great work for which he is distinguished is the *Lexicon Heptaglotton*, a worthy—as it is almost an inseparable—companion to Walton's *Biblia Polyglotta;* and as long as the one is remembered, so will the other not be forgotten.

I trust it will not be found too great a sacrifice to request your attention, for a few minutes, in listening to the narrative of the indefatigable labours of one of the most laborious and persevering divines that ever lived. Some may have equalled, none could surpass, his unwearied diligence and toil. An honour to our *country*, he was also an honour to our *county*, for in the rectory of Higham Gobion were spent the last years of his life. In that church he set up his monument, and that churchyard contains the relics of his mortality. This circumstance may the more enlist our regard and sympathy. He was one of us.

He too may be marshalled among the numerous band who may be appealed to in reply to the scornful challenge of Gibbon, when, after having spoken in terms of high commendation of the labours of the Monks of St. Germain de Prez at Paris, he continues— "If I inquire into the manufactures of the Monks of Magdalen, if "I extend my enquiry to the other Colleges of Oxford or Cambridge, "a silent blush or a scornful frown will be my only reply." As this challenge not only affects the College of Magdalen, but all the Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, and this not at that particular time but for the whole term of their existence as repositories of Protestant Theological Literature, hereby some reply might have been made; and in opposition to the goodly folios of Benedictine Fathers might have been set in array the works of a Hooker, a Hale, a Pierson, a Barrow, a Wilkins, and many others; and amongst the rest, of a Walton and a Castell. Has not our country produced the most celebrated Polyglott Bible and Heptaglott Lexicon which the world contains?

The subject of this memoir was a younger son of Robt. Castell, Esq., of East Watley, in the county of Cambridge. He was born in 1606. From his father he inherited a fair estate; and well was it for the world as well as for himself that such was the case, or otherwise, with all his earnest and laborious efforts, he never could have brought to conclusion the great work he had undertaken— Walton's Polyglott Bible had been without its inseparable and most valuable companion, the Heptaglott Lexicon. Not only was required for its completion the labour of a Hercules, but also the riches of a Plutus. Not only was the worthy author worn out with excessive labour and toil, but his ample patrimony was in like manner expended.

In the year 1621 he became pensioner of Emmanuel College, from which he afterwards removed to St. John's College, for the advantage of the library. In due course he took the several degrees of bachelor and master of arts, and of bachelor and doctor of divinity. The fame of his literary powers procured him early admission as a member of the Royal Society.

He commenced the work of his Heptaglott Lexicon, which has made his name so illustrious, in the year 1623, the same year in which Bishop Walton commenced his yet greater work, the Polyglott Bible.

Very different, however, was the course of the two great authors of these several works. First, as to time. Bishop Walton brought his

work to a happy conclusion in 1657, a period of but four years from its commencement. Dr. Castell's work was not completed before the year 1659, a period of seventeen years from its beginning. But, next, there was great difference as to the expense of these two compilations. Dr. Walton's Polyglott, in six volumes folio, was published at the cost of £8,400; but for the completion of Dr. Castell's Heptaglott, though consisting but of two volumes folio, no less a sum than £12,000 was required.

Lastly, very different was the reward which attended the labours of these two great and laborious authors. The author of the Polyglott is recompensed by promotion to the see of Chester; the author of the Heptaglott, worn out with his labours, has but a prebendal stall at Canterbury, with the small living of Higham Gobion, in Bedfordshire. So that, though the worth and value of Bishop Walton's work place it in far higher rank than the other, still, the energy and indomitable perseverance of Dr. Castell do merit for him the greater commendation.

Bishop Walton's work cost far less labour and expense, and was more highly recompensed. Dr. Castell—his labour greater, his expenses far greater, and with little or no recompense at all—would not desist till his undertaking, in providing for the Polyglott a suitable companion, was accomplished. For such was his disinterested zeal that, though he were no gainer, but in every way a loser by his great undertaking, he never regretted his determination to undertake it—never relaxed in any effort to carry it forward—never rested till he had brought it to a desired conclusion, very thankful that the work which he had begun he was enabled to finish.

The work on which the time, labour, and expense of Dr. Castell was employed, is entitled

LEXICON HEPTAGLOTTON:

Hebraicum	Samaritanum	
Chaldaicum	Ethiopicum	*Conjunctim.*
Syriacum	Arabicum	
Et Persicum	—	*Separatim.*

To which is prefixed a Grammar, corresponding to the Lexicon, in which the Persian language is treated of by itself, and that of the other six languages in combination.

The Persic Lexicon is first in order in the Lexicon, and consists of 573 columns; after which follows the Lexicon of the combined languages, which extends to no less than 4,008 columns.

" This work (says Dr. Dibdin) has long challenged the admiration " and defied the competition of foreigners; and with its inseparable " and invaluable companion, the great *Polyglott* of Walton, has " raised an eternal monument of literary fame." Another bibliographical author declares that " this work is probably the greatest " and most perfect of the kind ever performed by human industry " and learning."

Some improvements have been made, and others proposed, upon this work of Dr. Castell's, especially on the part devoted to the

Persic language, which, though an excellent work, and despised only by such (says Dr. A. Clarke) as did not understand its value, labours under want of more distinct arrangement. The words are sadly intermixed, and many Persic words are printed in Hebrew types, probably because his printers had but few Persian characters. This must not detract from our author's merits, for what great work is there in which some improvements may not be made.

The arduous nature of the undertaking may be illustrated in many ways. First, the number of authorities to be consulted. No less than three hundred authors were required for the formation of the Persic Lexicon only. For the other combined portion we can but refer to the preface to illustrate how large and extensive was the number of authors and MSS. consulted.

Next, was the labour and expense of procuring MSS. from every part of Europe. Then how numerous were the assistants required —men of note and celebrity—foreigners and natives; besides men of note, such as Dr. Murray, Dr. Beveridge, Dr. Winslow, and, above all, Dr. Lightfoot, and some who withdrew from the work discouraged by the Herculean nature of the undertaking.

He maintained at his own expense seven English, and as many foreigners, as his constant assistants. But we must not suppose that our author was idle or unemployed; on the contrary, he may be said to have laboured more than they all. For seventeen years his toil was constant and unremitting. This we learn from the dedication of his work to his Majesty Charles II., in which he writes that, during all this period, he accounted that day a kind of holiday in which less than sixteen or eighteen hours were spent, either on the Lexicon or on the Polyglott of B^{n}. Walton, to which he rendered most valuable service.

But other vexations and hindrances attended him in his undertaking. One was the failure of those whom he had selected as his assistants. "I had once (he says) companions in my undertaking, "partners in my toil; but some of them are now no more, and others "have withdrawn themselves, alarmed at the immensity of the "work. I am now, therefore, left alone, without amanuensis or "corrector; my bodily and mental strength impaired, my eyesight "almost gone."

Strype tells us that, with respect to the seven English and the seven foreigners, his assistants, they all died some weeks before his work was finished; and he adds in his quaint style, "thus the "whole burthen fell upon himself; though, by God's grace, he "finished *it*, before it finished *him*." Another trial was the paucity of subscribers, joined to the unfaithfulness of those who had subscribed already. "The number of those (he writes to Dr. J. Clarke), "is very small that at all regard this kind of literature. I feel to "my cost (if God be not better to me than man) and to my utter "ruin and of my family."

In fine, the times in which he lived—namely, during the civil war and the usurpations which followed; and, after the Restoration, the breaking out of the Plague in London, and the great fire which

followed, in which he was a great sufferer, having lost thereby all his household goods, his library, and no less than three hundred copies of his Lexicon ; to which he adds divers private accidents, such as breaking of limbs, bruises, sprains, and, above all, the almost total failure of his eyesight; all conspired to make his undertaking toilsome and arduous, and delayed its completion till the year 1659.

Dr. Worthington, in his letters to Hartlib (*Ep.* 16, *Sept.* 9, 1661), thus compassionates our author : " Indefatigably studious, " he hath sacrificed himself to this purpose ; and is resolved, for the " glory of God and the good of men, to go on in his work, though " he die in it, and all the sooner for the great pains it requires. " So great were these that the learned Petræus and some others " who were engaged by him to *assist*, were compelled to desist, as " being unable to endure such Herculean labours. I never see Dr. " Castell but his condition affects me. He has worn out his body " in the inexpressible labours which such a work requires. He has " been forced to sell some part of his no great temporal estate, to " procure money enough to pay off the workmen, the money sub- " scribed falling short, and there being a scarcity of persons so nobly " affected as to contribute. God preserve him in health to lay up " the headstone ! God raise up some who may move others of " ample fortune, to ennoble themselves by encouraging a work of " so noble and diffusive a good ! God reward him in the comforts " of this life also !"

The benevolent wishes of Dr. Worthington were in part fulfilled. He lived to complete his work, and long outlived its completion ; but the other part of his wish was by no means fulfilled. No one came forward on his own account, and no one endeavoured to move those of more ample means to give aid to him under his difficulties. " He spent (says Dr. Lightfoot), twenty years of his time in the " public service, and above £12,000 of his own estate ; and for a " reward, was left £1,800 in debt." In the beginning of his undertaking he resolved to prosecute it to the end, though it cost him his whole estate ; and he kept to his resolution, though it was as fatal to him as it was useful to the world.

Under the pressure of these difficulties he was constrained to make application for assistance to his Majesty Charles II., that a prison might not be the reward of his so many labours and great expenses.

He had already, in somewhat laudatory strains, celebrated the restoration of his Majesty to the throne of his ancestors, in a short poem, entitled *The Sun rising on England, under the auspices of Charles the Second, most glorious of Kings.*

It is not probable that this poem, singular as it is—as being composed in verses in which all the languages about which his Lexicon was concerned made their appearance—had much attracted the notice of that gay and light-hearted monarch ; at any rate, it had not brought from that quarter any advantage to the author. He was therefore constrained to address his Majesty in plain terms,

pleading the great necessity he was under of pecuniary assistance in order to finish his work; one volume at this time only had gone to the press.

This letter was not without its effect. Not that it drew from the monarch any pecuniary assistance; but, as the work was dedicated to him, he was not unwilling that a Letter should be written, in his name, to the great men of the kingdom in church and state, commending the author and his work to their notice and regards; and with request that they would supply to Dr. Castell that needful assistance which he had no heart to bestow—being more willing to bestow a whole province on an unworthy favourite, than the smallest donation on a deserving scholar.

The Letter commences thus: "Charles, by the Grace of God "King of England, Ireland, Scotland, and France, Defender of the "Faith; to all Archbishops, Dukes, Marquisses, Counts, Viscounts, "Bishops, Barons, and all other his faithful subjects, sends health." He then states how that Dr. E. Castell, at the instance of many learned persons, had undertaken the formation of an Heptaglott Lexicon; that one volume had already appeared at his own great cost, supported by the contributions of others; and further, that his Majesty was convinced how great the benefit would be, both as to Oriental Literature in general, and also to the great Polyglott Bible lately set forth, that this Lexicon should be completed. And he adds, that, ever having an earnest desire to promote and honour all such pious undertakings, and seeing that this work could not be brought to completion without the aid of all who were willing to concur with the sovereign in giving encouragement to such works—at the prayer and instance of the aforesaid Dr. Castell, He had thought it right to commend his forementioned wish to the consideration and munificence of all honourable and learned persons, that, by subscribing for one or more copies, or in any other way which might occur to them, the aforesaid Dr. Castell might be enabled to bring his work, so well begun, to a consummation worthy of itself.

This Letter is dated 13 Calends of January, 1660. It was not till nearly four years after this Letter had been issued that any notice was taken of it. At length the primate, Archbishop Sheldon, addressed a letter to the various bishops of his province, dated from Lambeth, the Calends of December, 1663. In this circular, having commended to their favourable regard the Heptaglott of Dr. Castell, he labours strongly to impress on their minds how great the disgrace would be, not only to the Church but to the country at large, should they allow one so strenuous for the public good to sink under the burden of that work, which he had undertaken for the honour of God and for the promotion of sound wisdom and learning. He then requests that the bishops would circulate this Letter among the dignitaries, the clergy, and all studious and pious persons; exhorting them, on the reception thereof, to a liberal and munificent subscription for the promoting of so excellent a publication.

To this Letter we find is added a testimonial, which was signed by the two Archbishops, and twenty-three English Bishops, three

Irish Bishops, and one Scotch Bishop. In this testimonial highest praise is accorded to the work under consideration; and it is further commended to the notice of all learned persons in general, and specially to those whom interest or pleasure may lead to travel in the East.

These Letters were indeed not without some effect, and contributions were raised, but far less than the occasion required. Seven hundred pounds—not even a tenth part of the sum which himself had contributed—was the whole which was collected. So that if it saved the noble-minded author from danger of imprisonment, this was all; it brought him no recompense for his labour. That so small a sum, says Dr. Todd, should be subscribed in answer to the call of the Sovereign, shows the inauspicious period in which he sought assistance, and argues a want of means, rather than of discernment and feeling. Is it not strange (observes another writer) that when the work was so highly recommended by the King and the clergy, the author's embarrassment should still continue? The reason seems to have been this, that the nation was impoverished and the exchequer emptied by the civil wars.

Small as the sum collected was, Dr. Castell was not ungrateful, for, in the conclusion of the preface to his Lexicon, we find him returning thanks to those persons of rank and authority from whom he had received assistance. "We must here acknowledge and publish the "benificence of certain illustrious men—not, indeed, very many in "the long interval of many years—who by their ample donations "have most kindly promoted the completion of this work, so much "neglected, and, through so many accidents, so long delayed." A list of some seventeen names follows in two columns, in which is found at the head of the aristocratic column the name of Charles II., and of the episcopal column the name of the Primate Sheldon.

By such indefatigable labour—by such unwearied perseverance—through all hindrances and obstructions, seconded by the aid of friends and the contributions of the public, in the year 1669 this learned work—a work to last to all posterity—was brought to conclusion; a great benefit to the world, though little or none at all to the author.

One would have rejoiced, says Dr. Todd, to find the publication of the Heptaglott Lexicon bringing compensation to its noble-minded editor. But it was far otherwise. When sent forth to the world, there was not, among clergy or laity, any inquiry after it; the copies lay almost entirely on his hands, but very few were sold; and not only so: not only was there no demand for copies for which no subscription had been made, but even some of those which had been subscribed for in part where left still on his hands—the subscription not being paid up and the books not being inquired after. More than one advertisement had Dr. C. to put forth to remind these subscribers of their obligations, and of the great inconvenience their want of punctuality had occasioned.

Five years after this time we find him writing to the Rev. S. Clarke to use his influence with Dr. Parrish and Dean Hytch, to

enable him to dispose of some of the remaining copies, of which a thousand were still on hand, "which (says he) I shall esteem an "unparalleled favour; for now (he writes) I find none that regard "the work or the author, who once fed me with better promises." It will be seen that six hundred of these remained on his hands all his life; for one hundred he left to Dr. Compton, and five hundred were bequeathed to his niece, Mrs. Crisp.

His work escaped not the malignity of detractors. How could he expect to escape, when even the Polyglott of the great Walton had not escaped? That learned work, with its laborious preface, was stigmatized as "taking away all certainty about sacred truth; as "leaving men nothing but to choose whether they would turn "Atheists or Papists; as affording a foundation for Mohammed- "anism; as a chief and principal prop of Popery; as the root of "much hidden Atheism in the world." These charges were effectually silenced by the Bishop, who was quite equal, and superior to his calumniator. Mr. Orme, in his life of Dr. Owen, is constrained to confess that Dr. Owen was in the wrong; and that it had been better if he had never written a sentence on the subject.

What were the charges against the Lexicon we know not; but the worthy Doctor took little or no notice of them, solacing himself with the reflection that—"one Dr. Lightfoot was more to him than "ten thousand such censors could be against him." And then, alluding to other friends of note and eminence, he adds, "Besides "some others among ourselves, I have a Golius, a Buxtorf, a Hot- "tingher, a Lewolf, in foreign parts; who, both by their letters and "in print, have—not only sufficiently but too amply and abundantly "for me to communicate—expressed their high esteem of that which "finds but a prophet's reward, here, in its close."

Indeed, it was rather the lukewarmness of friends than the malignity of enemies, that was the great source of trouble to our learned and pious author. He had been persuaded to undertake the work by others, who left him to carry it out in the best manner he could; and in the end it was finished at the entire cost of his patrimonial estate. He commenced it as a man of wealth, he ended as a poor man.

Some recompence was at length made to him, of which he speaks gratefully in the dedication of his work to his Majesty. In the year 1666 he was made king's chaplain, from which he obtained little emolument beyond certain privileges, in consequence of which he could more entirely devote himself to his great undertaking.

In the same year he was mude Professor of Arabic at Cambridge, concerning which he says, there was much labour and little emolument; and, lastly, in 1668 he was made Prebendary of Canterbury, which we trust was better than the other appointments in respect to emolument, and certainly never was a Prebendal stall more worthily bestowed. He had also a leave of non-residence, partly on account of the duties which his Professorship involved, and partly because his body, now worn out with toil and labour,

was unequal to such long journeys as those from Cambridge to Canterbury.

He had been presented with the livings of Hatfield Peverell and Woodham Walter in Essex, and was afterwards presented to the living of Higham Gobion, in Bedfordshire. In 1674 he resigned the two former, and made choice of Higham as his final resting-place. This parish, not large now, but very small then—consisting of but five houses—was more suitable to a man of his literary pursuits than the more populous livings which he resigned. He would have but few parochial calls to disturb him. During the period of eleven years in which he was Rector, there were but eight baptisms, five funerals, and not even one marriage.

We must here notice the remarkable and exaggerated statement of Mr. D'Israeli, in his work on the *Calamities of Authors*. He states that "Dr. Castell had so completely devoted himself to "Oriental studies that they had a very remarkable consequence, "for he had *wholly* forgotten his own language, and could scarcely "spell a single word. This appears in some of his letters, pre-"served by Mr. Nichols in his *Literary Anecdotes*." If this was true to the letter, we do not see how the good doctor could act as minister at Higham Gobion, or as lecturer at Cambridge—both of which he did to the last year of his life. But the reference to Mr. Nichols' work gives the corrections required by the above statement, and shows that it had more rhetorical flourish in it than truth. The more sober account of Mr. Nichols is stated by him thus. Having given a specimen of one or two of his letters, he observes—"This same letter shews that in his application of the "learned languages, he had forgotten the cultivation of his own "native tongue, and thus it was his orthography did not keep pace "with the improvement of the times".

He had not forgotten—as D'Israeli states—his own language; but rather, according to Mr. Nichols, had not cultivated the graces thereof. It was not that he could scarce spell a single word; but his orthography was very defective. Certainly many words are mis-spelt; in some the final e is omitted, in others it is found when it ought not; in others, reduplicated when it should have been single. His sentences are greatly involved, and require the greatest attention to elicit their meaning; ordinary words are used in extra-ordinary senses, and extraordinary words are often found. A curious specimen of these peculiarities will be found in the concluding portion of a letter to his friend Mr. Hill: "I must ever "*acknowledg* myself exceedingly obliged to him, and also to yourself, "for your continued favours, which shall not only be attested duly, "but, to the best of my power, *answerably retalliated* by him who is "your *redevable* and very *commendable* servant." In another letter we find such spellings as *colledge, heerabouts, adoe, hous, Cambridg, mee, expres, notthing, don,* for *done, deliverid, expens;* all which make Mr. Nichols' statement good, but do not justify D'Israeli's extravagant statement.

Enough has been said to prove how industrious, laborious, and indefatigable Dr. Castell was as an author. But there are other

features in his character which have a fair claim on our notice and regard. One of these was his great disinterestedness, and his willingness to lay himself out for the benefit of others. It might have been thought that the work of his Lexicon would have occupied all his care and attention; on the contrary, he was ready and willing to take a part in the work of Bishop Walton, and render him most valuable services. Did the Bishop give him some gratuity for these his labours? He expends, not only that sum, but a thousand pounds besides—partly his own, partly solicited from others—in forwarding, not his own *Heptaglott*, but the Bishop's *Polyglott*.

Again, with respect of the Arabic Professorship; not only was it honour without emolument, but actually encumbered with expense. This appears from his letter to Dr. Spencer, in which he declares that though he had, in order to establish the Professorship, spent, not a few hundreds, yea, thousands of pounds, "Yet from it "I never received the least *kerm* of profit; my professorship has put "me to a far greater expense than the stipend amounts to." * * * "Nevertheless (he continues) after the great work of the Bible and "Heptaglott was finished, no one thing has run more in my "thoughts than how to further, in any way, our *Academical* "*interest*."

This same feeling he displays in behalf of a friend and coadjutor, anxious that *He* at least should be recompensed, however it be that no recompense be made to himself. For, in the same letter to Dr. Spencer above quoted, he writes: "However, though I have no "thanks at all, for the precious time, the tedious jaunts, and, to "me, no easy charge in prosecution of my real intentions, I most "humbly beseech you, that to Dr. Marshall, unto whom by your "appointment, in a letter sent him from Cambridge, a promise was "made—that some recompense should be given him for his forward- "ness, pains, and charge, against the guise of the place in which he "is, in offering so willingly to advance an emulous concern."

But we have yet another point in his character to which our regard may be directed—his great esteem for the sacred Scripture, and his earnest anxiety for its most extended publication. Of his own value for the sacred Scriptures we have a testimony from his letter, written to the Bishop of London: "The noblest "and richest treasure I have in this world I account my library; "and the pearl of price therein, that which hath most and best of "God in it, his pure and holy Word, superior whereunto it is im- "possible for men or angels to inspire or imagine."

Then, how did he rejoice in all that seemed in any way to advance its more extended publication. "Though I perish (he writes) "it comforts me not a little to see how holy writ flourishes." And he then mentions with pleasure that an *Armenian* Psalter had been given him by Professor Golius, and that at Leyden the whole Bible was about to be translated into the same language—that the New Testament in *Turkish* was now in the printing press at Oxford—that Mr. Petræus had printed some parts of the Old Testament in *Ethiopic*, and hath many more *prepared* in that and the *Coptic* lan-

guage. He mentions also Lithuanian Bibles, and those of New England, which—as Dr. Todd informs us in a note—were the Brazilian and the Virginian. How would the learned and pious author of the Polyglott have rejoiced could he have seen the long list of translations, now amounting to one hundred and fifty-four, as recorded in the last Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society!

In the prosecution of his duties as Professor of Arabic at Cambridge, and as pastor of Higham Gobion in Bedfordshire, he passed the remainder of his life; nor (says Dr. Todd) is it probable that he died poor. In 1684 he is found completing the purchase of a small estate in Hertfordshire; and the inventory of his goods, taken after his decease, presents the remains of a respectable establishment, not without a coach and a pair of horses.

In the year 1684, the last year of his life, he was involved in a very serious difficulty with Dr. Barlow, his diocesan, respecting a young man whom he had inadvertently allowed to preach for him, without any ordination. From this difficulty he was set free by the good offices of the Bishop of London (Dr. Compton), to whom he applied in his trouble. Two letters, published in Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes*, are worthy of notice, as bearing the liveliest testimony of gratitude from the aged Doctor to the Bishop, for his services. In the first he apologizes for not having returned earlier thanks to his Lordship for his good offices. "It is now *not* a few months since "I presumed to importune your fatherly goodness in my behalf, in "your Lordship's writing for me to our diocesan, the Lord Bishop "of Lincoln, to salve no irremissable irregularity. After I had "brought up a young scholar for about five years or more in University learning, I suffered him to preach but *three* times in my "parish, which hath but *five houses*. By your Lordship's signal and "singular favour, I waded out of that trouble, though with no small "difficulty. It cost me little less than three hundred miles in riding, "in which I saw not the least foot of land all the while I was upon "my horse, and was in that journey infested with chances so dangerous, I could not get clear of them, till about three weeks ago; "which, amongst other obstacles, hath been the cause of this delay "in returning your Lordship my deepliest engaged gratitude, which "yet I neither can nor will acquit myself of by my words or writing, "but I do and have further meditated to pay your Lordship in more "than Cordelier's money."

In the second of these letters Dr. Castell gives, as may be supposed, a practical explanation of that proverb—"Cordelier's money"—by showing that thanks in words was not all the return he intended to make to Bishop Compton for his kindness:—

"My most honourable good Lord: When I first importuned "your most excellent Lordship, it was in a most negotious juncture of time—your Honour just ready to enter into your coach; "yet this hindered not, but your goodness was pleased to go up "straightway and write a letter to the Lord Bishop of Lincolne in "my behalf, who was then in a molested and deserted condition,

"wherewith I was forthwith relieved; which grace and favour of "your Lordship so alarmed all the faculties of my soul, that I "resolved the highest act of gratitude in my power to atchieve I "would fully demonstrate."

In a long and much involved paragraph which follows, he declares his library to be his greatest treasure, and the Sacred Writings the most precious part of it, and further apologizes that those portions of his library which he should now send, or should hereafter be sent to the Bishop, should appear in so mean a dress; by which he means, I suppose, the binding was bad, and the books in a dilapidated condition; "but" (adds he) "the mean dress of my "unworthy present is rather out of necessity, which had certainly "appeared in a better vestment had not a very unhappy fate coun-"tervened and hindered it." And in conclusion, he gives the reason why some of the books promised were not to be sent till after his death, which—he writes—"cannot now be very long "delayed, having already attained the utmost period of the Mosaical "determination."

The reason he gives for not sending all the books he intended to give to the Bishop was, that both his professorship in the University and pastoral cure in the country required the use of them. It was not long that the Bishop had to wait for the remainder of the donation promised; in the very next year this learned and indefatigable divine closed his laborious career, and entered into his rest.

"In his lifetime (says Mr. Nichols), indeed in the first year of "his residence at Higham, he had erected in the chancel, against "the north wall, by the skreen, a freestone monument with an in-"scription in a square of black marble, which does not—either by "its Latinity or its execution—reflect much honour on his taste.

> *Edmund Castell' S. T. P. regiæ majestati Caroli*
> *2i a sacris, ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariens'*
> *Canonicus, Linguæ Arabicæ apud Cantabrig*
> *Professor, Regal Societatis socius, Auth^{r} Lex.*
> *Heptagl. Necnon Hujus Ecclesiæ Rector*
> *Mortalitatis quod reliquum est tam.*
> *ipsi quam lectissime ejus Conjugi D^{ae}*
> *Elizab. Betteswörth, Petri Betteswörth*
> *militis aurati primo relictæ, deinde Johani*
> *Herris armig (cuj' fil' Wilhelm' una cum*
> *filia ej' Elizab. hic jacent) Anno ætatis*
> *Edmundi* 68, *D^{ae} Elizab.* 64, *anno Christi* 1674
> *Vivus hic legat humandum.*

To which are appended a few words in Arabic, the signification of which, up to the year 1858, had not been found out.

Mr. Nichols adds, "it is to be regretted that no Orientalist to "whom this line has been communicated has yet attempted to un-"ravel it." This being the case in the year 1858, the writer of this

memorial determined to submit the Arabic to a near neighbour, the Rev. A. Browne, Vicar of Flitton, an Orientalist of some eminence, that what had never before been attempted might now be accomplished. It was soon after returned with this notice—that, as the Arabic stood in Mr. Nichols' work, nothing *could be made of it.* This occasioned a visit to Higham Gobion, whence a correct copy of the Arabic was obtained, as Dr. Castell had inscribed it, and not as Mr. Nichols had carelessly altered it. Properly decyphered, it was easily explained; and, united with the Latin words which preceded, will read thus:

Living, here he chose to be buried,
In hopes of a better place than this.

After his death the remainder of his donation was made over to the Bishop of London by bequest. The donation and legacy consisted of all Dr. Castell's Bibles and other Oriental parts of Scripture, amounting to thirty folios, eight quartos, and fourteen octavos; and many MS. versions of Psalters, Bibles, and New Testaments, in various languages; besides one hundred copies of the Heptaglott Lexicon.

All his Oriental MSS. were left to the University of Cambridge; these amounted to thirty-eight MSS. in Hebrew, Arabic, Ethiopic, and Coptic—to each of which the effigies of Dr. Castell was affixed, or his name inscribed.

One hundred and eleven Hebrew books were bequeathed to the Master of Emmanuel College; and a silver tankard to the Master of St. John's College.

The rest of his library—"quam ingenti sumptu et summâ dili- "gentiâ, ex ultimis Europæ partibus sibi procuravit"—was sold by auction, at the Eagle and Child, opposite St. Bennet's church, Cambridge.

Five hundred of his Lexicons were left to his niece, Mrs. Crisp; these met with a most remarkable fate. This lady, ignorant alike of their literary and of their pecuniary value, viewing them as so much lumber, which was of no use to her, committed them to the care of one of her tenants, living at Martin, in Surrey.

He also, like his mistress, considering the Lexicons as so much lumber, stowed them away in some unoccupied room in his house or outhouse, where they remained undisturbed as long as Mrs. Crisp lived. After her death, enquiry was made after the bequeathed Lexicons; for, as she was never known to have disposed of them, they must be supposed to be somewhere on the premises occupied by her. As in her own house they were not to be found, enquiry was next made of the tenant to whose keeping they had been entrusted. By him they were ushered into the room where the Lexicons were at first placed, and from which they had never been removed. And now, what a sight met their astonished eyes! No goodly sight of a thousand folio volumes; no orderly disposition of the same in sheets, if they were unbound; but innumerable heaps

of tattered, disfigured, and half-eaten fragments—almost utterly worthless. For many years neglected by all who should have taken care of them, they were at the mercy of swarms of rats, who, without any disturbance, made havoc of them in every way. Such was the destruction made that, out of the five hundred copies bequeathed to Mrs. Crisp, scarce one entire copy could be made up; and that which was worth, at least, five hundred pounds when placed in the care of the tenant, sold for no more than seven pounds. Well was it for the interests of Oriental Literature that but five hundred came into that lady's possession, by whom they were so cruelly neglected: that one hundred were by bequest in possession of the Bishop of London: and that so many other copies had been dispersed in various parts of the world. Had all been bequeathed to Mrs. Mary Crisp, all had become food for rats, and the goodly folios now to be seen in so many places had been nowhere to be found.

Such are the chief specialities which have been selected from the works of Todd, Nichols, Townley, and Dibdin, and which it is the hope of the Collector will not be wholly uninteresting to the reader.

In conclusion, it may be observed that Providence has so disposed its favours that, however one country may glory over another in the abundance of learned or illustrious men, none are left destitute. Bedfordshire, though it stands not so high as some others, can send forth her list to the number of England's celebrities; and various villages may rejoice that this or that great man was born, or lived and died there.

Thus, Cardington rejoices in a Howard, the first of philanthropists; Elstow in a Bunyan, the first of allegorists; Cople in a Butler, the first of satyrists. Richmond has left his name to Turvey; Little Barford may rejoice in a Rowe, and Maulden in a Pomfret; the ashes of Bloomfield rest at Shefford; and, in like manner, Higham Gobion may glory in possessing the ashes of the most laborious, painstaking, indefatigable, and persevering of Lexicographers—who chose that village as his final retreat, that churchyard for the place of his burial, where rests his body, now free from all labour and toil, according to his own pious hope and expectation—

In hopes of a land far better than this.

On the Ethnography of the County of Bedford. A Paper read at the Annual General Meeting of the Bedfordshire Architectural and Archæological Society, October 28, 1858. By W. Monkhouse, B.D., F.S.A., Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, and Vicar of Goldington, Bedfordshire.

I think that an apology is almost necessary for my constantly appearing before you to read dull and uninteresting papers on the occasion of our annual meetings. But I must appeal to the candour of our worthy Secretary, whether he is not in a great measure responsible for my inflicting this present lecture upon you. The subject which I have chosen is one of a more metaphysical nature than any that I have ever treated upon in this room; yet it may be thought to possess a certain degree of interest to a Bedfordshire audience, and in more able hands than mine it might be made to combine both instruction and amusement.

I propose to examine into the genealogy of the inhabitants of this county, and explore their parentage, and conclude with a few remarks as to the effect produced by race upon their mental and physical organization. But as it is not my wish to occupy unnecessarily the valuable time of the meeting, I shall proceed with my subject, without further preface or comment.

It might be reasonably objected, on the first view of the case, that so great a period has elapsed since the Norman conquest, that all the distinctive features of person and character among the descendants of the several settlers in this island must have long since disappeared, and their nationalities been fused together by intermarriages and commercial intercourse. But it will be my object to shew that *race* is distinguished by the countenance, form, or mental character; and that, however these may be modified by time and circumstances, yet they alter not in any essential particulars. Physiologists, in the present day, profess to be able to detect the *colorati vultus*, and the *torti crines*, of the old Iberi, in the mountains of South Wales; and Professor Worsaae remarks—from personal observation—that "the inhabitants of the north and east "of England bear unmistakeable resemblance to the Danes and "Norwegians." The necessary inference is that they must have preserved the old Scandinavian type of features unchanged since the time of their occupation, nearly ten centuries ago. We do not, therefore, see any insuperable reason why we may not claim a dominant Saxon character for the present generation of this Mercian district.

For many ages, Bedfordshire must have been the most landlocked and inaccessible of all inland counties; which is one important reason why the blood of its inhabitants should have been kept free from adulteration by intercourse with foreigners. So late as Henry the Second's time, that monarch, in forming a tariff for the

wine duties, made an especial exception in favour of this county, by reason of the distance and great expense of carriage from the coast. Neither has there ever been anything in the produce of the soil, or in mineral wealth, to attract the cupidity of the foreign settler. Successive waves of conquering armies have swept over it, and it has borne the temporary yoke of the Norman and the Dane; but in spite of all the irruptions of an unsparing enemy, Bedfordshire has ever preserved a strictly defined character, and strongly marked Saxon nationalities.

But it may be the simplest way to proceed in my argument by shewing that, as neither the Roman, the Dane, or the Norman had ever any permanent settlement in the county, therefore the Saxon element must be the prevailing one. My process may be faulty, and my facts not clearly stated, but I must crave your indulgence, and ask the meeting to take my theory just for what it is worth, according to your own valuation.

I shall ask, therefore—are we *Romans?* and I think it will not be difficult to shew that we have no claim to so ancient a paternity. And what I have to say respecting the Romans in Bedfordshire will also apply to their connection with England generally. The Romans never immigrated in great numbers into this country; for the soldiers who composed the quasi-Roman armies were chiefly mercenaries from Gaul, Germany, and even Asia. The *quantulum transisse militum* is even remarked by Tacitus; and, with the exception of a few Prefects' wives, we have no account of any Roman women ever having been domiciled in this country. It is true, the Romans gained great battles over the Britons, and laid the country under tribute. They made the native princes their vassals, and their *instrumenta servitutis;* but they were never able to dispossess them of their territories, or gain the fee simple of the soil. On the contrary, the British kings ever held undisturbed possession of their hereditary properties, secured to them by treaty, the slightest infraction of which on the part of the Romans was immediately resented by an appeal to arms. We have an instance of this in the case of the Boadicean war; and peace was never fully restored until the treaty had been again affirmed by Nero and Suetonius. It has been contended lately, by a high authority, that the Roman laws continued in operation long after the Romans left the country; but the opinion does not seem supported by sufficient weight of evidence. History tells us that Alfred translated the British laws into the Saxon language; and, from the great number of British words which are found in our own laws at the present day, we may infer that Alfred incorporated them originally into the Saxon code; so that, instead of the Roman laws having been long perpetuated, it is rather a question whether they were at any time in force during their occupation, excepting in their thinly dispersed *municipia.*

Again, when the Romans left us, they made a clean sweep of it. They not only passed away themselves, but they carried out the conscription in Britain with the most unrelenting severity. They draughted off the British youth to fight their battles in every part

of the known world. We read, in the *Notitia*, of a British *Ala* in Egypt; of a British cohort in Armenia. We find a regiment of *invincible* Britons in Spain (the Romans had found out their fighting qualities): another in Illyricum—in Gaul—in Italy; in short, all the world over. We have here the great secret of their military success; they turned the arms of their conquered provinces to account, in order to extend the triumphs of the Roman eagle elsewhere; so that, when they left us, they scarcely left any British youth, capable of bearing arms, behind them. In Bede we read—"From that time, the south of Britain, destitute of armed soldiers, "and of all its active youth, which had been led away by the rash-"ness of tyrants, never to return, was wholly exposed to rapine." And if we turn to the north, we find Galgacus, on the Grampian hills, calling upon the Caledonians to avenge themselves for the loss of their sons by Roman conscriptions: *liberi cuique carissimi*—says he—*per delectum alibi servituri auferuntur*. They gallantly responded to the appeal, but their untrained numbers were obliged to yield before the discipline of the Roman legions and their eleven thousand "mercenaries."

When the Romans left the country their evacuation of it was universal and complete. Their laws, customs, and hook-noses—all evaporated at the same time; they left behind them the very faintest impress of their language, and nothing of their features, character, or political constitution. Even any impression which they made on the surface of the soil is fast disappearing. Their works have braved twelve centuries of neglect, and each year some remnant is lost of the monuments of the Cæsars; and in another century or two there will nothing of their greatness remain but a few legends and traditions, and the few slight fragments which may be rescued from the ravages of time and Vandalism by our modern Archæological Societies.

I think, therefore, we may safely expunge the Romans from our Bedfordshire ethnographical system.

The fate of the small remnant of the Britons that were left after the departure of the Romans is too well known to require any remark. Torn and weakened by civil dissensions and internecine warfare, they fell an easy conquest to the Saxon invader, who drove them into Wales and Cumberland—"where they led a miserable "life among the woods, rocks, and mountains, expecting every "moment to be their last."[1]

Are we *Danes*, then? And to this question I would also give a negative answer. The Danes kept pouring into England in endless swarms, during the ninth and tenth centuries, but were never able to effect a permanent lodgment in this county. They worried the country into paying them taxes and subsidies; they plundered with equal rapacity the peasant's store and the king's exchequer. They robbed the monasteries of their sacred vessels, and committed the most frightful cruelties upon the aged monks. Murder and rapine,

(1) Bede.

fire and bloodshed—ever marked their path; and yet one of their countrymen has lately come forward, not only to justify all these atrocities, but to characterise them as "bold achievements, done in "the spirit of daring enterprise and chivalrous adventure." But, to the honour of this county, it may be said that it never appreciated this kind of chivalry. *Domesday Book* says of Bedford, that—*non geldabat*—that it never submitted to the odious tax of *Danegelt*, as an immunity from further spoliation from these freebooters. Although they established themselves very firmly in the neighbouring counties of Huntingdonshire and Hertfordshire, and reduced Northamptonshire to the condition of a conquered province, yet they never gained any firm footing in this county. Northamptonshire presents a list of twenty-six villages ending in "*by*," and twenty-three in "*throp*," which shew their Danish origin, but we cannot point to a single instance of the former termination, and only one in *throp*, or *drop*—viz., *Souldrop*—and, as that village stands near the boundary line between the two counties, I would very willingly make Northamptonshire a present of it.

But it seems to have been the great object of their chivalrous assaults to get possession of the Downs; and, judging from the quantities of coins and armour found there, it would appear that the Romans and Saxons before them knew the strategic value of their narrow defiles and steep acclivities. Matthew of Paris mentions a battle which took place between the Danes and Saxons in the neighbourhood of Luton, A.D. 914; on which occasion the Danes were defeated with great slaughter. There is a tradition of a battle having taken place at no great distance from Ravensburgh castle—the very name of which, as well as the formation of the camp itself, denote it to be essentially Danish; and, in my opinion, we have etymological proof that the Danes were combatants in that engagement. In the immediate neighbourhood there are some earthworks called *Drap Ditches;* which word—*Drap*, or *Drab*—is Danish for the very expression that Matthew of Paris makes use of—*strages*, slaughter. Hence I would infer that these trenches were the burying place of the soldiers that were slain on that occasion.

It was, at one time, my conviction that the Danes had been confined to the Down district in this country, and that they had never gained any footing in the lowlands; and this opinion had been formed from the account given in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, and by the old monastic writers, who have recorded numerous attacks made by them, from time to time, in all of which they most signally failed. They were never at rest, but were always engaged in some plundering expedition or another. As Fuller says—"They were "like the running gout, ever shifting from joint to joint and place to "place." But I am obliged to relinquish my opinion with respect to their occupation of a part of this county. In the treaty which Alfred made with Guthrum, the Danish king, Lappenberg says that Alfred resigned to the Danes "all the district extending from the "source of the Lea, to the right, as far as Bedford; and thence up

"the Ouse to the Watling-street." Lappenberg says that the treaty is still in existence; but the knowledge of the fact that this portion of the county was handed over to the tender mercies of this chivalrous people, helps to solve many a difficult etymological problem, inasmuch as many of the villages savour strongly of a Danish nomenclature.

This concession to the Danes made by Alfred occurred at a time when his army was almost annihilated, when the fortunes of his country were at the very lowest ebb, and its very Saxon existence hung upon the balance. But their tenure was of short duration, for, within a very few years, Alfred succeeded not only in expelling Guthrum from his newly acquired Bedfordshire possessions, but also drove both himself and army from the shores of England.

I shall mention one other assault, which the Chronicle records, made by the Danes on the town of Bedford, in the year 921. They sallied forth from Tempsford, where they had constructed a fortress with the magnanimous intention of taking the town. But—to quote the words of the Chronicle—"when they arrived at Bedford, "the men that were therein went against them, and slew a great "part of them." Nor were the men of Bedford slow in profiting by their victory, for they immediately followed up their success, stormed the Danish works at Tempsford, slew their king, and almost annihilated the Danish army. Thus ended another of their chivalrous enterprises.

Although they made many attempts, they never succeeded in gaining a permanent footing in the county. They traversed it on many occasions—"ever burning as they went"—but their occupation of it was never such as to affect in the slightest degree the texture of our language, or the features of the people.

We have no Danish idiom, or Danish expressions lingering in our villages. They have left us neither their flaming red hair (I do not allude to the *flava coma*—the golden hair—equally admired by the Romans as by ourselves), the projecting cheek bone, or their flat noses; and I think we may safely disclaim all connection whatever with these *nefandissimi victores*—as Matthew of Westminster was pleased to call them.

Are we *Normans*, then? To this question I must also say *No*. And here I would remark about race, that there are certain properties in every country which are more or less congenial to the habits and constitution of mankind, just as there are soils more or less suited to the productions of the vegetable kingdom. It would be out of place here to enquire into the cause why certain temperaments can only thrive—I may almost say, exist—in climates and countries peculiarly adapted to them. Only, I am going to enunciate a plain fact: that the Norman settlers, among whom the Conqueror first apportioned this county, were never able to take root in the soil, any more than the true Arab could ever live in Africa, or—what is still more singular—that any Jew could ever live in Jerusalem. So, here is a rule, by which we may work out the problem of the short and transient tenure of Bedfordshire by the first Norman settlers.

For instance, the Conqueror gave the fairest portion of the county to the *Beauchamps*, who settled in it, and introduced into it a considerable Norman population. Their castle was so strong as to enable them to hoist the standard of rebellion upon its towers against their lawful sovereign. Yet the possession of twenty manors was not able to support the fabric of that noble house for anything like two centuries; for the last heir to the name and estates fell on the field of Evesham in the year 1265.

The next great lord in point of territorial possession was *Nigel de Albini*, whose name in connexion with the property did not survive the end of the twelfth century.

The last of the noble family of the *Especs*, which was largely endowed with land, was Sir Walter, who died about the middle of the twelfth century. History says of him that "by his courage and "example he gained the battle of the Standard." His gallantry in the field, and his loyalty towards his sovereign, were only equalled by his singular piety and munificent charities. We read in Aluredus that—"*Palatia sua, et thalamos suos, et cellaria, in servorum Christi habitacula commutavit.*"

The extensive ruins of Yielden castle attest the former greatness of the *De Traillys*, whose decay may be traced back to about the year 1360.

The same short tenure marked the possessions of the *Cantilupes*, and the *Giffards*, and others who held them *in capite* from the king himself. The causes why they could not energize upon our dead levels and marsh lands lie deeper in the organization of race than we have time to investigate; only the fact remains—they died out by a process of slow and silent decay. Certainly, their entire extinction was delayed until the civil wars of the Roses broke out at the end of the thirteenth century, but that was a period which very few survived. Their territorial possessions passed away; and many of their late owners sought refuge, and begged their bread, in those foreign countries from whence their ancestors had departed for the conquest of England some four centuries before.

They passed away; but I cannot say that they did not leave a wreck behind, for they left many a wreck behind. How often—for instance—do we now stumble upon names, in the very humblest classes of society, which—by a little rubbing and scrubbing—take a bright Norman polish, and bear unmistakeable traces of a noble Norman paternity. I shall select a few at random.

In the first place, there is the name of *Gaunt*, common among our labouring classes, and the first possessor of that royal name who held lands in the county was Gilbert de Gaunt, nephew to the Conqueror. Do we take any liberty with etymology, I ask, in deriving *Trolly*—a name in our villages—from *De Trailly*, the great baron of Yielden? Is there not a very strong resemblance between our present horticultural *Cockins* and the old Norman Hatley *Cockaynes?* Is not *Devereux* the right patronymic of our *Derricks?* Is it drawing upon your imagination to derive *Fasey* from *Fasiton*, the great lord of Flitton at the time of the Conquest—or *Letts* from *Lettice*, who

held great estates in the neighbourhood of Potton? And perhaps the most remarkable corruption of a name is one to which my attention has been lately drawn, viz., that of *Albini*—on the great head and founder of which name the Conqueror had conferred no less than twelve manors in the county for his military services. The family were settled at Cainhoe castle; and in the registers of the adjoining parishes I have found the name written *Alboni* and *Allibone*, in the early part of Queen Elizabeth's reign. But in the case I am alluding to, the representative of the great Nigel appears under the alias of Thomas *Allbones*—who was fined five shillings by the magistrates for being drunk and disorderly in the streets of Biggleswade. *Sic transit gloria mundi!*

Again, how entirely have disappeared the Norman names that succeeded the generation of the Conqueror's companions in arms. When all legal disabilities were removed, how soon did the sleeping Genius of the Saxon Thegn wake up, and assert its indefeasible right to the soil, and make steady and successful efforts for its recovery. From his low and despoiled condition, how soon did he rise up and regain his confiscated lands, and all the liberties of which he had been deprived. If we cast our eye over the county, there can be no mistake as to the Saxon origin of the present proprietors. We see the *Whitbreads*—a genuine old Saxon name—who held lands at Maulden upwards of five hundred years ago, and at Gravenhurst at a much earlier period—now in possession of the estates of the Norman *Nevilles* and *Monchesnies.* We find the old and respected family of the *Osbornes,* between two and three centuries, seized of the manors of the Norman *De Lisles.* The *Crawleys,* during the same period owners of the estates of the *De Betuns,* and of that old rebel whose name is very familiar to a Bedfordshire audience, *Falco de Breaut.* There are the *Alstons,* located for centuries in the castle of the *Fitzwarrens.* We see the *Botelers* and *De Peyvre* represented by the Smiths and Coopers; and the *Gerys*[1]—who inherit the name of the cousin and companion in arms of the noble Hereward, who gallantly defended the last expiring liberties of Saxon England against the Normans in the year 1071—living for upwards of three hundred years on the property of the *Beauchamps* and *St. Amands.*

I would willingly abstain from any allusion to the Norman houses of *Russell* and *St. John,* only that it might be said that the present fortunes of those noble families were opposed to my theory of Norman decadence. Their antiquity in the county is the least boast of those noble names, which give a lustre to the brightest pages in England's history. But, as four or five centuries had elapsed between the time of their first coming into England, and their settling in the county, it is a fair inference that their Norman *sang pur* during that period may have greatly intermingled with the Saxon stream; for after the death of John, all civil distinctions of race were put an end to, and it was no disparagement to Norman pride to contract marriages in the families of the hitherto degraded Saxon.

(1) Thierry writes it *Gheri.*

Many causes concur in the extinction of great families, which do not operate upon the middle classes of society: but we can trace the same evanescent existence in the Norman serf—the same decay of the Norman name in our agricultural and commercial population; and their extinction has been as complete as if the country had been desolated by the sword of a conqueror, or as if they had all been cleared off by a merciless Scotch bailiff. The mention of a few names which were common in our villages during the thirteenth century will best explain my meaning.

For instance; where are the *De la Marcs*—the *Parrentynes*—and the *De Roos* of Bromham? Where the *Blancosts*, the *Joynkenays*, and *Le Leghs* of Biddenham? The *Le Spencers*, the *Belus*, and *Lesseyes* of Elstow? The *Picots*, *Gernets*, and *De la Marches* of Cardington? All these existed in a flourishing condition some six hundred years ago in their respective parishes, and bear the Norman name as plainly impressed upon them as if they had only been recently imported from the Continent. But the Norman type has been gradually obliterated; and—neither by augmenting or contracting, by prosthesis or aphœresis, or any other figure of rhetoric—can we make any modern names at all to resemble them. The soil and climate were not kindly to them; and thus the Norman "inhabitants of our villages ceased," and gave way to the stalwart race of the Browns, Joneses, and Robinsons.

I now come to the question—what effect has all this sifting of races produced—what has been its development in personal character—what health has been given to the Saxon constitution, by throwing off all these Danish and Norman elements? I am afraid we shall find that the process has not tended greatly to the intellectual expansion of the county, for in that point of view it presents only a very humiliating picture. In our search for produce of a literary or intellectual nature, we are obliged to bear witness to its utter barrenness. Excepting John Bunyan, whose writings have achieved a lasting and world-wide reputation, it would be difficult to point to a man of any great literary distinction. If we search among the records of the different professions, we cannot help being struck with the almost total absence of Bedfordshire names from the page of English biography. Let us take examples. I do not know whether a seat on the episcopal bench may be allowed to be any test of great intellect or superior excellence in any way; but, what will you say, when I tell you that I cannot find one bishop—past or present—whom this Anglo-Saxon county can claim the honour of having produced! Turvey—I believe—puts in a claim as being the birthplace of Thomas Skeffington, who was made Bishop of Bangor in the year 1505; but the only authority for this is that Skeffington is a time-honoured name in Turvey parish. But, supposing that a system of nepotism has always been an obstacle to rising clerical merit: admitting that the Mitre was always reserved for family interests and connections, yet, where—I ask—are the clergymen who have gained any high standing as theologians or classical scholars? I might, perhaps, point to one man whose name stands prominent

in scholastic theology—*Francis Dillingham*—one of the translators of the Bible. He was born at Dean. I have not time to say anything more about him than that, according to his biographer, he was "richly rewarded for the great services which he rendered to "the cause of religion, by the living of Wilden." Certainly, it is a "rich" commentary on the way in which learning was rewarded in those days of intolerance and bigotry.

Again, if we take the *Law*—where nepotism cannot be so much practised, and where high offices are reserved only for personal merit and talent; and here we are obliged to admit that our enquiry has terminated in a like result. The niches in the forensic temple are all empty, as far as Bedfordshire is concerned. We can point to no Keeper of the King's Conscience, or any distinguished member of the Bar. This town has produced a very upright and able Master of the Rolls, in Sir John Leach, of whom it ought to be justly proud; and I believe our late High Sheriff, Mr. Crawley, can trace back to an ancestor who was Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in the middle of the seventeenth century.

Neither is all this barrenness compensated for by a bright roll of names in our naval or military history. That we have produced no naval men of distinction is not a matter of surprise, as the county is not maritime, and because, as I have shewn, there is no Danish salt blood running in our veins; and I have been told by a naval man, who saw a great deal of service in the early part of this century, that he never saw such a *nondescript being* as a naval officer from Bedfordshire. At the same time, I claim for my own parish a hero who belonged to that old class of British seamen who were brought up in the stern school of the Protectorate—a school which made this country as much feared and respected as it has ever been since. I speak of *Sir Thomas Allen*, who commanded an English squadron in the famous battle with the Dutch under De Ruyter and Van Tromp; and of whom it is said that "he attacked the Dutch van with "irresistible fury, and killed the three admirals who commanded it." And I think Turvey can put in a better title to a General than it can to a Bishop—I mean the gallant *Earl of Peterborough*, who so greatly distinguished himself during the war of the Spanish succession, that it is said of him that his deeds "resembled the deeds "of imaginary heroes, as represented in Spanish romances."

We could mention the names of our countrymen who have had the charge of the Royal Stables, where the Saxon is in his real element; and the county shines forth in a perfect blaze of splendour in her Merchants, and men in the money-making line. Monuments in every churchyard record the names of wealthy London merchants who have sprung from the county, and it has produced no less than five of those great Pillars of the Constitution—Lord Mayors of London.

The county has not been without its celebrities, yet they have been imported, and were not indigenous to the soil. For instance, a *Castell*, a *Stillingfleet*, and a *Richmond*, have preached in it: a *Butler*, a *Rowe*, and a *Bloomfield* have sung in it; and I would

adorn this list of Poets by the name of *John, Lord Trevor*—the theme of whose incomparable Latin verse compositions was Bedfordshire and the Ouse—

Ousa placens villæ, decus et tutela paternæ.

Neither is it wanting in names of distinguished Lawyers who have settled in it. The founder of the family of the Hatley *Cockaynes* was a Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, who died in the year 1427; and the estate has only recently passed into the hands of other proprietors.

Sir William Dyer settled at Colmworth in Charles the First's reign; and Sir Edmund Anderson, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, bought property at Eyworth, where the family resided for two hundred years. And in the reign of her present Majesty, Lord Wensleydale has sought retirement in the shades of Ampthill.

Among the great military names of the country, we can also pride ourselves on having had Lord Ludlow as an inhabitant, who rested the *fessum militiâ latus,* and closed a long life, spent in the service of his country, in the quiet village of Cople.

Although race has not enabled the Bedfordshire Saxon to achieve greatness in the Church or at the Bar, or developed in him a taste for the naval or military service—for the glory of conquest has no charm for him as it has for the Celt, whose game is war—yet in the peaceful and more congenial science of Agriculture he has no equal, certainly no superior. And if it be his idiosyncrasy to clear the forest and redeem the waste, to invent scarifiers and to drain lands, it is neither an unphilanthrophic or ignoble occupation. It has, at least, the praise of Cicero, who says, *Nihil uberius, nihil solertius, nihil agriculturâ homine libero, dignius*—no pursuit so worthy of a gentleman as the cultivation of the soil.

If, in conclusion, there is any one thing that calls for special remark in taking a survey of the county, it is the great principle of change in the landed property, that has been at work ever since the Conquest—change, not only from one Norman to another—not only from Norman to Saxon—but from one Saxon to another. We read of hundreds of families rising up and adding acre to acre; and in two or three generations, not only have their estates passed away, but their very names have beeen blotted out of the rolls of the county. It is true that Elections—as well as hungry Time—"have "made many a glutton's meal" upon the ancient manors and broad acres of our landed aristocracy; but the principle of change is more deeply ingrained in our system, than to account for their decadence from such incidental causes. It seems to me that even the Saxon himself does not hold to his patrimony with the same tenacity here that he does in other counties. In the year 1667, Sir Edward Charnock, of Holcutt, gives a list of seventy names of men of quality who had sold their estates and left their country in the short space of sixty years. And if we take up the list at the time he died, we shall find that out of the names of eighty-five gentry then living, only seven or eight have come down to us who are in possession of the same property held by their ancestors at that period. The

others have parted with their estates, and the very names of most of them have been obliterated from the records of the county. This is to be deplored; but it is nevertheless a fact that the land has always been in a state of transition—heaving and rolling backwards and forwards from one proprietor to another. The change has not been made by civil tumult and confiscation, although Sir Lewis Dive and Sir Samuel Lake did reciprocate the compliment of plundering and destroying each other's houses at Bromham and Cople, during the unhappy wars of Charles the First's reign. Neither is it from agrarian outrage; for the Saxon, whose high privilege it is to grumble, never—like the Celt—shoots his landlord for imaginary grievances.

But let us hope that the Nemesis of change has at length been propitiated by so many sacrifices; and that we have passed through a period of transition to one of a more fixed and permanent tenure.

It has been reserved for our own day to see a physical and a moral brightness dawn upon the county. It has been reserved to the present age to see a landed aristocracy rise up among us, whose aim and object it is to ameliorate the condition of every class. Men who duly recognize the responsibilities as well as the privileges of landed property. Men who first established the *Allotment* system, which has effected a great social reformation in every parish where it has been judiciously carried out. Men, on whose estates cottages have risen up which, for comfort and convenience, have been adopted as models for imitation throughout the length and breadth of the land. Men who have erected schools in every parish, and have taken away the reproach which had long rested upon the county as standing the very lowest in England in the scale of Education. Men who have with great liberality assisted in the restoration and rebuilding of at least fifty churches, and have nearly extinguished an alarming state of absenteeism by making glebe-houses universally habitable; for, would it be believed that, at the end of the last century, there was not a resident Incumbent in the town of Bedford, and he was a rare exception in the county, where the parishes were served—three or four at a time—by an ill paid curate. Men who have created a class of intelligent and independent farmers upon their properties—who, in their turn, have raised the condition of the labouring poor in the social scale—have destroyed the germs of that brutalized pauperism into which they had been plunged—exchanged the barley bread for the wheaten loaf, the smock-frock for the broadcloth coat, the honest-bought coals for the stolen faggot. Such is the progress and such the tastes of the present Saxon Landlord and his Tenantry; and their labours of philanthropy are beginning to produce their fruits in the reduction of pauperism, irreligion, and crime an hundred fold; and for these solid advantages we may well forego all the long cherished associations of the old Poor Law system—election family strife—pluralities—the departed glories of the Corn Laws—and all the antiquated dreams of that fossil animal—the

Laudator temporis acti.

St. Mary and All Saints, Hampton Lovett, Worcestershire.

WORCESTER

DIOCESAN ARCHITECTURAL SOCIETY.

Notes, Architectural and Historical, on the Churches of Hampton Lovett: S. Peter and S. Andrew, Droitwich: and Salwarpe. By the Rev. Wm. Lea, M.A., Vicar of S. Peter's, and Hon. Canon of Worcester Cathedral; J. Severn Walker, Hon. Secretary to the Diocesan Architectural Society; and W. Jeffrey Hopkins, Consulting Architect to the Diocesan Church Building Society, and the Archidiaconal Board of Education.

Hampton Lovett, and Westwood Park.

Few objects excite such general interest, or are more diligently studied at the present day, than our old country churches, humble and unpretending though many of them may be. To the admirer of the works of past ages, they are necessarily replete with interest and instruction; whilst the additional charm they lend to the landscape causes them to be regarded with no less pleasure by the lovers of natural scenery. To the higher feelings, which an ancient Christian temple calls forth in the mind of the churchman, I have alluded on former occasions. The church of Hampton Lovett, though possessing no very striking architectural feature, is eminently a *picturesque* structure; this is owing, in a great measure, to the variety of outline occasioned by the somewhat unusual position of the tower, the *sanctus* bell-cot, and the large chapel attached to its north side; the effect being further heightened by the trees with which the sacred building is nearly surrounded.

It is dedicated to S. Mary and All Saints; and is situated about a mile and a half to the north of Droitwich, near the line of the Oxford, Worcester, and Wolverhampton railway, which passes within a few yards of the east end, and commands a good view of the church.

The ground plan comprises chancel, north chapel, and vestry, nave, and south tower. Traces of Norman work occur in the walls; the blocked up north doorway is also of this style, the arch being supported by cylindrical shafts, with plain cushion capitals, and having the star and roll mouldings.

Middle-pointed windows, with reticulated tracery have been inserted north, west, and south of the nave. The rest of the building is of the fifteenth century, or Third-pointed style. The east window is pointed, of three-lights; the side windows of the chancel and chapel are good examples of two and three-light square-headed windows of the period. The chancel communicates with the nave and chapel by wide four-centred arches, with continuous mouldings. The old rood-screen was of very late date, and enriched with colour and gilding; but it did not fit its position well, the top extending considerably above the spring of the arch; it is, however, a matter of regret that it could not be applied to some other purpose in the church, instead of being removed altogether. The chapel is very broad, and extends the whole length of the chancel and about one third that of the nave.

Among Roger Dodsworth's MSS., in the Bodleian Library, Oxon., is the foundation deed of a chantry in S. Anne's chapel, at Hampton Lovett; "two priests to celebrate mass, one at the altar of "S. John Baptist, and the other at the altar of S. Anne, for the souls "of Alice Lady Stury, Sir John Blount, and Elizabeth his wife, "parents of the said Alice," who is also said to have built the chapel. The ordination of the chantry was confirmed by Bishop Thomas Peverell, October 18, 1414. The architecture of the chapel and the chancel agree with the above date; but the east window of the former is, apparently, a more recent insertion, having unfoliated four-centred lights, beneath a square head. The date, 1561, inscribed on one of the panes, indicates the period of its erection by Sir Thos. Pakington, of Westwood Park. The arms of the Pakingtons and their alliances with Washbourne, Baldwin, and Kitsell, are likewise emblazoned in this window. Both chancel and chapel are furnished with plain piscinas in the usual position. The tower occupies the position and serves the purpose of a south porch, as at Areley-King's, in the same county. It consists of two stages: on the south side of the lower one is a plain continuous archway, above which is a small unfoliated square-headed window. The upper stage has in each face a two-light pointed belfry window; and is capped by a projecting parapet, having battlements, but no pinnacles. Rising just above the parapet is a gabled roof, open at both ends, within which hangs the small bell or "ting-tang." On the west side is a circular stair-turret with conical cap dying against the tower a little below the parapet. The *sanctus* bell-cot on the east gable of the nave is very small, and can neither boast of bell nor ornament.

This church had fallen into a very dilapidated and unseemly state, when, about two years ago, it was determined to restore it in a thoroughly substantial and correct manner. The work has been carried out under the superintendence of Mr. Perkins, of Worcester; the whole of the expense being defrayed by the Rt. Hon. Sir John S. Pakington, Bart., G.C.B.

New oak roofs have been erected over the chancel and chapel, and the latter portion of the building rendered more available for

congregational purposes, by opening a new arch between it and the nave. The roof of the nave, though quite plain, was too good to remove; it has therefore been repaired, and boarded at the back of the rafters. The stonework in the interior has been denuded of plaster and colour-wash, and the masonry pointed; though from its irregularity it is thought by some that the stonework of the walls was never intended to be exposed to view. Be that as it may, the effect is, I think, undoubtedly superior to colour-wash, and as undoubtedly inferior to appropriate fresco decorations: these can, however, be supplied at any time The ritual arrangements comprise an oak altar-table standing on a foot-pace, carved oak rails and chairs, and a prayer desk and longitudinal seat on the south side of the chancel only. The pulpit is of stone, the panels being enriched with delicately carved diapers. The old traceried bench ends have been used up in the chapel, which is fitted with oak seats; those in the nave are of deal. The reredos is formed of rich encaustic tiles, with which the chancel floor is also paved. Excellent stained glass, by Hardman, fills the east window and one on the south side of the chancel. The former contains the Ascension, the latter (a memorial window) S.S. Peter and Paul.

There is a new gabled vestry against the north side of the chapel—doubtless a very *useful* addition; though, if a small space in the interior of the church could have been spared for the purpose, and screened off by the discarded rood-screen, it would have been better than adding a new *structural* feature to an ancient edifice—a plan not often attended with complete success. The brick *props* which supported the east end have been superseded by stone buttresses, the massiveness of which was necessitated on constructional grounds; though they might, perhaps, have been designed so as to present more pleasing *proportions*.

A remarkable instance of the little regard paid to the memory of an ancient and distinguished member of an old family, by comparatively modern representatives of the same family, was brought to light by the discovery, during the recent repairs, that a monument to the Sir John Pakington, who died in 1727, which stood against the north wall of the sanctuary, had been placed in front of, and so as entirely to conceal, the tomb of the Sir John who died in 1551, having purchased Hampton Court from Lord Mountjoy, and received the nunnery of Westwood as a grant from Henry VIII. This latter—a richly panelled Third-pointed structure, had been much mutilated, in order to facilitate the erection of its intrusive successor; but is to be restored to its original state, thereby adding another object of historical and æsthetical interest to the church. The later monument supports a reclining statue of Sir John Pakington, known as Sir Roger de Coverley: it has been removed to the west end of the chapel. There is a marble tablet to the present baronet's first wife, the daughter of M. A. Slaney, Esq., of Shiffnall, Salop. She died on the 6th Jan., 1843. Here is also a monument, with long Latin inscription, to Dr. Hammond.

The beautiful churchyard cross was restored in 1849, from a design by Mr. P. C. Hardwick. Round the top of the shaft are

statuettes of the four Evangelists, under canopies, their symbols being carved on the upper portion of the base. On the west side of the latter is the following inscription :—

+ To the beloved memory of Augusta Anne, second wife of Sir John S. Pakington, Bart., this Cross was restored, a.d. 1840: She was daughter of George Murray, lord bishop of Rochester, and departed this life in the true faith of Christ, February 23, 1848: after the birth of her second child, and in the 31st year of her age. + Not my will but thine be done.

In concluding the above brief architectural account of this interesting church, I cannot but express the great pleasure which I feel at being able to record another of those numerous instances of church restoration which are constantly taking place throughout the land. And I earnestly hope the example here afforded us of a dilapidated and disfigured sanctuary being brought back to a state, not merely of decency, but of comeliness and beauty, will be the means of inducing other patrons and landed proprietors to follow the good example here set them; and thus furnish still further evidence of the attention which is now paid to the outward accessories of divine worship, and which must greatly tend to deepen the religious feelings, stimulate the devotion, and strengthen the attachment of all classes to the Church herself.

Hampton Lovett once belonged to the Beauchamps; it became afterwards the property of the Lovetts, a family living at Elmley Lovett, and from whom the parish derived its additional name. The Lovetts becoming extinct, it passed to the Blounts, one of whom, Sir Edward Blount, was raised to the dignity of a baron, by the title of Lord Mountjoy, in the reign of Edward IV. The manor, estates, &c., afterwards passed by purchase to Sir John Pakington, Knight, as above mentioned.

The name of Pakington occurs in the foundation of Kenilworth Priory, *temp.* Henry I.; and afterwards it is found mentioned as founding, A.D. 1322, a chantry in Chelmiscote, in the lordship of Brayle, in Warwickshire, which belonged to the family. The Pakingtons first came into this county by the marriage of John Pakington with a daughter of the ancient family of Washbourne of Stanford, about the end of the reign of Henry VI. Sir John Pakington, one of their sons, was in great favour with Henry VIII., who made him a Welsh judge, and granted that during life he should wear his hat in the king's presence whenever he chose; and that he should not be compelled to take any office upon him, or suffer any penalty for refusing the same. The king also bestowed upon him the suppressed nunnery of *Westwood;* he having previously purchased the manor, &c., of Hampton. "He "grew," says Habingdon, "to such an hyghthe as from his house "are now descended one viscount and two baronets. The first is "Sir John Scudamore of Hom Lacey, county of Hereford, visc. "Sligo, heir in the 4th degree to Ursula, da. and coheir of this Sir "John Pakington. The second, Sir Thomas Lytelton, of Frankley,

" sixth heir in the same degree to Briget, daughter and coheir of the " same knight: the third, Sir John Pakington, of Hampton Lovet, " bart., heir in the same degree to Robert Pakington, third brother " of the great Sir John Pakington ; which knight, besides lands and " large portions distributed between his two daughters and coheirs, " left Hampton Lovet, with other revenues, to Sir Thomas Paking- " ton, son and heir of this Robert Pakington, and father of Sir John " Pakington, who flourished once in queen Eliz. court."

The above-mentioned Robert Pakington was born at Stanford,[1] in 1537 : he was member for London, and is said by Stowe to have been murdered in the streets of that city by the Papists whom he had opposed. The Sir John Pakington who lived at the time of the civil wars, was a staunch supporter of the royal cause, and suffered severely for his loyalty, having to compound with the parliament for his estates by two several payments of £5,500, and £1,300, including costs and charges. His estates in Worcestershire and Buckinghamshire were sequestered, and he was himself imprisoned in the Tower of London. His total losses for the cause of loyalty, including £200 for the " repairs of Westwood House after the Scots," amounted to £20,348. He was taken prisoner at the battle of Worcester, but soon released; for he was so much beloved in the county that no witnesses would speak against him. He represented Worcestershire and Aylesbury in parliament, and died in 1679, having held the title and estates for the long period of fifty-five years. His wife, Dorothy, daughter of Lord Coventry, was called " The good Lady Pakington," and is said to have written *The Whole Duty of Man*, in which she would probably be assisted by her friends Drs. Hammond and Fell. The following works have been also attributed to her Ladyship, viz. : On the Impartial Survey of the Christian Religion, &c. ; The Gentleman's Calling; The Ladies' Calling, in two parts ; On the Government of the Tongue; The Art of Contentment; The Lively Oracles given to us ; A Prayer for King Charles II. during his banishment; and one for Resignation to the Almighty Will. Sir John Pakington, the grandson of the above, represented Worcestershire in parliament from the age of nineteen, excepting one parliament, till his death, which happened in 1727, at the age of fifty-six. It is stated on his monument that he was " loyal to his king and faithful to his country ;" and that " he spoke without reserve, neither fearing nor flattering those in " power, but despising all their offers of preferment upon base and " dishonourable terms of compliance." This Sir John Pakington is supposed to have furnished the original of Addison's famous character of Sir Roger de Coverley. Subsequently to this period no member of the family appears to have taken any very prominent

1 Sir Thomas E. Winnington, Bart., has in his possession, at Stanford Court, a brass-plate from old Stanford Bridge (over which they would have to pass from the former place to Hampton), bearing the following inscription, as perfect as on the day it was engraved:—

"*Pray for Humfrey Pakynton Esquyer borne in Stanford which payd for ye workman-*
"*shepe and makyng of this brygg the whiche was rered and made the fyrst day of may and in*
"*the fyrst yere of ye Rayne of kyng Edward ye VI.*"

part in public affairs, till the present baronet commenced his useful career as a statesman, and as an able advocate of social progress.

An account of Hampton Lovett and the Pakingtons would be very incomplete without some notice of the family seat of Westwood —undoubtedly the most interesting mansion in the county.

The church of S. Mary at Westwood was given by Eustachia de Say and her son Osbert Fitzhugh to the abbey of Fontevraud in Normandy, about the time of Henry II. A small priory for six nuns of the Benedictine order, and dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, was shortly afterwards erected. It was never an establishment of much importance, though it eventually numbered eighteen inmates. Isabella, one of the prioresses, was excommunicated for having joined with the anti-pope, Clement VII. The last prioress, Joice Acton, received at the dissolution, in 1553, an annual pension of £10. The chapel of Westwood was united to Hampton Lovett by Bishop Bell, about the year 1540.

The original Court-house stood, as was usually the case, close to the church. The mound, forming the eastern boundary of the churchyard, is formed by the remains of the old mansion, and the gardens extended on terraces down to the brook. Several of these terraces were visible a few years since; but are now almost entirely obliterated by the railway. The house must have been rebuilt by Sir John Pakington when he purchased the Hampton property (towards the end of the reign of Henry VII.); as Leland says, in his Itinerary— "Pakington hath a veri goodly *new* house of brike, called Hampton "Court, vi mile of from Wircestre, somewhat northward." This house having been much injured during the civil wars, the lodge and banqueting-house, which had been erected at Westwood in Queen Elizabeth's time, was enlarged by the addition of four wings, and made the residence of the family. The superiority of the latter site—commanding, as it does, most extensive views over the surrounding country, including the Malvern, Bredon, Abberley, and Clent hills—compared with the low situation of Hampton, would doubtless have considerable weight with the family in deciding whether to make Westwood their future abode, or repair the original Court-house.

In consequence of the method of enlargement adopted, the mansion of Westwood presents a most picturesque and unique appearance. Large houses of this date generally form three sides of an elongated quadrangle, with a porch projecting from the centre of the long side, producing a plan somewhat in the shape of the letter **E**—in compliment, it is said, to Queen Elizabeth. Hatfield House, Herts; Aston Hall, near Birmingham; and Condover Park, Shropshire, are fine examples of this arrangement. Westwood, on the contrary, consists of a square block, four stories high, with wings of the same height projecting *diagonally* from the four corners, each terminating in a square tower, surmounted by a lofty pyramidal roof. It is built of red brick, with stone porch, quoins, parapets, and gable ornaments. Opposite each wing, at some distance from them, are small brick towers, which are crowned with quaint curved roofs, and

were originally connected with the main building by walls, which have been removed. One of the most interesting features is the gate-house, in front of the principal entrance; it consists of a double lodge, with ornamental gables and pinnacles, having in the centre an arched gateway, over which is a massive structure of open timber work supporting an ogee and concave pyramidal roof. The heraldic bearings of the family, viz., the mullet or star of five points, and the garb or wheatsheaf, are introduced as architectural ornaments over the gateway, and on the parapets and gables of the house. The interior cannot be said to equal the exterior in originality and interest. The saloon, however, is a very fine room, occupying the whole width of the first floor towards the west; it is lighted by two lofty bay windows, and the walls are hung with rich old tapestry. In the centre of the east side is a large and elaborately decorated fire-place of the period; but the florid plaster ceiling is a later addition. Immediately under the saloon is the hall; this is connected with the principal apartments by a carved oak staircase, the banisters of which support at intervals Corinthian columns surmounted by globes—all of the same material.

Projecting from the east side of the house is a private chapel; it was fitted up for family worship some years ago, and has a three-light east window of stained glass.

The extensive park contains a large sheet of water, extending over sixty acres, and abounds with fine old trees, through which are broad avenues, radiating from the house as a centre.

In addition to its value as an example of architectural and picturesque beauty, Westwood has an especial claim to be regarded with interest and affection by all *churchmen;* for here, some of the most eminent and pious men who have been called to minister in holy things in the English Church found an asylum from the persecuting spirit of Puritanism, at the time of the Great Rebellion; and also a place of retreat when, after the change of government effected at the Revolution, many of the clergy preferred to give up their offices and their means of subsistence rather than conform to the Erastian principles which then prevailed.

Amongst the former "sufferers for conscience sake" no one is more worthy of our admiration and esteem than the learned Dr. Hammond—

> "He, whose mild persuasive voice
> "Taught us in trials to rejoice;"[3]

and of whose career a few particulars, gleaned chiefly from *Fell's Life of Hammond,*[4] may not be uninteresting.

Henry Hammond was born at Chertsey, in Surrey, August 18th, 1605; being the youngest son of Dr. John Hammond, physician to Prince Henry, eldest son of King James I.; after whom he received his Christian name.

(3) See *Christian Year*—"Restoration of the Royal Family."

(4) Republished by Parkers, Oxford and London.

When sent to Eaton, at a very early age, he was not only a proficient in Greek and Latin, but had also some acquaintance with the elements of Hebrew.

At thirteen years of age, he was sent to Magdalen College, Oxford, of which, as soon as capable, he was chosen Fellow; proceeded to the degree of M.A., was made Reader of the Natural Philosophy Lecture, and also appointed to deliver the funeral oration on the President, Dr. Langton.

In 1629 he entered into holy orders; and shortly after took the degree of B.D., "giving as happy proofs of his proficiency in sacred "as before he had done in secular knowledge." During the whole time of his residence at the University, he generally spent thirteen hours a day in study, and is said to have read all the classic authors extant; besides studying the whole course of philosophy. The Earl of Leicester was so pleased with the sermon he preached before the Court in 1633—in place of Dr. Frewen, president of his College—that he immediately presented him with the rectory of Penshurst.

At the present day, when great attention is being devoted to the subject of parochial work; and when so many and such various schemes—some, to say the least, of very doubtful expediency—for bringing "the masses," both of our towns and rural districts, under the influence of religion are being adopted; an account of the way in which this eminent man discharged the duties of a parish priest will perhaps be interesting. I will therefore mention a few facts connected with this portion of his life, as related by his biographer, Dr. Fell. "In the discharge of his ministerial functions, he satis-"fied not himself in diligent and constant preaching only, (a per-"formance wherein some of late have fancied all religion to consist), "but much more conceived himself obliged to the offering up the "solemn daily sacrifice of prayer for his people, administering the "Sacraments, relieving the poor, keeping hospitality, reconciling of "differences amongst neighbours, visiting the sick, catechising the "youth. As to his preaching, it was not of the ordinary rate of the "times, an unpremeditated, undigested effusion of shallow and "crude conceptions, but a rational and just discourse, that was to "teach the priest as well as the lay hearer. His method was, after "every sermon to resolve upon the ensuing subject; that being done, "to pursue the course of study which he was then in hand with, "reserving the close of the week for the provision for the next "Lord's day.

"The offices of prayer he had in his church, not only upon the "Sundays and festivals and their eves, as also Wednesdays and "Fridays, according to the appointment of the Rubric, but every "day in the week, and twice on Saturdays and holiday eves; for his "assistance wherein he kept a Curate, and allowed him a comfort-"able salary.

"He administered the Sacrament in an imitation, though a "distant one, of primitive frequency, once a month, and therewith "its anciently inseparable appendant, the Offertory; wherein his "instruction and happily insinuating example so far prevailed, that

"there was thenceforth little need of ever making any tax for the "poor. Nay, a stock was raised, to be always ready for the apprenticing of young children. And after this there yet remained a "surplus for the assistance of the neighbouring parishes.

"His *private* charities were very extensive; besides dedicating "the tenth of all his receipts, he constantly set apart every week a "certain rate in money; and however rarely his own rent-days "occurred, the indigent had two and fifty quarter-days returning "in *his* year. He further sold corn to his poor neighbours at a rate "below the market price; and though thus liberal to the necessitous "poor, he was not less hospitable to those of better quality, fre-"quently inviting them to his table, especially on Sundays; but "here, beyond the weekly treatments, the Christmas festival had a "peculiar allowance to support it. He knew well how much the "application at the table enforced the doctrines of the pulpit.

"For the instruction of youth in the rudiments of piety his "custom was, during the warmer season of the year, to spend an "hour before evening prayer in catechising; whereat the parents "and older sort were wont to be present, and from whence (as he "with comfort was used to say) they reaped more benefit than from "his sermons."

In addition to his parochial duties, he frequently preached at S. Paul's Cross, the visitations of the clergy, and at Chichester cathedral, having been made archdeacon of that diocese. In the troublous times which now approached, it was not likely that one, eminent alike for his learning and zeal, and for attachment to his Sovereign, should long be permitted to enjoy tranquility, when the enemies of the church and crown prevailed. After enduring persuasion, threatenings, and reproaches, Dr. Hammond was obliged to retire from his living in July, 1643. He returned to Oxford, and was shortly afterwards appointed to a canonry at Christ Church, and chaplain in ordinary to the King. The University also chose him for their public orator.

After the king had been delivered into the possession of the army, he was allowed the service of some of his chaplains, among whom was Dr. Hammond. He attended the king to Woburn, Caversham, Hampton Court, and the Isle of Wight, where he remained till Christmas, 1647, when the king's attendants were put from him. Dr. Hammond again returned to Oxford, and was chosen sub-dean; but, ere long, all who did not conform to the regulations of the new government were dispossessed of their offices, and ordered to quit the place. Dr. Hammond and Dr. Selden, however, were ordered to remain as prisoners in Oxford; and though the king desired he might attend him in the Isle of Wight, permission was not granted. He remained in Oxford about ten weeks, and was then allowed to be removed to his friend Sir Philip Warwick's, at Clapham, in Bedfordshire, where soon after his arrival the trial and execution of the king took place, when, in the words of his biographer, "Although he indulged to his just and almost "infinite griefs, which were transported to the utmost bounds of

"sober passion, the affectionate personal respect he bore unto that "glorious victim being added to the detestation due unto the guilt "itself, of which no man was more sensible than he who had strange "antipathies to *all* sin, he gave not up himself to an inactive, dull "amazement; but with the redoubtable use of fasting, tears, and "solemn prayer, he resumed his wonted studies; and besides his "fitting the *Annotations on the New Testament* for the press, and "his little tracts of the *Reasonableness* of Christian Religion, he now "composed his Latin one against Blondel in behalf of Episcopacy."

When the restraint under which he was kept by the ruling powers became relaxed, he removed to Westwood, the house of the loyal Sir John Pakington.[5] Here he spent the remainder of his life, employing his time in study, meditation, and prayer, and in the more active duties of his calling, so far as his health and the circumstances of the times would allow.

He attended Charles II. when he passed by this neighbourhood on his way to Worcester, and was greatly distressed at the king's defeat. In January, 1655, the clergy were interdicted from doing any ministerial act; which he is said to have "resented with the "highest passion. Nor should any consideration that terminated "on himself have persuaded him at all to regard that tyrannous "injunction, had not charity to the family where he was made him "content to admit of an expedient that secured all real duties, whilst "he for some short time forbore that attendance upon the altar "which was the very joy of his life."

During his residence at Westwood, he wrote numerous tracts in defence of the Church, and in reply to those who had assailed his writings, whether Roman Catholics, Presbyterians, Independents, or Anabaptists.

At the Restoration, it was the intention of the king to have appointed Dr. Hammond to the see of Worcester, and he had already begun to make arrangements for the repair of the cathedral church. But this diocese was destined never to be presided over by one, who would have been one of the brightest links in that chain of chief pastors, which has now for 1200 years ruled over this portion of the Church's heritage.

He was seized with an attack of a painful disorder to which he was subject, on the 4th of April, 1660, and though he was relieved for a short time, it returned with increased violence on the 8th. He bore his illness with cheerfulness and resignation, continually interceding for the church and nation, and for the family where he was. He peculiarly valued all those offices of devotion which had a public character; and when in his sharp agonies his friends made use of extemporary ejaculations, he would say, "Let us call on God in the voice of His Church."

On the 20th of April, being Good Friday, he received the holy sacrament, and again on Easter-day. He lingered till the 25th of April, when he peacefully entered into his rest, breathing the words, "Lord, make haste."

(5) The Pedigree of the family of Pakington, which should have accompanied the preceding biographical notice, is placed (for convenience of the press) a few pages onward.

On the evening of the following day, he was, without ostentation, buried at the neighbouring church of Hampton, with all the rites of the Church of England, several of the clergy and gentry of the county, and affectionate multitudes of persons of less quality, attending the funeral. His body was borne by clergymen, and laid in the burial-place of the generous family, who with such friendship had entertained him when alive. Dr. Fell gives a glowing description, both of his bodily and mental qualities. He says, "The frame of his body was such as suited with the noble use to "which it was designed, the entertaining a most pure and active "soul, built equally to the advantages of strength and comeliness. "His stature was of just height and all proportionate dimensions, "avoiding the extremes of gross and meagre; advantaged by a grace-"ful carriage, at once grave, and yet as much obliging. His face "carried dignity and attractiveness in it, scarce ever clouded with a "frown, or so much as darkened by reservedness. His eye was "quick and sprightful, his complexion clear and florid, so that "(especially in his youth) he had the esteem of a very beauteous "person." His sight and hearing were unusually good; and his elocution was "free and graceful, prepared at once to charm and "command his audience." He was remarkably quick with his pen, usually composing faster than his dexterous amanuensis could transcribe after him. His *Considerations of Present Necessity concerning Episcopacy* was drawn up after ten o'clock at night, in a friend's chamber, who said that he did not remember that he took off pen from paper till he had done. He began his tract of *Scandal* at eleven o'clock at night, and finished it before he went to bed. "The range and compass of his knowledge filled the whole "circle of the arts. To be accurate in the grammar and idioms of "the tongues, and then as a rhetorician to make all their graces "serve his eloquence; to have traversed ancient, and yet to be no "stranger to modern writers; to be studied in philosophy, and "familiarly versed in all the politer classic authors; to be learned "in school divinity, and a master in church antiquity, perfect and "ready in the sense of Fathers, Councils, Ecclesiastical Historians, "and Liturgicks; to have devoured so much, and yet digested it, is "a rarity in nature and in diligence which has but few examples."

But "the Doctor's learning was the least thing in him; the "scholar was here less eminent than the Christian." He was very abstemious in his diet, which was of the plainest kind; and he often expressed his wonder "how rational creatures could eat for "anything but health, since he that did eat or drink that which "might cause a fit of the gout, though a year after, therein un-"manned himself, and acted as a beast." When in good health, he seldom ate or drank oftener than once in twenty-four hours, and some fruit towards night; and two days in every week, and in Lent and Ember week, three days, he ate but once in thirty-six hours.

The carving at the table he always made his province, which he said he did as a diversion to keep him from eating too much.

He was equally temperate with regard to sleep; midnight being the usual time of his going to rest, and four or five, and very rarely

six, the hour of his rising. He had a perfect hatred of idleness ; "the idle man's brain being not only" (as he expressed it) "the devil's "shop, but his kingdom too ; a model of, and an appendage unto "hell, a place given up to torment and to mischief." He always took a book with him in his walks ; and his servant read to him in his chamber while he was dressing and undressing. The Doctor was no less remarkable for the frequency and fervency of his acts of devotion, which, "besides occasional and supernumerary ad-"dresses, exceeded David's 'seven times a day.' As his attention "was fixed and steady, so was it inflamed with passionate fervours, "insomuch that very frequently his transport threw him prostrate "on the earth : the latter happening not only upon the exigencies "of present or impending judgments, but in the common service of "the church."

He used to say, he "delighted to be loved, not reverenced ;" thinking that where there was much of the latter, there could not be enough of the former.

He was very easy and careless about money matters and bargains ; never taking security of any to whom he lent, saying, that "if he thought men knaves, he would not deal with them ; and if "indeed they were so, it was not all his circumspection that could "prevent a cheat ; on the other side, if they were honest, there "needed no such caution." The high value which he set upon the souls of men often broke out into the following words, which he would deliver with great vehemence : "*Oh! what a glorious thing—* "*how rich a prize for the expense of a man's whole life, were it to be* "*the instrument of rescuing any one soul!*"

Bishops Morley, Fell, and Gunning were also partakers of the hospitality of Sir John and "the good" Lady Pakington.

When we consider the state to which the Church had at that time been reduced ; her pulpits filled by unauthorised teachers, her lawful ministers forbidden to distribute the Bread of Life at her altars, and the Prayer-book itself proscribed ; we can imagine what a blessing it must have been to the loyal possessors of Westwood to have received into their family these learned and devoted men. How the little community—forming, as it were, an oasis of pure and sober religion in the midst of a desert of outward profession and unreality—must have rejoiced at being permitted to have constant intercourse with so devoted a servant of God as Dr. Hammond, whose example and ministry could not fail to exert a beneficial influence amongst those with whom he dwelt.

Another eminent divine, Dr. Wm. Thomas, successively dean of Worcester, bishop of S. David's, and bishop of Worcester, was rector of Hampton Lovett from 1670 to 1677.

About 1644, when vicar of Langharne, to which he had been presented by the Earl of Northumberland, a party of the Parliament horse came into his parish and inquired whether that popish priest, Mr. Thomas, was there, and whether he continued reading the liturgy, and praying for the Queen ; one of them adding, that he should go to church, and if Mr. Thomas persevered in praying for her

he would certainly pistol him. Mr. Thomas's friends endeavoured to persuade him not to attend, but he determined to do so, and when he began the service the soldiers placed themselves in the next pew to him. When he prayed for the Queen, one of them snatched the book out of his hand, and threw it at his head, using opprobrious language, but was immediately seized with such compunction that his companions were obliged to carry him out. Mr. Thomas was not at all discomposed, but continued the service, and preached with his usual emphasis; and upon his return to his house, he found the soldiers ready to beg his pardon, and desiring his prayers to God for them, that they might be forgiven.

Soon after he was deprived of his living by the Committee of Parliament; he then taught a private school in the country, and suffered great hardships, his family being frequently in want of common necessaries.

At the Restoration, Mr. Thomas was reinstated in his living, and made chanter of S. David's. In 1661 he was made chaplain to the Duke of York; and, in 1665, promoted to the deanery of Worcester. Whilst holding this office he gained the friendship of all the gentlemen of the county, and especially of Sir John Pakington, who, that he might enjoy more of his company, presented him to the rectory of Hampton Lovett, where he resided for the next seven years, and which he often said was "the pleasantest period of "his life; and that here he had more quiet and satisfaction within "himself than when he was afterwards in the highest order of the "church." In 1677 he was appointed to the bishopric of S. David's, for which he was peculiarly well qualified, having spent a great portion of his life in that diocese, and being well acquainted with the native language; he preached frequently in different parts of his diocese in the language of the country, and was instrumental in promoting the translation of the Bible into Welsh. Having been bishop of S. David's six years, he was translated to the see of Worcester, August, 1683; and was conducted to his palace by the gentry and clergy of the diocese, where they were entertained handsomely, and ever after found a plentiful table and hearty welcome; he being of opinion that, to amend the morals of the people, the first step was to gain their acquaintance and affection. The poor were daily fed at his door, and he sent provisions twice a week to the prison, besides giving large sums to other charitable objects. When charged for not providing for his own family, he always said, "that no bishop or priest was to enrich himself with, or raise his "family out of the revenues of the church; that the sacred canons "forbade it, and that, for his part, he was resolved that none of his "should be the richer for them, as he was only God's steward, and "bound to dispense them to his glory in works of charity and piety." He was extremely careful what persons he ordained; and constantly attended six o'clock prayers in the cathedral, so long as his health would permit.

The money which at former visitations was generally expended in entertaining the bishops, he laid out in books for the library, and entertained the church at his own cost.

At the present time, when preaching in the nave of the cathedral has been revived, it will be interesting to note that in 1683, archbishop Sancroft wrote a letter to the bishop, complaining of preaching the sermons in the body of the cathedral, the prayers being said in the choir; a custom which continued for many years after, and which arose from there being originally no sermons in the parish churches—the parishioners, after their own prayers, attending the sermon in the cathedral.

A better plan than either preaching in the choir or for the congregation to move into the nave, is the one recommended in the Annual Report of the Architectural Society for 1848, viz., substituting a light open choir-screen for the present solid one; and placing the pulpit just outside, so that the preacher could be heard both by those in the choir and nave.

The bishop entertained James II. on the eve of S. Bartholomew, 1687. He met the king at the gate of the palace, attended by his clergy, and in a short Latin speech welcomed him to the city.

On the following day, being the feast of S. Bartholomew, the king attended the Romish chapel. He afterwards dined at the palace; and upon the bishop offering to say grace, the king was pleased to say he "would spare him that trouble, for he had a chap-"lain of his own;" upon which the good old man withdrew, not without tears in his eyes.

When the king, in 1688, directed the archbishops and bishops to distribute through their several dioceses the "Declaration for giving liberty of conscience"—as it was styled—the bishop of Worcester and the dean, Dr. Hickes, refused (as did many others) to comply; the bishop "conceiving it his duty," as he said, "to en-"deavour to secure his clergy from sins and perils; and not to order "them to circulate a paper with which his own judgment was abun-"dantly dissatisfied."

When William III. had been put in possession of the crown, and the oath of allegiance to him and Queen Mary was tendered, the archbishop of Canterbury, eight of the bishops, and about four hundred of the clergy, refused to take it; preferring to lose their offices, their livings, and their subsistence, rather than violate their consciences by swearing allegiance to a new sovereign during the lifetime of an existing one. Amongst the bishops who thus refused the oath, were the saintly Ken, and bishop Thomas; the latter declared to dean Hickes, two days before his death, that "if his "heart did not deceive him, and God's grace did not fail him, he "thought he could suffer at a stake, rather than take the oath." According to the Act of Parliament, those who did not take the oath by the first of August, 1690, were suspended from the performance of their ecclesiastical functions: and on the first of February, 1691, deprived of all their preferments. Dr. Thomas, therefore, prepared to leave the palace and vacate the bishopric; he had agreed to live with Mr. Martin, vicar of Wolverley, and wrote to Dr. Stillingfleet, telling him that he would use all his influence that he might succeed him.

However, on the 20th June, he had a severe fit of the gout; and, perceiving himself growing continually weaker and weaker, he received the holy sacrament in his own chapel, on Sunday the 23rd. On Monday his servants were called in, and he gave every one his blessing; and about three o'clock the next day he patiently resigned his spirit to God that gave it.

He died in the 76th year of his age; and, according to his own desire, was buried at the south-east corner of the cloisters of Worcester cathedral, being used to say that the church was for the *living*, and not for the *dead*. There is a monument to him just within the south door; the inscription, ordered by himself, states him to have been the "unworthy dean of Worcester, the more unworthy bishop "of S. David's, and the most unworthy bishop of Worcester."

Humbly though he esteemed himself, those who knew him well spoke in the highest terms of "the simplicity, the humility, and "the goodness of his heart; being patient of contradiction, and "contented in all conditions; the same easy man when sequestered "as when bishop; and with the same tranquility and cheerfulness "of mind he prepared to lay down his bishopric, as in his younger "days he had done his vicarage." It is said that he was never known to have been in a passion. When dean of Worcester, one of the prebendaries in chapter fell into a sudden and violent rage upon no great provocation, which made the dean say to him "Brother, brother, God give you more patience." To this the angry gentleman replied, "Mr. Dean, Mr. Dean, God give you more "passion." The good man made no reply, but by a smile. The bishop's memory was very good, for though he wrote his sermons with great accuracy, he always delivered them from memory. He was "rather tall in stature, of a long visage, his forehead large, his "countenance graceful, and his aspect venerable."

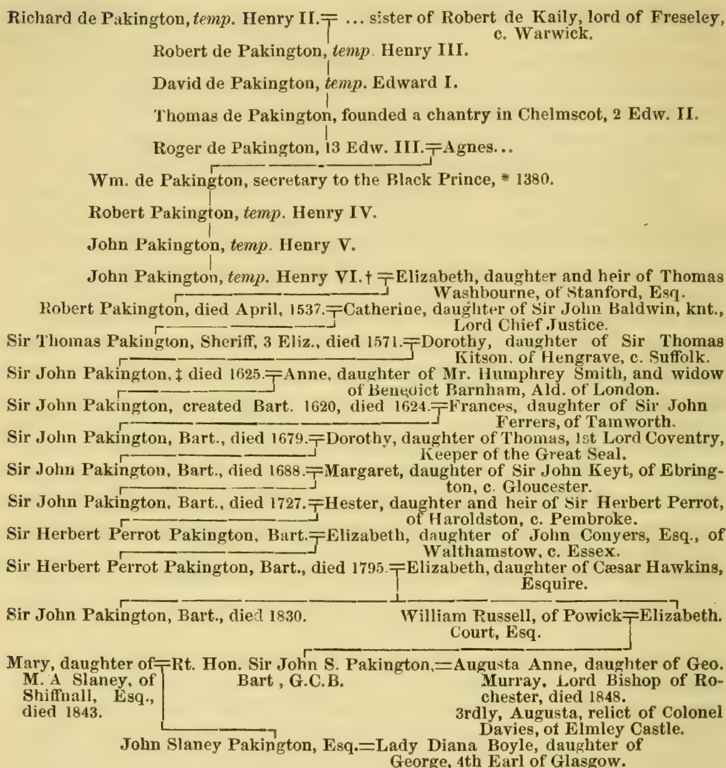
Dr. George Hickes, the celebrated Nonjuror, was at one time an inmate of Westwood. When Dr. Talbot was appointed by the government to his deanery of Worcester, Dr. Hickes drew up a protest against the appointment, as illegal, and called upon the sub-dean to support him in the maintenance of his rights. This he affixed to the door of the choir of the cathedral. He was consecrated suffragan bishop of Thetford in 1693, and died in 1715, at the age of 74.

He wrote great part of his *Linguarum Septentrionalium Thesaurus* at Westwood; and the preface to his *Grammatica Anglo-Saxonica* is dedicated to Sir John Pakington.

It is earnestly to be hoped that attached ministers of the Church will not again be obliged either to violate their consciences or give up their offices, on account of any obligations imposed upon them by the State. But, if such should be the case, there can be no doubt that amongst the faithful laity, there will not be wanting worthy successors to the Pakingtons and Weymouths of other days, to welcome to their homes those who may "*give up houses, and "lands, and kindred, for the sake of Christ and His Gospel.*"

J. SEVERN WALKER.

Pedigree of Pakington.



Richard de Pakington, *temp.* Henry II. = ... sister of Robert de Kaily, lord of Freseley, c. Warwick.

Robert de Pakington, *temp.* Henry III.

David de Pakington, *temp.* Edward I.

Thomas de Pakington, founded a chantry in Chelmscot, 2 Edw. II.

Roger de Pakington, 13 Edw. III. = Agnes...

Wm. de Pakington, secretary to the Black Prince, * 1380.

Robert Pakington, *temp.* Henry IV.

John Pakington, *temp.* Henry V.

John Pakington, *temp.* Henry VI. † = Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Thomas Washbourne, of Stanford, Esq.

Robert Pakington, died April, 1537. = Catherine, daughter of Sir John Baldwin, knt., Lord Chief Justice.

Sir Thomas Pakington, Sheriff, 3 Eliz., died 1571. = Dorothy, daughter of Sir Thomas Kitson, of Hengrave, c. Suffolk.

Sir John Pakington, ‡ died 1625. = Anne, daughter of Mr. Humphrey Smith, and widow of Benedict Barnham, Ald. of London.

Sir John Pakington, created Bart. 1620, died 1624. = Frances, daughter of Sir John Ferrers, of Tamworth.

Sir John Pakington, Bart., died 1679. = Dorothy, daughter of Thomas, 1st Lord Coventry, Keeper of the Great Seal.

Sir John Pakington, Bart., died 1688. = Margaret, daughter of Sir John Keyt, of Ebrington, c. Gloucester.

Sir John Pakington, Bart., died 1727. = Hester, daughter and heir of Sir Herbert Perrot, of Haroldston, c. Pembroke.

Sir Herbert Perrot Pakington, Bart. = Elizabeth, daughter of John Conyers, Esq., of Walthamstow, c. Essex.

Sir Herbert Perrot Pakington, Bart., died 1795. = Elizabeth, daughter of Cæsar Hawkins, Esquire.

Sir John Pakington, Bart., died 1830. — William Russell, of Powick Court, Esq. = Elizabeth.

Mary, daughter of M. A Slaney, of Shiffnall, Esq., died 1843. = Rt. Hon. Sir John S. Pakington, Bart, G.C.B. = Augusta Anne, daughter of Geo. Murray, Lord Bishop of Rochester, died 1848. 3rdly, Augusta, relict of Colonel Davies, of Elmley Castle.

John Slaney Pakington, Esq. = Lady Diana Boyle, daughter of George, 4th Earl of Glasgow.

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* Besides holding this office, he was Treasurer of the King's Household, Keeper of the Wardrobe, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Rector of East Wrotham, Prebendary of Tamworth, Lincoln, and York ; Rector of Ivingho and Wearmouth, Archdeacon of Canterbury, Dean of the Royal Chapel of S. Mary, Stafford, S. Martin-le-Grand, and Lichfield.

† This John Pakington had three sons—John, Humphrey, and the above Robert. John was the famous knight to whom Westwood was granted by Henry VIII., as already stated. He had two daughters only, one of whom married Sir J. Lyttelton, of Frankley, and the other Sir J. Scudamore. The Hampton property was bequeathed by him to his brother Robert's son, Sir Thomas Pakington. Humphrey was a merchant of London. His son John purchased the manor of Chaddesley Corbet, and resided at Harvington manor-house, in that parish ; but, owing to the failure of male issue, this branch of the family also soon became extinct.

‡ Called "The Lusty," and a favourite of Queen Elizabeth. A long account of him appears in the Biogr. Mirror.

St. Peter's, Droitwich.

As there are no written records of this church, a connected account of its history, as it may be gathered from the architecture of its different parts, has been put together.

At the time of the Conquest a Saxon church stood on the site now occupied by S. Peter's; and to the nave of this Saxon church, a Norman chancel was added—probably in the reign of the Conqueror himself. This chancel contained a triple-light at the east end and three lights in either side wall. The mouldings of the Norman chancel arch are similar to those in the crypt of Worcester cathedral.

About the reign of John, the Saxon nave disappeared, and a nave of stone-masonry with a high-pitched roof was added on to the chancel. In the south wall of the nave, columns and arches were built, apparently with the intention of throwing out an aisle at some future time.

Early in the reign of Edward I., a south transept was erected, the arch connecting it with the nave being based on the two first pillars left in the wall. And in this condition, with a chancel, nave, and south transept, the church remained till the time of Edward III.

In this reign considerable changes were made. In the chancel two of the Norman lights in the south wall were replaced by Decorated windows, and a doorway was opened in the north wall. A transept on the north side of the nave, answering to the existing transept on the south side, was thrown out. In this transept three fine Decorated windows were placed. The existing windows of the church (with the exception of one in the south transept), were replaced by Decorated windows; and a doorway, sheltered by a fine porch, was opened in the south wall of the nave. Two piscinæ were erected, one in the chancel, the other in the south transept, which seems to have been used as a Lady-chapel.

In the latter part of the reign of Henry VII., still further changes were made. The tower was in part rebuilt, and a fine Perpendicular window pierced in the west end. The high-pitched roof of the nave was removed, and a flat roof of that date, with the compartment next the chancel illuminated with red and gold stars on a blue ground, erected in its place; and encaustic tiles were laid in many parts of the floor. In the chancel, the centre Norman light of the south wall was destroyed by a doorway which was opened about this period.

Little seems to have been done (except the erection of a font, and of a handsome monument in memory of Sergeant Wilde in the reign of James I.) till about the year 1780, when a course of mutilations was commenced.

The Norman triplet of lights was removed from the east end of the chancel, and a modern window substituted. The three Norman lights in the north chancel wall were bricked up. The oak roof of the chancel was removed, and one of elm substituted. The

two Decorated windows in the south wall were stopped up by monuments. The cross from the east end of the chancel was removed to the place it now occupies in the adjoining farm buildings, and several courses of stone from the top of the tower were replaced by bricks.

About the year 1825, other alterations were made. The church was re-pewed; a pulpit and reading desk, and gallery at the west end, erected; and the present substantial porch, of Broseley brick, substituted for the porch of the date of Edward III.

In the year 1853, the church was restored to its present condition, from drawings furnished by P. C. Hardwick, Esq. The principal changes then made were as follows. In the chancel, a new east window was erected, and filled with stained glass by Mr. Preedy, of Worcester (now of London). The Norman lights in the north wall which were accidentally discovered during the alterations, were filled with glass by Mr. Holland, of Warwick; a new roof was placed on the chancel, and the roof of the nave repaired and restored. The gallery was taken down, and the tower thrown into the church. The pews were cut down to the first panel; the arches and the stonework of the windows were repaired and cleaned, the latter being glazed with quarries. A new prayer-desk and a memorial stone pulpit were also erected.

During the alterations several curious encaustic tiles were found in different parts of the church; these have been collected together, and placed round the font, and in a portion of the vestry floor. A piece of stone, which, from the border-line and cross at the corner, had evidently been a portion of the altar-stone before the Reformation, was also discovered, and now forms a credence-table in the south chancel wall.

There are three bells; one has an inscription upon it—PANDE CŒLI FORES NOBIS PETRE NOBILIORES—which will suffice to fix the date as previous to the Reformation. The second has simply the date of 1685. The third must be considered of uncertain date, from the ambiguity of its inscription—GOD SAVE OUR QUEEN.

We are told in Nash[2] that "there was formerly dependant on "this church a chapel erected on the bridge in Droitwich, and "through the middle of the chapel passed the high road leading to "Bromsgrove; the reading-desk and pulpit being on one side of the "road and the congregation sitting on the other. In the windows "of this chapel were the arms of Beauchamp, Le Despenser, "Ruding, &c. The commissioners of the turnpike obtained leave "from the patron and incumbent of St. Peter's to remove it, on "condition of their building a new one on some adjoining spot. "This they did about the year 1763, but the building was so ill "executed, that it is almost in ruins already (1779)." This second chapel has long been removed.

The registers of this parish are in good order, and go back to as early a date as 1540.

(2) History of Worcestershire.

On page following Weddings of 1623 are the following lines :—

Possumus hic quicquam sperare optabile, quando
Nasci pœna, labor vivere, triste mori !

All you my Successors that my benifice shall take
Keepe well this Regester for my sake
And as I have left yt faire and pure
Soe I would have yt for ever to indure.

Omnia sunt hominum tenui pendentia filo,
Et subito casu quæ valuere ruunt.
Quid valet ars? quid opes? quid gloria? quid venerari?
Cum mors cuncta rapit, conditione pari.

Also, 1627–8, Jany. 20. "Henry Davis the Tuthdrawer was buryed."

Immediately following March 23, 1653–4, is this memorandum :

Thomas Garland, Minister and Register chosen by the Parishioners.

1661, Dec. 16, a case of Baptism by *the midwife* is entered.

The church and manor of St. Peter's formerly belonged to the Priory of Studley, in Warwickshire. At the Dissolution, Henry VIII. granted the manor and rectory to John Bell and John Broxolme. After passing through different hands, they came into the possession of the family of Nash, and from them to the grandfather of the present patron, &c., Earl Somers, by the marriage of the only child of Dr. Tredway Russell Nash with the second Lord Somers (of the second creation), who was raised to the titles of Viscount Eastnor and Earl Somers in 1821. The original title of Baron Somers of Evesham, having expired with the celebrated Judge of William III. and Queen Anne's time, was revived in favour of his sister's grandson, Charles Cocks, Esq., in 1784.

Wm. Lea, (M.A.)

Saint Andrew's, Droitwich.

In visiting Droitwich some time ago, and having a few minutes to spare, I went to the parish church, according to my usual custom upon such occasions; when I entered in my note-book the following remarks; "A fine church in a lamentable state, filled with galleries." I am sorry to say that the latter part of this description still applies.

The church is dedicated to St. Andrew. It consists of a nave, chancel, south and north aisles, and a north-eastern tower. The aisles extend eastward nearly the whole length of the chancel. As was frequently the case in our old parish churches, the eastern extremities of both these aisles appear to have been used as chantry chapels, being no doubt divided off from the body of the church by means of screens. There still remains a piscina at the end of the south chapel; and attached to the eastern wall of the north chapel are two brackets, which were probably used for images or lights.

Nash, in his history of Worcestershire, states that this church was destroyed by fire in 1293. This fire in all probability destroyed the nave, part of the chancel, and the interior of the church; leaving the tower and some of the exterior walls standing. I am inclined to think such was the case from the fact that the architecture of the tower is of a period prior to the date of the fire, being early thirteenth century work. You may also plainly perceive an indication of a joining in the masonry at the eastern responds of the nave arches, showing a widening of the nave, tending to strengthen this view of the case.

The old string-course round the exterior of the tower, and the east wall of the north chapel, shows clearly to my mind that the north wall of the chancel was built subsequently; and yet, curiously enough, the jamb of the two-light north window to the chancel falls within the line of the wall of the chapel; for what special reason I cannot imagine.

There is also a very singular opening or internal window in the north chapel, communicating with the sanctuary, where formerly stood the high altar. I am unable to give any decided or satisfactory reason for this opening; for it does not seem to have been used as an ordinary squint, or hagioscope, seeing that it does not slant westward from the chancel, as they usually do; but I think it is not improbable that the sanctus bell may, in this case, have been hung in a sanctus cote at the eastern side of the tower (many instances of which arrangement still remain); or perhaps in the eastern window of the tower, as at Great Shelsley; in either of these cases, the person in attendance may have used this opening for the purpose of viewing the elevation of the Host, and ringing the sanctus bell when it was raised. At Chipping Norton church, Oxfordshire, there is a somewhat similar opening from the chapel by the side of the chancel.

The tower is by far the most interesting portion of this church. The proportions of the arches are very good, and the mouldings are exceedingly effective, combining boldness with the greatest delicacy of feeling. The capitals contain a great exuberance of carving. The whole of them are evidently worked by the same hand; this is indicated by the rather low foreheads and small mouths the carver has given to all his heads, as though they had been taken from one model.

Some of these capitals deserve very careful study. The skilful manner in which the female head, drapery, and stiff foliage peculiar to the period, are made to harmonize in the south-eastern pier of tower, is very artistic, and contrasts strongly with some of our modern carvers' work—which too often impresses one with the idea of their being done at so much a head, and having been executed mechanically; whereas, here the artist appears to have had his heart in the work.

I would also call your attention to the couplet window to the tower, and the delicately moulded brackets in the north chapel, of which you see a plaster sham—intended for a copy—supporting the south shaft of the chancel arch, the lower part having been cut away to make room, I presume, for the modern clerk's desk. I don't know why a clerk should always be supposed to want more room than his fellow

worshippers; but I have sometimes seen ten times more space appropriated for him than for any other member of the congregation.

Judging from the tower, I imagine the original Early English or Norman structure must have been a very fine one; but the bays to the nave, and other portions, which I consider to have been added after the fire, are comparatively poor; and the arches are rude and badly formed; nor does this appear to have arisen altogether from settlements, but from unusually bad construction.

The two-light windows to the Decorated south aisle, and especially the eastern and western three-light windows, are good examples of fourteenth century work. The oak cornice moulding to the roof of this aisle still remains, and consists of the well known scroll moulding, peculiarly characteristic of this period.

The arch leading from this aisle to the south chapel is also well worthy of note, and springs from two boldly carved heads—probably of the fourteenth century—evidently the work of a different hand to those in the tower.

The caps to the chancel arch have been much tampered with. A very similar transitional cap to the one on the south side is to be found at the churches of Bredon and Ripple, portions of the latter church being well developed Early English work; but all experienced archæologists are aware how long certain details were retained, amalgamated, and made to harmonize with a new style, after the general characteristics of that style had died out; so that, in judging of the date and style of Medieval work, we should always be guided more by the general character than by single details. It is not, however, impossible that it may have been a portion of an earlier structure re-used. For it is evident that an earlier building did exist upon this spot, from the record of a Norman south doorway having existed, as mentioned in Littleton's MS., which is referred to by Nash.

The additions made in the fifteenth century are the elegant three-light windows to the south chapel, the clerestory windows, and the chancel roof. The latter is still existing, and small portions are yet discernible; though for the most part it is smothered up with plaster and whitewash. This roof should, if possible, be restored.

The church is singularly devoid of interesting monuments, and the old glass mentioned in Nash's description has been destroyed.

The history connected with this church is not particularly interesting.

It is recorded that in 1359 the bishop settled a dispute between John de Kyrkton, rector of this parish, and his parishioners, about the custody of the books, vestments, and other things used in the church, by ordering that the rector should have the care of all the articles found at his own expense; that he might also keep those provided by the parishioners, on giving security for the safety of them; but if he should be unwilling to take upon him this charge, the parishioners were directed to appoint any other person to keep them, in whom they could confide. He likewise made some regulations respecting the offerings, and divine worship. In the year

1700, Bishop Lloyd, at the petition of the inhabitants, consecrated for a burial ground a part of the parson's garden, adjoining the church, containing in length from the east gate at the east end of the church southward, forty-eight yards; from the body of the church southward, nineteen; and from the new wall lately erected westward, sixteen; for which they were obliged to pay to the rector twenty shillings yearly.

A chantry was founded in Henry the Eighth's reign, by Thomas Walker, of the yearly value of £6 13s. 4d.

It is not my intention to make any remarks respecting the taste displayed in the alterations and re-pewing of the church in 1838. These things are more generally and better understood now than they were at that period; and we can only hope that the parishioners will soon feel sufficient interest in their church to sweep away what Mr. Noake, in *The Rambler*, calls "the attendant barbarisms so much to be deplored."

At the present time, I believe only one hundred and twenty-five sittings are free to the poor, out of five hundred and thirty-six. Before the alterations, only seventeen were left for the poor, out of three hundred and twenty-eight. This is a fact worthy of notice by those who are in favour of pew appropriation.

Whilst, however, we are in a church where, like too many others, all feelings of architectural propriety and taste have been set at nought for the purpose of gaining more sittings by means of galleries; I trust I may be permitted to offer a few suggestions for your earnest consideration with regard to how far it may be justifiable to destroy the character of our ancient edifices by the introduction of these modern contrivances.

The only excuse I have ever heard urged in their favour, and it is a very plausible one (although when I hear it, it often reminds me that a builder of a slave ship might make the same) is that it is a cheap way of packing a number of human beings in a given number of cubical feet; and thus a greater number of sittings can be obtained, when the cost of building a new church or enlarging the old one—as the mediævalists would have done—is out of the question on account of the cost.

But what we ought to consider is—how would it have been if galleries had never been erected? Would not the want of room have suggested some better method, and one which would surely have been adopted?

The erection of galleries has often salved over the consciences of those who would otherwise have helped to have built and endowed a new church; and, on this account, I firmly believe in my own mind that the erection of galleries has been the means of lessening, instead of increasing, our church accommodation.

Besides, is the cheapness of galleries, or the cheapness of any other things connected with the worship of the Most High, a good reason for their introduction? I think not; and I feel sure that those who erected the beautiful arches which I have been describing, and the windows, some of which I fear were sacrificed for these ugly galleries, would have been of the same opinion.

One of the worst characteristics of the age we live in is its covetousness; one of its greatest sins of omission, neglecting to provide religious instruction and church accommodation for our poorer brethren.

The erection of galleries suits our covetousness. They are cheap. It at the same time soothes our consciences, for we say to ourselves, we cannot afford to provide church accommodation for the poor in a proper way, and therefore we are justified in doing it how we can.

But whilst there is only one excuse for galleries, I can give several good reasons for their non-introduction and also for their removal.

In most cases they render the worshippers uncomfortable and the church unhealthy. If they are filled, a close bad atmosphere is generated. If they are empty, what need of them!

They destroy the character, and in most cases have led to the hideous disfigurement of these sacred edifices left to our guardianship and care by our forefathers; and it is a matter for our serious contemplation how far we are justified in destroying and rendering unsightly (under a plea of cheapness of accommodation) works that are so beautiful and appropriate, and which were evidently intended by them to remain so for the benefit of future generations, and for the erection of which they did not grudge their money.

But galleries not only tend to destroy ecclesiastical character, and to cause a place of worship to assimilate with our ordinary secular places of amusement, but they prevent and obstruct the future suitable adornment of the edifice. For instance—who would fill those beautiful windows to the south aisle with stained glass, whilst the galleries cut across, darken, and destroy their effect?

Therefore, when a church contains as many sittings as are to be obtained upon the ground plan, by means of a proper ecclesiastical arrangement, we should stop; not only on account of the comfort of the worshippers, but also on account of their health; also, because we do not choose to afford an excuse to those who might otherwise enlarge it, or build a new church; and also, because we venerate and will not needlessly injure the works of our Christian forefathers.

It is the object of our Society to be practically useful as ecclesiologists, and not mere antiquaries.

If I am right in the suggestions I have made, I leave it to the people of Droitwich and those who feel a local interest in the town, to consider how far it might yet lie in their power to provide fresh accommodation for so large a population of the working classes, by means of a new church, and also to restore the present one to its pristine beauty and character, and do away with the present bad arrangement.

Surely we have all admired the quaint half-timbered houses of this town! Is it not a source of regret that the exterior of the church should have been so marred, and not be more in harmony with them! I do hope, however, it may yet be made, as it easily might be, an ornament and credit to the place, which I do not suppose any one imagines it to be at present.

W. Jeffrey Hopkins.

Salwarpe.

> "*High on a grassy hill the old church stands,*
> "*Apart from human dwelling, grandly lone;*
> "*Eternal vigil o'er the valley lands*
> "*Keeps that grey tower of lichen-covered stone.*
>
> "*Hundreds of winters with their storms have raged*
> "*Round the hoar temple, giant-like upreared,*
> "*Unbent by wars that time and man have waged,*
> "*Firm as the faith its founders old revered.*"

The church of S. Michael, Salwarpe, is beautifully situated on a wooded eminence, overlooking the river of the same name and the Droitwich canal; the latter being conveyed through a deep cutting, which separates the churchyard from the old court-house standing upon the opposite bank.

It is a good example of a plain substantial village church, and consists of chancel, vestry, nave of four bays, north and south aisles, west tower, and south porch.

The arcades are late Norman, the arches being slightly pointed, and resting upon cylindrical piers and capitals, except at the west end, where the piers are square. From the remains of the springing of an arch in the north aisle it would appear as though the tower had, in Norman times, stood over what is now the western bay of the nave; this would also account for the western piers differing from the others in shape. The old chancel arch was Norman, very small and low, and quite plain. It was removed, together with the rood-stairs and a hagioscope or squint, when the chancel was rebuilt.

The aisles extend the whole length of the nave, and encroach a little upon the chancel. They are of the Middle-pointed period, with lean-to roofs of rather low pitch, and two-light windows. The north aisle is apparently later in the style than the other, the windows being deeply recessed from the exterior face of the wall, and having tracery of a flamboyant character. One of these is a wide single light. In the interior of this aisle are four recessed arches, which were probably intended to receive sepulchral monuments, though none appear to have been placed therein. Between these arches and the wall-plate is a deep cutting in the masonry, which formerly contained a sculptured representation of Our Saviour on the cross. It is five feet six inches high, with a transverse recess of proportionate length for the arms. I believe there is but one other instance in England of this sacred subject having occupied a similar position.

Chantrys existed in each aisle, the eastern bays being enclosed by parclose-screens of the Third-pointed style. In the south chantry is a plain piscina; and in the north wall of the opposite one is a narrow trefoil-headed niche. The tower is Third-pointed, having diagonal buttresses and an embattled parapet. The lower stage has a good four-light window, and communicates with the nave by a lofty well-proportioned arch, having panelled sides, but a perfectly plain soffit.

St. Michael's, Salwarpe, Worcestershire.

Under an arch on the north side of the sanctuary lies an excellent recumbent effigy of a priest, holding the foot of a chalice, and having two angels at his head, and a lion at his feet. This effigy has been supposed to represent William Richepot, rector from 1367 to 1401, who founded a chantry here, and is thought to have rebuilt the chancel; but the monument evidently belongs to the 13th century. In the wall above the tomb is a floriated cross, forming part of a coffin-lid, discovered during the rebuilding of the chancel. On the south wall of the chancel is an elaborate monument, of 1613, representing Mr. Thomas Talbot and his wife, kneeling, with their children underneath. At the east end of the south aisle, blocking up a window, is a monument to another of the same family—"Mrs. Olave Talbot, heiress of John Talbot, late of Oakley," who died in 1681, aged 18, and is described as having been "a remarkable instance of early piety and charity."

Extensive restorations were effected in this church in 1848, under the superintendence of Mr. Pickering, of Durham. The chancel was entirely rebuilt at the cost of the then rector, the late Rev. Henry Douglas, canon of Durham. It is of the Middle-pointed style; has an open roof, a four-light east, and two-light side windows; a plain pointed chancel arch and tile pavement. The work is well done for the time, though exception must be taken to the lowness of the east window, to the floor not being raised above the nave, and to the design of the woodwork; the altar rails, especially, are excessively heavy and cumbersome. The old double sedilia, which bore traces of having been coloured blue and vermillion, were rebuilt in the south wall, but outside the rails, so that they cannot be used. The nave and aisles were furnished with new roofs, the floor being relaid with encaustic tiles, and the pews cut down. In 1857 the stonework was cleaned, and during this operation many traces of decorative colour were brought to light, including the figure of a bishop, in tolerable preservation, on one of the pillars. He was represented with mitre and pastoral staff, and surrounded by hammers, tongs, horseshoes, &c., doubtless intended for S. Dunstan, who once presided over the see of Worcester.

The south porch has been rebuilt from a design by Mr. Preedy, in memory of the late Mrs. Martin Ricketts.

In the chancel is a stained glass window by Preedy, to the memory of "William Maynard How." Another, by Wailes, is about to be erected to the late Mr. Martin Ricketts.

The churchyard contains several tombs and headstones, of a better character than are often to be met with in this district; and the cross has been well restored by Mr. P. C. Hardwick, to the memory of a deceased parishioner.

The court-house, previously referred to, is a large half-timber structure, possessing but little architectural interest, and now occupied as a farm-house.

The celebrated Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, was born at Salwarpe, in 1381.

Salwarpe was one of twenty-four manors given by Leofric, Earl of Mercia, to the monastery of Coventry, in 1040.

It appears that "Godwin, brother to Earl Leofric, had long "retained Salwarpe from the church, but upon his death-bed, when "he received Holy Unction from Wolston, then dean, and Wilstan, "afterwards abbot of Gloucester, he by his will restored it to them; "but Agelwin, his son, assisted by his uncle Leofric, made void the "will, and added it to his own possessions, for which the just judg- "ment of God came upon him; he soon after lost his life and all "that he had, ignominiously ending his days in the hut of a cow- "herd, and scarce having two servants to bury him."[6]

After the Conquest, Urso D'Abitot held Salwarpe under Earl Roger, who was lord of a great portion of Shropshire and of the town of Shrewsbury.

The manor was afterwards annexed to the barony of the castle of Worcester, which was held by William de Beauchamp, D'Abitot's heir. It continued in this family till the 15th of Henry VII., when it was forfeited to the crown.

It afterwards passed to the Talbots, one of whom, Sheringham Talbot, was a zealous royalist, and compounded for his estate with the parliament committee for £2011. The property was purchased of the Talbots by Philip Gresley, Esq., from whom it descended to the present proprietor, R. D. Gresley, Esq., of High Park, in this parish.

J. SEVERN WALKER.

(6) Hemming's Chartulary.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO ACCOUNT OF HAMPTON LOVETT AND WESTWOOD.

In the description of the House, cancel the passage (p. 167, line 11), *commencing—"The Saloon, however," and ending "stained glass,"—and substitute the following:—*

"The saloon, however, is a very fine room, occupying the whole width of the first floor towards the south-east; it is lighted by four lofty bay windows, and the walls are hung with rich old tapestry. In the centre of the north-west side is a fine specimen of the lofty and elaborate carved oak fireplaces of the Elizabethan period; but the florid plaster ceiling is a later addition. Immediately under the saloon—and of the same size, though less lofty—is the entrance-hall. It has also four large bay mullioned windows, the upper lights of which are filled with armorial bearings in colored glass; the shields being similar in design to those in Hampton church. The hall opens upon a remarkable staircase of oak, with massive banisters of the same material, supporting at intervals tall Corinthian columns surmounted by globes. The walls are of great height, extending almost to the roof; and the length of the staircase corresponds with that of the house from north-east to south-west. It is lighted by five large mullioned windows, two of them being of unusual size; and over the centre of the staircase is a long gallery, open at both ends, by looking from which, a good idea is obtained of the immense space occupied by this peculiar feature of the house.

"In the north wing is the chapel, used for family worship. It was renovated in its present style about ten years ago, from designs by P. C. Hardwicke, Esq. Over the altar table, which is at the north end, is a ten-light bay window; the six centre lights being filled with stained glass by Messrs. Ward and Nixon, in two subjects—the Nativity and the Ascension. On a bracket against the east wall is a fine marble sculpture by an Italian artist, copied from the celebrated *Pieta* of Michael Angelo, in St. Peter's, Rome."

The following corrections should also be made:—

P, 162, line 28, for *Kitsell*, read *Kitson*.
164, „ 6, „ 1840, read 1849.
165, „ 25, „ *Lord Coventry*, read *Lord Keeper Coventry*.
168, „ 1, „ *Eaton*, read *Eton*.

LEICESTERSHIRE

ARCHITECTURAL AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

Diary of the Rev. Humphrey Michel, Rector of Blaston, and Vicar of Horninghold, 1675–1722. Read at Leicester, on Monday, Oct. 31, 1859. By the Rev. J. H. HILL, Rector of Cranoe.

MR. HUMPHREY MICHEL, the author of the following diary, was presented to the rectory of Blaston by Mr. William Goodman, patron thereof, A.D. 1675; and upon the nomination of Sir Edward Hungerford, Bart., he was inducted to the vicarage of Horninghold, A.D. 1676, which preferments he retained to his death, in the year 1722. This extraordinary and eccentric character was twice married; first to Frances, daughter of Everard Goodman, and granddaughter of Sir Thomas Burton, of Stockerston, Bart., and secondly, to Mrs. Elizabeth Stretton. He published the following sermons: the first entitled "*Duplex in Carolicidas Querela*, or the innocent "Blood of King Charles the Martyr, still crying out against his "petrified murderers, for either better humiliation from them, or "else for worse—Indignation from God:" 1702–3. In the dedication he inveighs bitterly against the disciples of Toland, "who too "presumptuously intrigued and attempted to seduce (if possible) even "our sagacious and religious senate into an irreligious and infamous "repeal of that Anniversary Fasting." In his second sermon, entitled "*Secunda et severior in Carolicidas Querela,*" he endeavours "to excite "and exalt the penitential humiliation of Great Britain, for their "sacrilegious murder, committed upon the sacred and innocent body "of their right faithful and protestant monarch, Charles I." In these sermons "Pontius Bradshaw," "the Oliverian Atheist," and "Drydenian Rakehell," are unmercifully dealt with. Of Mr. Michel's two other sermons, the former is called *St. Paul's triumphant confutation of all the late Jacobitical Schism and Sedition*; 1702; and the latter is on the coronation of Queen Anne.

For further information respecting this singular man, the reader is referred to the Gartree volume of Nichols' History of Leicestershire, where will be found an account of the struggle between the rector of Blaston St. Giles and the tithe-owners.

Mr. Michel was buried under the altar in the church of St. Giles, at Blaston, in the year 1722.

The Diary of Humphrey Michel, 1707–11.

Mem. June 2, 1707. Mr. Conyers began to be a sharer with me in the Monthly Mercury, whereof April Mercury was the first with him.

July 28. Received then out of Mr. Henry Dent's close on the top of the pasture, twelve cocks of tithe hay, worth about 8s. Mr. H. Dent sold this close to Seaton Poor.

Oct. 31, 1707. Mr. J. Vern— dyed, presently after his wife, who were both secret persecutors of me, and encouraged all the rest of the Prig-pated Patrons in their unjust Law-suit agst me. I would have dedicated my discourse against Jacobitism to him, but because that was the subject he refused the dedication, and would not have had me printed it. Not long since he went post haste to Court to beg the favour there for one Mr. B——, his wife's nephew, who had shot to death an innocent harvest man in the field for the sake of his own cruel pleasure. Mr. John Dent observed to my younger son, how suddenly God had cut off Henry Co—-s, his wife and daughter, and now Mr. Vern—, his wife and two sons. I know one who hoped and prayed that Mr. J. V—— might not live to be a lord, nor his wife a lord's lady. And his father, the Lord W——y, is now at Allexton, surviving both.

Nov. 13, 1707. My dear wife dyed of fifteen days' sickness, being about 62 years of age,[1] and about her usual time of going to public prayer; she told me and her sister, about the beginning of her sickness, that her wicked son John had broken her heart, which I believe in a great measure to be true.

Nov. 20. Paid to J. Smith, the clerk at Medbourn, for making my dear wife's grave in the chancel, 2s. 6d.; and for ringing the bell, 1s.

Nov. 5, 1707. J. M. was drunk and running about like a drunken sot, though he promised his mother upon her death bed he would not lead such a drunken course of life any more; and

(1) Sir Thos. Burton married a daughter of Henry Brook, Lord Cobham, by whom he had—

1. Ann, wife of Sir Abel Barker, Bt.
2. Elizabeth, wife of — Green, Esq., of Rolleston.
3. Frances, wife of Everard Goodman, Esq., whose daughter married Humphrey Michel, of Blaston, and died as stated above.

when I asked him where he had been, he answered, like Gehazi to his master, he had been nowhere.

April 13, 1708. Madam Atkins told me Dr. Cosins, Bishop of Durham, and his lady were both virtuous parents, and yet their children were as great reprobates as any, and are all come to nothing.

April 27. My daughter so impudent she sent me a patched shirt, and her brother the whole one.

May 16. Mrs. Atkins desired her husband to tell me what he heard last Wednesday in Worth's shop at Uppingham, and Mr. Atkins told me it was said by some there, that Mr. G. Ashby had said that he would justify that King Charles the 1st was legally put to death.

May 17. One Mr. Wilcox of Knawston, told me, before my son John and Robert Palmer, that the presbyterian Ffancourt of Oakham, (whose son I think is a presbyterian preacher), swore when he voted for Mr. Ashby in another's name, that he had 40 shillings per annum in Leicestershire.

Alas! loyal Horseman! art by the foot outrun!
Cursed be thy fate at Oakham election!
Thou art swift in pleading, but in starting too slow,
Start then sooner next time, while Sherard can only afoot go.

The Election, May 12, 1708.

June 3. Going to visit my brother Goodman, I heard his wife say "it's pity my Lord Griffin should be put to death for being on "the right side;" by which, and other expressions, I perceived she was an obstinate Jacobitess, though she had my two unanswered sermons against Jacobitism.

	£	s.	d.
500 ser. at 4d. per ser. .	8	6	8
500 ser. at 4d. per ser. .	8	6	8
	16	13	4

I assert that Taylor's management of these sermons hath been an impediment, not only of the new imprint of 'em, but also of many others which the author was willing to have published in defence of the present government, both in church and state.

Let Mr. Lamplugh insert in the bill, whether Taylor dispersed my sermons at Oxford, Camb., Dublin, and Edinburgh, and whether he did not set the major of them behind his counter and elsewhere, and not disperse them at all. Taylor's ill dealing was not only a hindrance and damage and disgrace to me in these sermons, but also a hindrance and disgrace and damage to me in other which I had to print, and have to print still.

Smectymnuses was a counterfeit name (in Oliver's tyranny) of ffive presbyterian divines, ye two capital letters of whose name made up the word:
S. M. Samuel Marshal,
E. C. Edmund Calamy,
T. Y. Thomas Young,
M. N. Matthew Newcomen,
W. S. William Saltmarsh;

Which ffive were some of the bitterest writers then against the Church of England.

Mr. Whiteledge, or Whiteleech, in Ave Maria Lane, a bookbinder, said Taylor was a dissenter, and seldom or never came to church, before my son; and Mr. Bowyer, a bookseller at the Rose in Ludgate Hill, said to the same purpose before my son John:

Subpæna 'em.

July 14, 1708. Andrew Smith of Hallaton observed of Parson Bohemy of Hallaton, that Parson Bohemy said in the pulpit, "now "brethren, I could find in heart to give over preaching and come "down to you and dance for joy that that wicked King Charles's "head is cut off;"—that the said regicide parson's wife killed herself with poison, and that the said parson's only son became a fool, and lived and dyed a fool; and that the parson himself ran away from Hallaton at the Restoration, and was never seen there no more.

July 17, 1708. Left then with Mr. Lamplugh, Taylor's abusive letter, a copy of which he promised to keep.

Sept. 8. Memorandum. That my reasons why the parsons of Hallaton should not of right receive the 50s. which they now demand of Mr. John Conyer are these at present—

1. Because Mr. Conyer's estate belongs to Cromwell's manor, no part whereof was ever titheable to the church of St. Michael, which was endowed with the Tithe of Gray's Manour.

2. Because as Mr. Conyer's estate belonged to K. Richard I. manour, all the tithes whereof were settled by the same pious Prince upon St. Giles's church, which being built first by him was his own Royal Donation, as appears by an ancient record at the Hist. Office in Lincoln, a copy whereof I let Mr. Conyer's uncle have.

3. Because the grandfather of my wife's father mentioned in his will, the tithes belonging to St. Giles's church out of his estate, but not one tittle of tithes from thence belonging to St. Michael's church, though he was very great with one Parson Shield of Hallaton, and left him in his will 40 shillings to preach his funeral sermon.

4. Because I have heard my wife's brother, Mr. W. Goodman, who sold to Mr. Conyer's[2] uncle this estate, say, that the 50 shillings now demanded was his father's sheer benevolence to Hallaton parson, and no debt of tythe at all, accordingly he gave Mr. Conyers collateral security.

5. Because I have heard my wife (who was a constant attendant upon her father during sickness) often affirm that when Mrs. Butler (wife of Parson Butler of Hallaton), came to demand 25 shillings as her husband's share, her father sent down Mrs. Butler word, that if she demanded the 25 shillings as due for tithes, she should not have the money, it being no debt of tithes, but his sheer benevolence, which he could and would withdraw at his pleasure; that as for the

(2) The manor of Blaston was bought of William Goodman by Edward Conyers, some time before 1690, whose only daughter was married, 1696, to Baldwin Conyers, Esq., son and heir of Sir J. Conyers, Bart. Edw Conyers died 1701, and the manor continued with his brother and successor, John Conyers, Esq., who enjoyed it till 1735, when it passed to Edw. Conyers, Esq., of Walthamstow.

money which was due to her husband for malt, Paul should thereby pay her husband for that.

6. Because the freeholders' releases to one another upon the enclosure make so great an alteration, as to titheable lands, that the parsons of Hallaton cannot prove which were tytheable to my church and which were titheable to their church; neither can they show (I believe) by their own Tythe Book out of which lands the 50s. are due, and if they could show it by their book, their sole book is not proof enough in law, as I was told by Mr. Parker in my case between Sir Lewis Palmer and myself.

St. Michael I am sure hath wronged St. Giles, particularly as to Holt Closes, owned now by Leonard Vowe, but St. Giles hath not wronged St. Michael.

Sept. 5, 1708. George Stavely, Rector of Medbourne, demanded money of me for my wyfe's burial in Medburn chancel, though he gave me leave, and I had payed his parish clerk, John Smith, 2s. 6d., and Richard Nixon, the mason, 2s. 6d., for the same; and though we have a right of sepulture there, six shillings a year being paid for all such encumbrances, as appears by the Lincoln Record, *Lib: Capella de Blaston, in tempore Johan Dalderby Episc.* 1300.

Taylor sayes in his letter that Nutt published the sermons Redmayne printed; and Redmayne, I think, committed some of 'em to Nutt to be sold: enquire there for the money.

Nov. 6, 1708. George, Prince of Denmark, Lord High Admiral, Generalissimo of all the Queen's forces by sea and land, and husband to the Queen, dyed at Kensington Palace, Oct. 28, 1708, and they say was buried Nov. 4, 1708.

Nov. 24, 1708. Bought by my son John, 23 quarters, less two strikes, of the best malting Barley, at about 24 shillings per quarter.

I left at London, in Easter Term, 1708, with Mr. Henry Clements of St. Paul's Churchyard, ten twin sermons,

Two of Jesu Adoration,
Two of the Martyrdom,
Two Jacobitism,
Two of the Union,
Two of Marlborough's victories.

Dec. 22. Paid Robt. Sewel of Uppingham 10s. for a new saddle, and mending an old one, by my son John.

Jan. 22. Mem: that from St. Stephen till then, there fell such a deep snow we could hardly get to church.

Mem: that according to Dalton, a miller is not to take above one quart of toll out of one strike of hard corn, such as wheat, provided it be carried to him and fetched from him by the owner; but if the miller fetches and brings it, then he may take two quarts: his toll dish must be according to the standard quart; neither is he to buy or sell grain either ground or unground, but to serve people with his mill as above said.

Buy the wonderful and deplorable Hist. of the Jews by Josephus Ben Gorion, price 2s.

The winter of 1708 was such a cold freezing winter that I was forced to preach but once a fortnight sometimes, for fear I should

starve myself and my hearers, which case, the command of God, *I will have mercy and not sacrifice,* must constrain our obedience thereto.

March 6. Ordered Henry Brown and Robt. Williamson to have a pennyworth of ale apiece, and so every Sunday, till I forbid the same.

March 28. Left with Mr. John Lamplugh, an attorney, my letter to my Lord Chancellor Cowper, touching my two martyrdom printed sermons, and my letter from my cousin Carter, an antient Counsellor, touching the White house estate at Blaston.

Mem: that Sir Littleton Powis, Judge, about Lady Day, 1709, acquitted one Barrett, though a murderer, being of the whig party and we doubt a briber, or somebody for hire.

Mem: that Will. Cowper, Lord Chancellor, determined against Henry Carter, against the judgments of the Counsel on both sides, and all the Counsellors desired copies of Bletsoe's will, and we doubt bribery was the corruption to the utter ruin of the man and his child now kept by my charity.

The whig party causes (they say) generally prevail among the Judges, Justices, &c.

April 12, 1709. Given then to one Mr. Boucher, a Jacobite minister out of place, my two sermons agst the Jacobites, and my sermon upon the Queen's coronation, to convert him, and for his present support 2s.; he had lived as schoolmaster in Warwickshire, and was now going for Warrington, in Lancashire.

A tanner of Lutterworth comes every Tuesday to Harboro'.

The late Edward Conyers, Esq., ows me for a mortuary 10s., for about 22 Easter Offerings, at 5d. per ann., 9s. 2d., and for about 12 years' Easter Offering for his daughter, 12d.; sue Mrs. Vincent for these dues, she being Executrix.

1 0 2

April 16, 1709. Paid then by my son John to Mr. Ward, of Leicester, 3s. 6d. for the Archdiaconal Synodal, due at Mich. last.

April 29, 1709. Received of Samuel Henry, Samuel Goward, Mary Burton, Mary Jones, and Betty Ingram, Mrs. Goodman's servants, 2d. a piece for their Easter Offerings, due this Easter.

April 26, 1709. Paid to Mr. Hanbury, by Mr. Lamplugh, 20s. for counsel about Taylor.

May 3, 1709. Mr. L—— V—— (they say) dyed, and I doubt as he lived, a drunken God robber; he had been nine or ten days my scholar, and they say was carried home drunk from Bandy Carter's about five or six days before he dyed; and about an hour before he dyed he sent for Parson Ff——e to give him the sacrament, but I hear of no restitution he made to our churches, and yet some fools say he made a good end and made his peace with God. *Proh pacem ffallaciem!*

July 21. I gave a poor woman and other travellers taken by a ffrench privateer, the ship called the Martha of Dublin, 1s. for the town.

Paid then by my son John to Bishop Wake, 1s. 6d., for shewing my Institution into Horninghold and my priest's orders, 1s. for

Institution, 6d. for priest's orders, which was more by six pence (I doubt) than was due by the canon. June 1, 1709.

June 11. Being St. Barnabas' Festival and Whitsun eve, one Thomas Holmes of Horninghold, a labourer, was dowsed three times for a witch, and did not sink but swim, though his hands and feet and head were all tyed fast together, and all this was done in the Dungeon Pit in Blaston, before 500 people (they say) and by commutation of punishment for stealing Mr. Atkin's malt.

June 17. Being Whitsun week, one Elizabeth Ridgway and Jane Barlow of Horninghold, were both by consent dowsed for witches, and did not sink but swim, though their hands and feet were tyed together before some thousands of people at the Dungeon Pit in Blaston lordship.

June 18. The said Jane Barlow, 40 years old, would be dowsed again to clear herself, but in the great close Pond, because she said that was not enchanted as Dungeon Pit (she said) was, and yet in the sight of many hundreds of people and myself she did not sink there but swim again, though she was ty'd as before, and one Mary Palmer, her sister, a cripple from her cradle, almost 42 years old, was dowsed there for a witch several times, and though bound hands and feet did not sink but swim before all the said company, whereas one Joseph Harding, servant to Robert Clarke, being hired with a collection of our money, to be dowsed, and being bound hands and feet did not swim, but sunk immediately like a stone before us all.

Aug. 18, 1709. William Kerby told me that Parson Boheme of Hallaton, being a Presbyterian parson, ordered one Hugglescote, a slater, to wash out the King's arms in the church, whereupon the slater said to the parson, "Sir, Must I wash out Fear God, too?" "Yes, yes, by all means," said the parson, "for Fear God puts the "people in mind of Honour the King, a notorious rogue."

Aug. 15, 1709. One ffrances Sharp, the wife of Thomas Sharp, was buryed, and was in all probability bewitched to death by one Widow Ridgway; for the other confessed that the said Ridgway appeared to her in very terrible shapes, and before she dyed she neither ate nor drank of eleven days, but said she could have done both very heartily, but that the little thing in her bosom told her she must do neither; and while the white witch of Kibworth, one Clow, had ordered a charm to be sewed, and kept it in her shift about her bosom, she did eat and drink, but when she had scratted it away, she never ate nor drank more. Witnesses, her own sister, her sister's daughter, &c., &c.

Sept. 12, 1709. Mem: that my servant Mary Ellis I would not hire again because she is a heathen in point of knowledge, very idle in her way of work, has spoiled several vessels of wood, pewter, and brass, lost my door key to have my house robbed, &c.

Oct. 2, 1709. A wench of the widow Barlow, a supposed witch, went out of the church when I had named and read my text, Deut. chap. 18, where is the word witch.

I hired Elizabeth Gibbon of Hallaton to serve a year for 40 shillings, whereof she had 12 pence in part, witness, my son John.

Jan. 20, 1710. They say that one Gervase Butler and one Mary Michel were married by Thos. Michel, but utterly against her father's consent, so rebellious a rogue was the son, and so rebellious a jade was the daughter.

Left with my Lord Nottingham, in cherry time, about St. Peter, *Scheba Sacerdotalis,* &c., and two sermons against rebellion, upon Neh. 2, &c., "Will you rebel against the king?"

Oct. 5, 1710. Sent my Lord Nottingham—

1. Sovereignty subject to duty, a Sermon, preached at the Queen's Coronation.
2. *Subditi Regicidæ, &c.,* preached Jan. 30, 2 Sam. i. 14.
3. The spirit of disloyalty disapproved, &c., preached Jan. 30: Prov. 30. "Against whom, &c."
4. *Regicid: David: Reprobat:* preached Jan. 30: 2 Sam. i. 14.

Nov. 2. Received back from my Lord Nottingham—*Antidot: Stoughton:* and my 2 sermons, Neh. ii. 19, "Will you rebel," &c.

Jan. 12, 1711. Steeped at Barradon for me six quarters of good barley then paid for at 2s. 9d. per strike, the said six quarters of barley at 2s. 9d. per strike was bought of Adam Elsam, whose strike is counted the best measure.

Jan. 15, 1711. They say about Monday T—— B——, another of my persecutors, was suddenly deprived of his life, according to that commination of David, *God ordaineth his arrows against the persecutors.* So that other commination of God, Cursed be he that smiteth his neighbour secretly. Amen. He dyed of diabetes, the same distemper that his co-partner in sacrilege, E. C., and the royal rogue and God Robber, Belshazzar, dyed of.

Jan. 22, 1711. Received then of Mr. J. Conyers, Mr. Prudham, &c., the sacrilegious sum of six pounds for a year and a half's tithes, due at Michs. last. Paid Conyers off then for grind and butter.

Jan. 24, 1711. Paid then to Mr. Anthony ffish, ye hatter, for my wedding hat, 12s., with a rose hat-band, witness, Betty Burton.

Mem: that Rob. Clark of Horninghold, sometimes a goer to another parish church, but for the great part a goer to Ashley Barn Conventicle, did gather together at a cockfyhting at Medbourn, at Sturgesses, one Rock, of Wellingborough, with many other profane fellers, Jan. 25, St. Paul's conversion; such unserious, ungodly, unthankful wretches are some church folks and some conventiclers upon the holy festival of that wonderful convert!

Jan. 30, 1710. Mem: that I officiated not then at Horninghold for fear I should catch cold to ye hazard of my life from the chancel windows, these being broken, and yet Mr. Atkins, the impropriator, would not upon my several warnings of him get 'em mended this frosty and snowy weather.

Feb. 4. Mem: that John Fish the Quaker, borrowed of me long since back *Eikon Basilike* and Dr. Sachverell's serm.

March 5. Had of John Dumbartha, Scotchman, 3 yds. of black silk for a scarf for my wife, about 12 shillings; he would needs leave it.

March 17, 1711. Lent John Fish by my son John, 4 guinneys, to be paid me again in guinneys.

Paid then Mr. Ant. Fish by his labourer, 9 shillings for six strikes of oats by my servant, Betty Burton.

March 21, 1711. Had of Saml. Porter 2 quarters of veal, about 4s., a loin of veal, 1s. 2d., calf's pluck, head, and feet, about 2d.

March 29, 1711. Had of Saml. Porter, a hinde quarter of veal at about 1s. 8d. *March* 31, a fore quarter of veal almost 14 pounds, at about 2s.

April 5. Had of Mr. Conyers a pound of butter, 4d.

April 11, 1711. Had of Saml. Porter, a leg of mutton, 1s. 3d., five pound and a half.

May 3, 1711. Mem: my son John bought for me 6 t'winters[3] at £6, 1 at £2, 1 at £1 11s., his charges 1s. 6d., driving home, 1s. 6d., 1s. for his pains. John Fish paid him then but £3 15s. for the 4 guinneys he borrowed of me.

May 15, 1711. Received then a pound of butter from Mrs. Conyer, 4d., towards tithes; and ground the next day at her mill one strike of malt, 1d.

June 13. Had of John Pott—

12 yards half silk . .	12	0
4 yards of calico, 2s. 8d. .	10	8
1 yard of calico . .	2	4
	1 5	0

July 6, 1711. Sir Edward Hungerford (my patron for Horninghold) deceased; having in a few years spent an estate of 15 thousand per annum, said my Lord Rockingham's news letter, July 9, 1711.

July 21, 1711. My Lord Nottingham sent me from Burley Park a haunch of venison an inch and a half thick of fat, for which I gave his keeper half a crown, the haunch weighing 19lb.

July 22, 1711. Sunday, eight past Trinity, I saw none of Mr. Lowth's family at church, I suppose they stayed at home to look after the venison pasty, or they disliked my discourse in vindication of the Lord's prayer against the Presbyterians.

Richard Varney or Verney, Lord Willoughby de Broke, died about July 28, 1711, being aged 90 years, born or baptized Jan. 28, 1621; his estates and honours are descended to Dr. George Verney, prebend of Windsor, his only son.

(3) "*T'winters*," for *two winters*, a current word, in Leicestershire and Northamptonshire, for horses, when they have passed the second winter and are not arrived at the third.

Pedigree of the family of Burton.

BY REV. H. MICHEL.

Sir W. Burton is, by that author (query the historian of Leicestershire?) affirmed to have been one of the Justices of the King's Bench, in the reign of Edwd. III. He was Lord of Foxton, and had other lands in the county of Leicester, but Toltrop in Rutland was his chief seat. The pedigree setting forth his issue, and their several matches, is as follows, viz.:—

Sir William Burton, Knt., *ob.* 49 Edw. III.=Eleonor.

Sir Thomas Burton, Knt., *ob.* 8 Rich. II.=Margaret, daughter of John Greenham, Esq.

Sir Thomas Burton, Knt.=...... daughter of Simon Louth, Esq.

Thomas Burton, Esq.=...... daughter of Sir R. Brabeson, Knt., 1st wife.
=...... daughter of Sir Hugh Bushy, Knt., 2nd wife.

William Burton, Esq.=...... daughter of John Folville, of Ashby Folville, co. Leicester.

J. Burton, Esq., of Upingham=...... daughter of Thomas Bussing.

Thomas Burton=...... daughter of R. Lowe, of Denbigh, co. Derby

John Burton, of Braunston, *ob.* 1 Mary=...... daughter of Blackdill (or Blackmill?)

William Burton, of Braunston=Alice, daughter of Richard Peck.

John Burton=Ann, daughter and heiress of Thomas Digby, Esq. | Bartin Burton=Abigal, daughter of F. Chilsnly. of Oakham, Esq. | Simon Burton, of Braunston. | Andrew Burton, of Exton, Gent. | Mabell, wife of J. Booth, Gent.

Sir Thomas Burton=Philippa, daughter of Henry Brook, Lord Lord Cobham, Knt. of the Garter, 4. Q. Elizabeth. (Sir Thomas Burton of Stockerston, co. Leicester, Bart., created 20th July, Jac. 20.)

Andrew Burton, of Oakham, Esq.= | Cornelius Burton, of Oakham, Esq.

Cornelius?

Sir Thomas Burton, Bart.=Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Prettyman, Bart. | Ann, wife of Sir Abel Barker, Bart. | Elizabeth, wife of — Green, Esq. of Roulston, Leicestershire. | Frances=Everard Goodman, Esq.

Sir Thomas Burton, Bart.=Ann, eldest daughter of Sir Thos. Clutterbuck, Bart.

1. Anne,
2. Abigail,
3. Mabell,
4. Elizabeth,
5. Mary,
6. Sarah.

Frances=Humfrey Michel, Rector of Blaston.

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MDCCCLX.

VOL. V., PT. II.

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DIOCESE OF LINCOLN,

ARCHDEACONRY OF NORTHAMPTON,

COUNTY OF BEDFORD,

DIOCESE OF WORCESTER,

AND

COUNTY OF LEICESTER,

DURING THE YEAR MDCCCLX.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

In presenting the remaining portion of the Fifth Volume of the Associated Societies' Papers to their respective members, the General Secretary begs to express his hope that this portion of their conjoint publication will be deemed worthy of comparison with those that have preceded it.

The several Treatises contained in the present half-volume do not on the whole occupy so many pages as usual, and its bulk is consequently somewhat diminished; but on the other hand, owing to the great liberality of their Graces the Dukes of Portland and Newcastle, and of Mrs. Miles of Firbeck Hall, it will probably be admitted that the Illustrations are at least on a par in value and character with any set that has previously appeared.

Notwithstanding the careful attention always demanded, and endeavoured to be given to, the supervision of the various Papers as they are passing through the press, an error has escaped detection in the one on Bolsover Castle, by the Rev. J. Hamilton Gray, at page 228, where eighteenth century is given instead of seventeenth century.

EDWARD TROLLOPE,

General Secretary.

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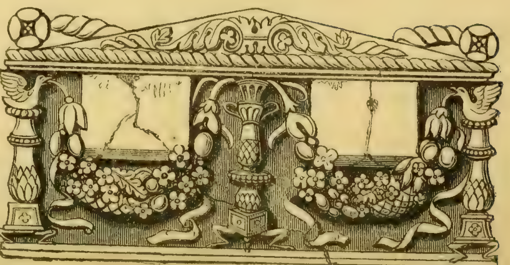

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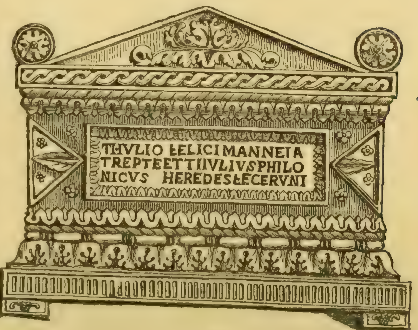

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ARCHITECTURAL SOCIETY

OF

THE DIOCESE OF LINCOLN.

A Description of the Society's Temporary Museum at Worksop. By the Rev. Edward Trollope, M.A. F.S.A.

To some the contents of this Museum may appear to be a collection of odds and ends—mixed up together in a most hopeless state of confusion; or simply a curious sight, but one from which little instruction can be gathered. But, after a due examination of the same, it will be found that, by a careful arrangement of the objects here submitted to public notice, the History of England has been thereby ethnologically illustrated, as well as the condition of the arts in this and some other countries during various past years. We have here traces of each race that has in turn occupied the soil of our country, exemplified by their arms, domestic implements, pottery, &c. We have the progress of English Architecture displayed by numerous paintings, drawings, photographs, and engravings, commencing with the Saxon period, and closing with that of the Renaissance, in addition to those representing works of the present day. We have exemplifications of the Arts, and their various ramifications, as practised century after century, from the days of Roman rule in Britain to the present century. We have objects of antiquity throwing light upon by-gone customs, or that once belonged to persons of historical note. We have a large collection of missals, rare books, charters, patents, royal and other letters; and we have a very valuable collection of paintings—more or less connected with the objects whose study we have in view—namely, Architecture and History.

We will commence with a glance at the oldest series of antiquities in this room—those from Egypt—kindly exhibited and arranged by the Rev. W. F. Hood. Among these are two papyri from Thebes. One of these, in hieroglyphics, is a very early one, not later than the 18th dynasty (B.C. 1400). It contains a remarkable list of the gods of Egypt, together with the names of the several Nomes or districts over which each presided. The papyrus plant is now unknown in Egypt, in fulfilment of the prophecy, *The paper reeds by the brooks, by the mouth of the brooks,......shall wither, be driven away, and be no more.* Isaiah xix. 7; and yet its other name of

"Byblus" has been destined to give the name to that sacred volume in which the prophecy of its loss in Egypt is contained.

Upwards of a hundred scarabæi, or sacred beetles, in granite, agate, cornelian, lapis lazuli, amethyst, and porcelain. These were symbols of the great deity *Pthah,* or the Creator, and on them are the names of several of the Pharaohs and their queens, dating from B.C. 2020, to 600, including those of Pthothmes III., the supposed Pharaoh of the Exodus: Amunoph, the vocal Memnon, and his queen: Horus, and the queen of Pharaoh Nechoh.

A great variety of necklaces and bracelets (one composed of golden bees with a scarabæus in the centre), found in the tomb of a lady, who lived B.C. 2020.

Articles belonging to a lady's toilet, consisting of bronze looking-glasses, combs, hair and other pins, kohl for staining the eye-lashes and brows, in little cases, together with the bodkins for applying the same; and small alabaster vases intended to hold oils and scents, &c.

Bronze figures of Osiris, Horus, Pthah, &c., from Memphis. Bronze surgical instruments, including the sharp Ethiopian stone used by the "parascistes" or cutter, in making the first incision in bodies previous to their embalment. Children's toys from a tomb in Thebes, such as dolls, balls, ring-rattles, sets of draughtsmen, &c. Male and female sandals, and a Chinese bottle from a Theban tomb.

A stone cylinder, bearing the name of Thothmes III. (B.C. 1500), recording his victories, and his erection of an obelisk.

Of the Greek period, a small marble head of Venus, of great beauty, found in the Ptolemaic temple of Edfou, and encaustic tiles from the Delta.

Of the Christian period, remains from the tombs at Thebes, from the time of its commencement to A.D. 500, such as inscriptions, encaustic tiles, and Cufic coins from the vicinity of old Cairo, dating from A.D. 700, to A.D. 1200.

Bowl and spoons from Cairo, of the time of the Memlooks.

The Celtic Period.

Daggers, leaf-shaped bronze swords, and a collection of celts, (exhibited by Mr. E. Peacock;) flint arrow-heads, and pottery.

The Roman Period.

Roman architecture abroad, illustrated by a fine old engraving of the Forum of Nerva at Rome, exhibited for the purpose of comparing an arch in that structure with the *Newport Arch* at Lincoln; also engravings or photographs of the triumphal arch at Orange, enriched with naval trophies; of the beautiful little Corinthian temple, now termed the *Maison Carrée,* at Nismes; and of many of the principal remaining temples and other ancient edifices at Rome—chiefly contributed by Mrs. Miles of Firbeck Hall.

The remains of Roman structures in England, profusely displayed by a long series of coloured representations of tesselated pavements, such as those at Lincoln, Caistor, Denton, Stourton, Scampton, Roxby, Winterton, Horkstow, &c., also those lately discovered in Apethorpe Park; as well as plans of villas, of their hypocaustal heating-apparatus, and their mural decorations.

Roman art, represented by engravings of the mode in which metals were smelted and coins were made by that people. Specimens of their skill in working metals, as shewn by means of superb coloured engravings of a golden wreath, and an embossed silver salver, now preserved in the Royal Museum at Vienna: copies of jewellery in gold from Rome and Pompeii, the property of Mrs. Miles: and bronze bracelets and fibulæ found in this country. Roman excellence in the manufacture of glass exemplified by copies of the Naples and Auldjo vases, which bear white figures beautifully cut in high relief upon a deep but bright blue ground: and Roman taste as to form and ornamentation, displayed by various specimens of their pottery, including many of Samian ware.

But the most valuable objects belonging to the Roman department were four funeral urns, of white marble, the property of his Grace the Duke of Newcastle, and possessing great beauty simply as works of art. His Grace has also greatly enhanced his kindness in lending these valuable urns for exhibition by presenting the Society with engravings of the same, forming the frontispiece to this notice of the Worksop Museum.

No. 1 bears the following inscription on the two small front panels: M. CAEDICI. FAVSTI. NEGOCIATOR. DE. SACRA. VIA. CAEDICIA. SYNTYCHE. CONLIBERTA,—one that is interesting as bearing reference to a tradesman of the celebrated *Via Sacra* at Rome. The birds pecking at a basket of fruit between them would seem to claim a Christian origin for this work of art, had not the ox's head and pendant sacrificial garland in addition to the heads at the angles—apparently of Jupiter Ammon—pointed to heathenism; the garland intermixed with birds, below the inscription, is both rich and graceful.

No. 2 rises from an enriched plinth, bearing first, on the pediment of its coped lid, the inscription D.M. M IVNI. IVNIANI. and, on a panel below, D.M. ANTONIA. TARENTINA. CONIVGI. BENE. MERENTI. FECIT.—forming a short, but affectionate epitaph from a wife to a husband, worthy in these respects of modern imitation. Four masks are placed at the corners of the lid; and on another part of the urn appears a boar, for which animal Tarentum was famous. The figures sculptured in front perhaps represent one of the funereal games.

No. 3 is a well designed coped urn, both its form and details having received much careful attention. Within a long panel, surrounded by an enriched moulding, is this inscription: TI. IVLIO. FELICI. MANNEIA. TREPTEETI. IVLIVS. PHILONICUS. HEREDES. FECERVNT.

No. 4 is a longer and lower urn than the others, having two small panels prepared for inscriptions, which never appear to have been filled up. Small fanciful pillars, or candelabra, surmounted by birds, form the angles of the urn, from which depend rich garlands of fruit.

The Saxon Period.

A rich array of Saxon weapons and other articles was exhibited, chiefly by the Society's General Secretary. Among these the most remarkable were bosses of shields, spear-heads of various forms and lengths—some retaining within their sockets portions of the wooden shafts to which they were originally attached, knives, hair-combs, beads, spindle-whirls, pottery, &c. Saxon architecture was represented by photographs of Stow, Little Sompting, and other churches, portions of which are of that early period.

From this point a very complete chain of architectural illustrations commenced, reaching to the 16th century, when the spirit of Gothic architecture was fading away previous to its entire temporary loss.

These illustrations were contributed chiefly by Mrs. Miles, Mr. Theophilus Smith, and the Society's Secretary.

Of the Norman type, the most remarkable were some beautiful photographs of Steetley church, and drawings or engravings of the rich doorways of Quarrington church, the *Abbaye aux Hommes* at Caen, and many others; but the most valuable, as a work of art, was a painting by Mackenzie of the interior of Newcastle castle, lately presented to the Society by Mrs. Ellison of Sudbrooke Holme. These were succeeded by others of the cathedral at Lincoln: the abbies of Fountains, Tintern, Roche, and Kirkstall: the foreign churches of Chartres, Vienne, *Santa Maria de la Salute* at Venice, St. Ouen at Rouen, and the English ones of Heckington, Sleaford, Algarkirk, and many others: together with the large and singularly faithful series of Lincolnshire churches, drawn by Mr. John Ross of Lincoln, and kindly lent by him for exhibition. Grand designs for stained glass windows were shown by Mrs. Miles, principally of the Munich school; and others, of French origin, by M. Didron, illustrating Charity, and the Descent of our Lord from David—the property of the Society's Secretary.

A large drawing of a mural painting lately revealed in the north aisle of Kirton-in-Lindsey church was exhibited by the incumbent, the Rev. T. F. Stuart. It represents the Crucifixion, with the Virgin and St. John below; the former of whom catches the Saviour's blood in a cup, as it flows from His side, while that from His hands springs in separate streams towards various groups of figures; these are more or less injured, but they represented the Sacraments of the Romish church. Above the Cross, the sun and moon are delineated.

Sepulchral memorials were represented by the cast of an early Norman cross-shaft from Sheffield: a most beautiful coped coffin-

lid, of a very rich and graceful design surmounted by a cross, from St. John's near Laughton-en-le-Morthen: and by a large number of designs for tombstones, exhibited by Mr. Theophilus Smith of Sheffield, many of which were very artistic and worthy of adoption.

A most valuable collection of missals, &c., &c., twenty-six in number, was obligingly lent by W. Bragg, Esq., of Sheffield, including the works of Confucius, a fine specimen of the Koran, and others, displaying very fine illuminations.

Never before was so good a collection of charters, deeds, and patents exhibited by the Society. Among these were faithful copies of Magna Charta, the warrant for the execution of Charles I., and of Mary Queen of Scots: patents, creating Sir William Cavendish viscount Manfield, Nov. 3, 1621 ; baron Haughton, earl of Clare, Nov. 2, 1625 ; viscount Mansfield, baron Cavendish of Bolsover, March 7, 1628 ; William, earl of Newcastle, marquess of Newcastle, Oct. 27, 1644 ; the same nobleman, earl of Ogle, March 17, 1666 ; and John, earl of Clare, marquess of Clare, May 14, 1695. Also an inventory of the effects of Denzil Holles, on a long slip of parchment, dated May 15, 1590.

Among the books was a most valuable MS. account of the regalia, jewels, and plate of Henry VIII., when in the custody of Sir Henry Wyatt, by whom the volume was prepared, with the assistance of one Plowfeld. It is in its original parchment binding, and is signed repeatedly by the king. This was shown by the Duke of Portland; also the MS. of the Marquis of Newcastle's treatise on Horsemanship, a French printed version of the same, and a fine copy of Ben Jonson's *Love's Welcome*, dated 1633.

Several of the royal and other letters are so interesting that, by the kind permission of their owner, the Duke of Portland, some are subjoined at length, and extracts are given from others.

A Letter from Charles II., directed in cypher to a nobleman, and sealed with a small octagonal signet, bearing the royal arms, requesting the loan of £500 ; *dated St. Germains, Aug.* 29, 1649.

"My Lord,

I heartily thank you for the courtesy you lately did mee which came very seasonably and safe hither. I have great necessity of 500lbs. to be disbursed in the place whare you are, w^h^ summ I desyre you to lend mee, and I promise on my Royall word to see it faithfully repaid : I have troubled few of my friends in this kind, and I have had such testimony of yor affection to my now Glorious Father as well as to myself, that I doubt not yor reall Answer to this Desyre of

Yo^r^ assured faithfull friend,

St. Germains, CHARLES R.

Aug. 29, 1649."

A Letter from Charles II., commanding two bucks to be killed and delivered to the bearer, dated St. Germanis, Aug. 29, 1649.

"Charles R.

Our will and pleasure is that upon sight hereof you kill and deliver to this bearer one brace of good Bucks of this season. And for so doing this shall be y^r^ Warrant.

Given at St. Germains the 29th day of August, 1649."

A Letter in cypher, signed "R. Culpepper," found in a small box at Welbeck Abbey, with letters from Charles II., addressed in cypher, and thus prefaced:

"I desire y^u^ to give full creditt to the bearer, for whose secrecy I will answer. What he will move to y^u^ will be very acceptable to y^r^ best friend, a very seasonable kindness w w^n^ in my power I shall requite, and so much advantage (if it speed) to y^r^ self, the particulars I refer to his relation, and remayn

Y^r^ very affectionate friend.

He will lend you the bag
in which you may write back."

A Letter from Charles II. to one of his agents, exhibiting his love for the fine arts in the anxiety therein expressed for the rescue of the royal library, medals, pictures, &c., from the hands of despoilers, in the midst of a period of great danger and excitement.

"Charles R.

Instructions for our trusty & welbelovd John Berkinhead,
Dated at St. Germains the 4th of September 1649.

You are to desire those whom you know well affected to our Service, that they would redeeme as much of our Goods, especially of our Library, Medals, Pictures, and Hangings (wch now are exposed to sale) as their severall abilities will permit. Assuring them, that as we will looke upon it as a very acceptable service, Soe we promise for their security, that all such Goods as shall by them be redeemed, shall remaine in their owne custody & disposall, untill we shall refund what was by them disbursed in the said Redemption, with full Interest untill their Money be repayd.

You are also to keepe a particular List of what Goods shall be so redeemed, With names of the sevrall persons who disbursed the Money, & how much they disbursed.

You are likewise to make diligent enquiry in whose hands those goods remaine, wch are already embezeled, or excepted from publique Sale, that so (if possible), they may be recovered hereafter.

You are to send unto us (whereever we shall be) as frequent and good intelligence, as you can procure, and to endeav^r^ the like to Prince Rupert & the Marqnis of Ormond, till it shall please God that we be safely arrived in Ireland.

You are to send a messenger on purpose, or so repaire yo Selfe to Vs, when the Occasion shalbe of such Weight & Concernment, as will require more speed & safety than the ordinary way of conveyance: And in such cases to send an Express likewise to Prince Rupert or the Marquis of Ormond.

You are to desire our friends on this great occasion, to lend to Vs what money they can possibly spare, assuring them on our Royall Word (wch we resolve strictly to observe) of very faithfull repayment with full Interest of what they shall lend upon this pressing necessity. And all such Moneyes as you shall receive you are to convey to Vs, as we shall give order after significacon under y^r^ hand of the receipt thereof.

C. R."

A Manuscript copy of the Proclamation of Charles II., *issued from Castle Elizabeth in the Isle of Jersey, October*, 1649, *containing the following passages:*

"We can not without unspeakable griefe & sorrow call to mind, nor without horror expresse that our deare and Royall Father King Charles, of ever blessed memory, hath been most barbarously and most cruelly murthered by the hands of bloody Traitors and Rebells, within our kingdom of England, with proceedings and circumstances so prodigious, that the particulars induce rather amazement than expression. And although we have hitherto seemed silent in a matter so highly concerning us, as not publickly to expresse to the people of England our griefe of

heart and high detestation of that heynous fact. Yet being now safely arrived in a small part of our owne Dominions at the Island of Jersey, We have thought fitt, rather from hence, where our Kingly authority takes place, than from any foreign Country, where we have been hitherto necessitated to reside, publickly to declare, That out of a bitter sense and indignation of those horrid proceedings against our deare Father, We are according to the Lawes of Nature and Justice firmly resolved by the assistance of Almighty God, though we perish alone in the enterprise, to be a severe avenger of his innocent blood, which was so barbarously spilt, and which calls so lowd to Heaven for vengeance: And we shall therein by all wayes and meanes possible endeavour to pursue and bring to their due punishment those bloody Traytors, who were either Actors or Contrivers of that unparalled and inhumane Murther. And since it hath pleased God so to dispose, as by such an untimely Martyrdome to deprive us of so good a Father, and England of so gracious a King, We doe further declare that by his death the Crowne of England with all priveleges, Rights, and Preheminences belonging thereunto is by a cleare and undoubted right of succession Justly and lineally descended upon us, as next and immediate Heyre and Successor thereunto without any Condition or Limitation, without any Intermission or Claime, without any Ceremony or Solemnity whatever; And that by vertue thereof We are now in Right lawfully seized of the said Crowne."

A Letter from Thomas Hearne, the antiquary, sealed with an antique of Mercury, and directed "*To the Rt. Honble. Edward, Earl of Oxford, at his house in Dover Street, near Piccadilly, Westminster*;" and dated "Edmund Hall, Oxford, Sept. 1, 1730;" in which he thanks the Earl for a loan of his copy of a transcript MS. of Hemyngford, which had been corrected by Bp. Stillingfleet, and encloses a copy of his Notes on a certain book called *The Customs of London*, by Arnold, a London citizen. This he asserts was worked up by Bale in his Repertory, or *Repertorium*. The first edition, he thinks, was printed about 1502, and the second in 1521.

In it he states was a copy of that ancient ballad, *The Nut-brown Maid*, thought by Hearne to have been written by Thomas Elmham, author of the Life of Henry V: and he also alludes to an interesting passage in John Rastall's chronicle, referring to a mayor of London betaking himself for the first time to the river for the purpose of being sworn in, instead of riding to Westminster, to this effect:

"Also in xxxiii yere of this kynge (Hen. VI.) one Johan Norman, Mayre of London, went to Westmynster by barge to take his othe, whiche before that tyme were ever wont to ryde by lande, for which the watermen made a songe to his great prayse, which began *Row thy bote, Norman*."

Another from the same to the same, announcing the return of the MS. of Hemyngford, and asking for the loan of another of the *Chronicon Abingdoniense*. Dated "Edmund Hall, Oxford, Nov. 24, 1730."

A fourth from the same to the same, referring to the first edition of *Durandus*, and questioning whether it or the *Catholicon* was the earliest printed book: asking for the loan of MSS., and whether in the Earl's collection he had the *Chronicle of Lanercost*, "out of which," says he, "Mr. Wharton hath published several things relating to Robt. Grosthead, Bp. of Lincoln, in the 11th part of his *Anglia Sacra*."—Dated, Edm. Hall, Jan. 9th, 1731.

Six months later, Hearne wrote the following short but eager letter to the Earl, about the subject of Durandus:—

"My Lord,

I forgot in my late to mention Durandus's *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum.* There is one in All Souls' College Library, in vellum, but imperfect and without date. I have been told that in your Ldship's library is one (in Vellum also), w^h^ if so, I humbly desire to know whether be any date, and whether the place where printed be mentioned in it?"—Dated, July 5th, 1731.

But it was upwards of five months before Hearne received an answer from Lord Oxford. At length, however, he wrote the following letter, a copy of which was exhibited.

Wimpole, Dec. 25, 1731.

"Sir

I assure you I am very sorry I have not answered your Letters which you was so kind to send me. I tell you truly it proceeded not from any neglect of you or any unwilling's to communicate to you anything in my power; for whenever I have any opportunity to pleasure you with anything I have it is a very great satisfaction to me:———— as to your letter in relation to *Durandus*, I could not for some time come at the Book, to answer your question fully at least to go as far as I could. There is a *Durandus Rationale Divinorum Officiorum* in All Souls Library very imperfect. I believe it was discovered to be that Book by Dr. Tanner. I have been so told. I have some reason to think that this was the only copy in England of that Book till the year 1715, when the copy came over which I have; it is printed in Folio upon Velum, and very fair; it contains 319 pages; at the end is printed in Red Ink, what I have here inclosed, I have had it done for you in as exact a way as any one I have could do it here in the country. I will take notice to you of a great mistake of *Mentelius* in his Book *De vera Typographiæ origine*, in quarto; I think it plain he did not see the book, page 68; if you have not the book I will have the place transcribed for you.

The next book I have is the *Catholicon*, *Joan. Januensis*, upon Vellum, in two vol. in folio Velum printed in 1460. I have had transcribed what is printed at the beginning of the first volume of the Vellum, as also what is printed at the end of the work. I have this printed also upon paper the same year; this is only bound in one vol. I will take notice to you that greater care was taken in the Illuminating the Vellum books than the paper ones, as appears from this work both printed in one year. I have a great number of old printed books, which I think if they were considered, something would come out as to printing and the History of it then has yet been taken notice of, though perhaps I may be mistaken.

I have a great number of Books printed by Caxton, and in very good condition, except a very few. I think the number is forty-two: have you any notes relating to that good Honest man? I think he deserves those Titles, and I may add Industrious too. I have several very curious books printed by those that succeeded him in that work, I mean that business.

Pray what is your opinion of that book said to be printed of Oxford in 1468, the Signatures stare one in the face. I do not know how to get off of that affair as yet, I hope you will help me; that only sticks with me.—The Register of A-B-p Bourchier is I think not in being.

As to what you desire in your letter of Nov. 17 that I would lend you Mr. Wanleys Transcript of *Benedictus Abbas Petroburgensis de vita et gestis Henrici* 2^di^; this brings into my mind the terrible Calamity that has befallen the Cottonian Library through the Villiany of that monster in Nature, Bentley. He must be detested by all humane creatures, I mean the civilised part of them. I think the man that stole the books at Cambridge by much the honester man. I beg pardon for this, but I have not been yet able to bring myself either to write or speak on this subject with any sort of Temper or patience, I believe I never shall. —All my MSS. are in London, as soon as I go to town I will send you the MS of Benedict the Abbot, and also that other M.S., The *Annales Dunstapliæ*, you shall have them both together if you do not contradict me in y^r^ next. There are those

that set a very great value upon Benedict, and give him the preference to any of his Contemporaries, of this you will be the best judge when you come to look into him. This I know was Mr. Wanleys opinion which was one reason of Transcribing him for the Press. I have had the pleasure when I went to Cambridge of waiting upon Mr. Baker of St. Johns' that Reverend and most worthy man, I saw him about a fortnight since. He told me he had heard from you, and mentioned you as he always does with great respect, I had the pleasure to see him look very well. He is an example to the whole university, but I fear few will follow him, at his Age he is up by four o'clock in the morning goes constantly to Chappel at five, and this he does without any regard to the Season.

I am happy at home with the company of Mr. George Horbin & Dr. Middleton; both desire you will accept of their hearty Service. Lord Dupplin desires you will not forget him nor think he has forgot you, he is your servant, my Lord has given me all the books printed at Constantinople. Mr. William Thomas desires to be remembred to you. I have been very busie in furnishing a new room I built last year for Books, and it is quite full, it is in length 47 feet, in breadth 21 feet. I am now to make my retreat for it is not reasonable to take up so much of your time that know so well how to employ it. I wish you a merry Christmas and a happy new year & many of them. I am with true respect

S[r]

Your most humble Servant,

OXFORD.

I am sorry to hear that Dr. Tanners Books and papers have suffered by water.

Finally, Hearne wrote as follows, from St. Edmund Hall, Dec[r]. 30th, 1731, to the Earl of Oxford :

"My Lord,

Just as I was writing to Mr. Baker, I rec[d] your Ldships Letter of the 25th, full of curious observations, for which I thank your Lordship. I only wish that I had had an account sooner of your ancient printed copy of Durandus, it being somewhat of the latest for my Preface to Hemyngford, where I mention Durandus. I have seen that copy at All Souls College, but I do not remember to have ever heard D[r] Tanner speak of it. Nor indeed did the late Bp of Ely, D[r] Moore, say anything to me about it, when many years since I discoursed about ancient printed books with his L[d]ship here at Oxford, at which time however he mentioned his copy of the Catholicon, and seemed proud that he had got such a book. I have not Mentelius, nor the passage in him that you refer to. As for the Oxford Rufinus, I never doubted in the least of its being an authentick Edition then in that year, viz. 1468. Tis many years agoe since I saw the Edition, but I full well remember the Signatures, and I look upon it as so much the more curious because it hath Signatures. I know not what Curiosities your L[d]ship may have printed at Harlem, where they printed only on one side, and afterwards pasted two leaves together; and, as I remember, they had particular marks (which we call *Signatures)* to distinguish which two leaves were to be so pasted. So that it is to things printed at Harlem that we are to have recourse for the Original of Signatures; wch Observation I know not whether Mr. Bagford (whose papers your L[d]ship hath) ever took notice of. What I have about Caxton is nothing but what Mr. Bagford had observ'd more fully in the Papers of his that your L[d]ship hath.

I am glad your L[d]ship will send me *Benedictus Abbas* and the *Annales Dunstapliæ.* I believe both ought to be printed, but I cannot judge so well till I have a sight of them; the kindness is the greater, as your L[d]ship intends to send both together. The disaster at the Cotton Library is the greatest trouble to me that I ever knew of that kind, and it grieves me sadly, and I know not how to get rid of the thoughts of it. The mention of Dunstaple brings to my mind D[r] W[m] Foulkes who belonged to Sir Thomas Sebright. This Dr. told me many years since, that he had made Collections in order to write the Antiquities of Dunstaple. He died in 1727, being I think dipped in the South Sea. What became of his papers I could never yet learn, and yet I have often enquired. He was a man of curiosity, and had got a pretty collection of ancient Classical authors of the first Editions himself, distinct from Sir Thomas Sebrights Library, of which Library he had the chief management.

I have often thought of my Lord Dupplin, and I thank his L^d^ship for thinking me worthy of his remembrance. Mr. George Horbin and Dr. Middleton are both of them very worthy learned men, and I am their servant, as I am also Mr. Wm Thomas's, another worthy friend of mine, whom I used formerly to see and converse with with pleasure here at Oxford. Mr. Thomas is well skilled in the ancient British, and I hope will be able to recover many things for the honour of the Brittains. Many of Mr. Lhuyds MSS. Collections are in the hands of Sir Thomas Sebright, and some are in the hands of Walter Pryn Esqr, the Attorney, and others are dispersed elsewhere. Twould be of publick service to have them got together and digested, and afterwards printed. Mr. David Parry travelled with Mr. Lhuyd and succeeded him at the Museum, and had he had diligence and been a sober man he would have been every way equal to the work. I fear he let many of the Papers fall into bad hands. Mr Lhuyd lov'd him, but always complained of his negligence and laziness.

I am My L^d^.

Your L^d^ships most obliged humble servant

Edm Hall Oxford. THO HEARNE."

Dec 30, 1731.

I wish you and your family a happy new year and many. Dr. Tanner is busy about his books, which sunk with the barge at Benson Lock as they were coming to Oxford.

I am now making some enquiry concerning John Blakemon, who wrote *Vita Henrici vi^ti^*. I cannot tell whether the MS may be in your L^d^ships Library. The author lived at the time.

A Letter from Sir Christopher Wren to the Duke of Newcastle's Steward, thus directed:

"For Mr Richard Neale,
Steward to His Grace the Duke of Newcastle,
at Welbeck.

Lond: April 4th, 1695.

Sir,

Having in my Letter of June 23 1695 signified to you a particular of all the scantlings of the Timber wee might use in the roofe of St Paules, that His Graces noble benefaction might be as usefull as may be to the worke, and understanding that what is already designed is none of the Great beams, wch. is what wee are most sollicitous for, and being given also to understand that wee must expect this season but Ten of the great Trees; I presume once more to acquaint you with the scantlings of the great Beames to prevent mistake.

47 feet long, 13 inches and 14 inches at the small end,
growing timber, this scantling to hold die square
as neer as can be without sap.

Mr. Longland our chiefe Carpenter will be sent down this season to take care of this concerne, & the timber brought down to Bawtrey, whom I desire you to converse with in particulars wch at this distance I can hardly determine, and beseech you to present with all advantage our utmost sence of his Graces Favour, of wch. also I am very sensible as becomes

Your humble servant

C^er^ Wren."

The following paintings were exhibited by the Duke of Newcastle:—

Four Views in Venice by Canaletto, and two by Calavano.

Two Interiors of churches by P. Nief, and two others.

A copy of the *School of Athens*, by Kent; a view of St. Peter's at Rome, by Occato; and two other views in Rome. A pair of old paintings of St. Paul's Cathedral and Westminster Abbey.

By the Duke of Portland:—

Portraits of Elizabeth Hardwicke, Countess of Shrewsbury; Edward Harley, Earl of Oxford; and Gervase Holles.

A curious painting of the Tower of Babel by Breughel and Old Franks; and two of Roche Abbey and its gatehouse.

An ancient painting of our Lord, thought to have belonged formerly to the private Chapel of Sheffield Castle, exhibited by S. Roberts, Esq., of Queen's Tower.

A most delicate drawing of Kirkham Abbey gatehouse, exhibited by Mrs. Miles of Bingham; a painting of Worksop gatehouse, lent by Mr. Watkins; and a photograph of the one at Roche Abbey, by Mr. Theophilus Smith.

The Society exhibited a large collection of rubbings of ancient ecclesiastical, military, and female brasses, besides some of civilians; and Mr. T. Smith some drawings of modern illuminated brasses, in addition to some of ancient ones. Mrs. Miles contributed a large collection of etchings by Rembrandt and A. Durer; the originals of some of the lovely groups and single figures published by the Arundel Society; and many valuable books and portfolios of works of art, &c., &c.

Of Ivories, a comb of the 14th century, representing on one side a hunting scene, and on the other persons playing at draughts, was the most curious.

The Duke of Portland exhibited some good later specimens, probably by French artists, comprising two fine pieces representing Diana with her attendant Nymphs, the Flaying of Marsyas, and thirty-nine beautiful medallions in a case,—chiefly busts of Emperors, Poets, Philosophers, &c.

A miniature of Mary, Queen of Scots, given to the Queen of Bohemia; another of Mary de Medici; some fine cameos and Roman and Florentine mosaics were lent by Mrs. Miles; also a signet ring and a silver spoon that formerly belonged to the unfortunate Mary of Scotland.

Among the numerous miscellaneous objects exhibited was a curious cabinet made of wood from the Greendale Oak, in 1727, and inlaid with other woods, representing that celebrated tree and a former Duke of Portland driving his coach through the cavity in its trunk; also a bust of Charles II.; casts from the porch of St. John's, Laughton, from ornamental details of York Minster, Worksop Priory, and the Babington tomb, Ashover; in addition to many impressions from the royal and other seals of the mediæval period.

The last object that is worthy of especial record, amongst the many others that might have been mentioned as forming portions of the Worksop temporary Museum, consisted of a circular case or box of "cuir bouilli," 6½ inches high, and 6 inches in diameter, found in the parish chest of Carlton Lindrick. This is of the 14th century, as indicated by the character of its external decoration worked on the leather. The lid has been lost, which appears to have been fastened on by a strap. This box probably formed a "pyx" for the conservation of some parochial deed, frequent mention

being made of such receptacles in old documents, viz: "Ponitur in quodam pixide rotundo ligneo" (*Kalendars and Inventories of the Exchequer, by Sir F. Palgrave, vol.* 3, *p.* 4); and, "Ponitur in quâdam cistâ in pixide rotundâ." (*ibid, vol.* 3, *p.* 15); and again, "Remanet in quâdam pixide rotundâ." (*vol.* 3, *p.* 18.)

Worksop Priory.—A Paper read at the Worksop Meeting, June 7th, 1860. By the Rev. Edward Trollope, M.A., F.S.A.

It is not surprising to find that Henry VIII. should have thought of re-dedicating this beautiful church to a good use, after he had wrested it from its rightful proprietors by violence. In one of the Cotton manuscripts is a project in that king's own handwriting for erecting new episcopal sees, entitled "Byshopprykys to be new made;" and therein three places in Nottinghamshire are bracketed together as being worthy of that honour, viz., Welbeck, Thurgarton, and Worksop. This selection was no doubt made from the size and character of the monastic churches then extant in each of these places; but judgment was never actually given in favour of any of them, as the king's good intention was only transitory, and he and his courtiers eventually consumed all the spoils gathered so violently and unjustly from the church, in pageants, tourneys, and personal braveries. The existing church of Worksop is only a portion of a former one, constituting scarcely more than half of the original structure, while even this is of more recent date than the church first erected on its site; and yet this fragment is so beautiful that I hope a sketch of the principal personages connected with its history, as well as of its architectural features, will be acceptable to the members of our Society and its very numerous friends. As, however, it would perhaps be confusing to intermingle these two subjects in the real order of their succession, I propose to give, first, an outline of that noble series of Lords of Worksop who were the chief benefactors of the Priory; and then to treat of the Architecture of its Church.

Elsi, son of Caschin, was the chief Saxon proprietor at Worksop before the Conquest. His estates were given by the Conqueror to that enormous participator in the spoil of England, Roger de Busli,[1] whose chief seats were at Tickhill and Blyth, and who was lord of 174 manors in Nottinghamshire alone. Early in the reign of Henry I., William de Lovetot had become possessed of a portion of De Busli's estates;—viz., those of Hallam, Attercliffe, Sheffield, Grimesthorpe, Grasborough, &c., in Yorkshire; and also that of Worksop[2] and others in Notts. In addition to these he had acquired some of the lands of the fee of Robert, earl of Morton, after its division between Nigel Fossard and Richard Surdus. Previously, William de Lovetot was possessed of a barony in Huntingdonshire, which he eventually left to his second son Nigel; but how he acquired his vast estates in Notts. and Yorkshire is uncertain.

The house of Lovetot[3] proved itself worthy of the great power and wealth it enjoyed. Sheffield was indebted to the first William de Lovetot for its church, and its first hospital, dedicated to St. Leonard, that stood on Spital-hill until it was swept away by the ravagers of Henry the Eighth. Bradfield and Ecclesfield also saw churches arise, at his command and cost, within their parishes; the first of which with that of Sheffield he attached to Worksop, the second to the alien abbey of St. Wandrille. He also made a grant of land in a remote portion of Ecclesfield parish, for the benefit of a recluse, whose hermitage was dedicated to St. John. This grant was amplified by Richard de Lovetot; but on the death of the above-named recluse, the hermitage was given to Kirkstead abbey in Lincolnshire, by Richard de Lovetot, for the benefit of his wife's and his son William's souls.[4]

But perhaps the greatest work of piety and munificence on the part of the Lovetots was the foundation of Worksop Priory, and its subsequent enlargement.

It was founded for Canons Regular of St. Augustine, May 13th, 1103, by William de Lovetot, with the consent of Emma his wife, and that of his children, when he endowed the new establishment with the chapelry of his whole house, its tithes and oblations; with the church of Worksop, with the tithes and all rights belonging to it; a certain meadow; a fishpond and mill near the church; a carucate of land in Worksop field, and a meadow there. He further endowed the Priory with the tenth penny of all his dues in Normandy and England, and all his churches of the honour of Blyth, viz., those of Gringley, Misterton, Walkeringham, Normanton, Colston, Willoughby, and Wishon (or Wyssall); also with his portion of the church of Tyreswell (Treswell), and the lands, tythes, and rights belonging to them; as well as with the tythes of his panage, honey, venison, fish, fowl, malt, mills, and other rights. He was buried on the north side of the Priory church, on the lowest step leading to the high altar; and is thus gratefully spoken of by Pigot:—

> "*Therefore in speciall, certes we are bounde*
> *To pray for his soule, and his successors.*"

The second great benefactor of Worksop Priory was Richard, son of William de Lovetot; who first confirmed his father's grants in favour of this House, and then added several valuable gifts of his own, viz., half the church of Claverburgh (Clarborough), two bovates of land in Herthewic (Hardwick), the land formerly belonging to Wolnet the priest and Hugh, his brother, the whole site of the town of Worksop, near the church inclosed by its great ditch as far as Bersebrig (or Bracebridge) meadow, also without the ditch, a mill, dwelling-house, and Buselin's meadow, besides lands in another direction partly bounded by crosses set up by himself and his son, a mill and pond in Manton, and all Sloswick. He also confirmed the grants made by his mother Emma to the Priory, viz., a mill in Bollam, a bovate of land in Shireokes, and other lands described as

lying between the bounds of Thorp and the river along the way leading from Staveley as far as the water of Holmcar, (now constituting Shireokes-park and some adjoining land), Hayton, Rampton, and Normanton, four bovates of land in Tuxford, the church and two bovates in Colston. He further granted to the canons of Worksop Priory the privilege of feeding their pigs in Runwood, and of keeping two carts in his park at Worksop for the purpose of collecting all the dry wood that might be found there.

Finally, he confirmed the grant of land in Thorpe, made by Walter de Haier and conceded by his son Roger de Haier.

The deed embodying all these valuable gifts to the Priory he laid upon the altar of its church, with the consent of his son William, in the hope of thereby benefiting the souls of his father and mother, the founders, his own, and those of his son and all his relations—living and dead.[6]

His wife Cecilia, as her offering to the Priory, presented to it the church of Dinsley in Hertfordshire.

Richard de Lovetot was buried in the church he had aided to endow so richly, near his father, and a little below his grave; a "white" stone (probably marble) marking the exact spot of his burial.

The grants to the Priory were confirmed by a Bull of Alexander III., dated at Agnani, ii. kal. Feb. 1161, and by others of Henry I. and Edward II. The above-named Pope, in the same Bull, accorded the following privileges to the canons of Worksop, viz., exemption from tithes, the presentation to their churches, the right of burial at their pleasure to all persons, except to those who might be excommunicate, leave to celebrate Divine Service during seasons of general interdict upon certain conditions, and freedom of election with regard to the Priors,[7] but reserving the rights of the mother or parochial church —— "*Salvâ tamen canonicâ justiciâ matricis ecclesiæ et parochialium ecclesiarum de quibus mortuorum corpora assumuntur.*"

The third benefactor of the House was William de Lovetot, son of Richard and Cecilia; who, on the day of his father's burial, gave to God, St. Mary, St. Cuthbert, and the canons of Radeford or Worksop, the tithes of all the rents he then had or ever should have, whether on this side of the sea or beyond it. He did not long enjoy the possession of his inheritance, dying in 1181. He was buried in the Priory church, below his father, apparently, "*next the neder gree on the said payment,*" as Pigot informs us.

The second William de Lovetot's early death led to a great change in the fortunes of his inheritance, for, by his wife Matilda, daughter of Walter Fitz Robert, (and through her mother nearly related to the great house of Clare) he left an only daughter, then seven years of age.

She was committed to the charge of Ralph Murdac, the sheriff of the county; and in due time the youthful heiress was given in marriage, by Richard I., to Gerard, son of Gerard de Furnival, one of his distinguished crusading followers, who was present at the

siege of Acre. That noble-hearted monarch does not appear to have exacted any fine in return for this favour; but his ignoble successor, John, afterwards demanded of the elder De Furnival a sum of four hundred marks for acquiescing in the marriage, and consequent transfer of the Lovetot estates to the house of Furnival. Eventually, however, from De Furnival's valuable services at the battle of Mirabel, and his giving up to the king a prisoner he had taken, Conan de Leon by name (whose ransom had been fixed at four hundred marks), the fine demanded by the king was remitted.

But Gerard had another claimant to meet in the person of his wife's cousin, Nigel de Lovetot, who disputed his right to the property of the De Lovetots. Richard de Lovetot, the heir male of the family on the death of the second William, had allowed his estates to pass to Maude his daughter and her husband; but Richard's brother and heir, Nigel, was not so accommodating; and the question between him and De Furnival was only to be settled by the payment of a large douceur to the king, consisting of the concession of his rights in the town of Newport, and the gift of fifteen palfreys and a thousand pounds; after which the De Furnivals remained in undisputed possession of the De Lovetot estates for a period of one hundred and eighty years.

The first De Furnival benefaction to the Priory consisted of Gerard's grant of pasturage for forty cows in Worksop Park, from Easter until Michaelmas, for the benefit of his mother's soul—Andel, or Andeluga—and that of his brother Geoffrey, &c.; Gerard also gave the chapelry of Bradfield to the Priory. He was a firm follower of king John, in gratitude perhaps for the concession he had made to him, although upon rather costly terms. He was sent by that king from Oxford to treat with the barons; and when John was besieged himself in the Tower of London, both Gerard de Furnival and his castle were in great danger from the support he had given to the royal cause. Shortly after, he was commanded to retire with his family to Bolsover castle, probably for his better security as well as that of the castle. After the death of John, Gerard went to Palestine, where he died, 1219; whence his body was brought for burial to Evrard, a small village between Dieppe and St. Valery, in Normandy, on his estate of Fournevall.

Thomas, the eldest son, also fell a victim in the same cause. He was slain by the Saracens, probably in the great battle of Damietta, and was buried on the spot by his brother Gerard who accompanied him; but on his return home, in answer to the pleading of his mother, he once more sought his brother's grave, and brought back to England his remains, which were buried on the north side of Worksop Priory church, probably next below William de Lovetot the second, his grandfather.[11]. No cost was spared upon the adornment of his tomb and effigy, which last is thus spoken of by Pigot:

> "*With his helm on his hede will enquere*
> *With precious stones sometyme, that were sett sere,*
> *And a noble charbuncle on him doth he bere.*"

His brothers, Gerard and William de Furnival, were also buried in the Priory church, as we find from the same authority:

> "*Sr Gerard on the south side under a merbill stone*
> *Next St. Peter's Chapell is beried also,*
> *And Sr William ther brother both flesh and bone*
> *In our Lady Chappell was beried even tho.*"

His monument was of freestone, bearing this inscription:

> "*Me memorans palle, simili curris quia calle.*
> *De Fournivalle, pro Willielmo rogo psalle.*"

He left means for the supply of five candles, to be kept always burning before the altar of the Lady Chapel in which his remains were deposited.

Molde, or Matilda, de Furnival was during the early part of her widowhood engaged in disputes with the canons of the Priory, and especially with Prior Walter, so that she only gave them a mark from her mill at Worksop, yearly, for a pitance, on the anniversary of her husband's death; but in 1249 she had received back the offending Walter into her favour, and then confirmed all the grants of her family, to which she added fresh gifts, viz., a wood in Worksop, of the extraordinary name of *Staddeburgchaoed*, all the land she had in Wellum (Welham), and other property in Gringley, &c. She is consequently highly praised by the Priory metrical chronicler, Pigot, who says of her—

> "*Goode Molde was beryed most principall*
> *Above Sr Thomas Nevill afore the hye autere,*
> *For a goode doer most worthie of all*
> *That indued this place; and her husband in fere*
> *To reherse what she did, dyvers things sere*
> *As expressed afore, it wolde take long space,*
> *Bot in Heven therfore we trust is there place.*"

Gerard de Furnival, the next lord of Worksop, gave the third part of his mills in Bradfield, with the suit of his men of the sok of Bradford to the Priory. He was buried under a stall in St. Mary's chapel, with only a portion of his tombstone exposed to view. He was succeeded by his brother Thomas, who confirmed the above-named grants, as did his son Thomas; to which was added £4 a year by Bertha, widow of Gerard de Furnival, for her life, from the same mills in Bradfield. But yet the Prior of Worksop was compelled to bring a lawsuit against this Thomas, for making such waste and havoc amongst the timber of the park, as to prevent the supply of dry wood for the use of the canons, granted to them by his ancestor Gerard. He married Joan, daughter of Hugh le Despenser, and was amerced as a baron on several occasions, which he endeavoured to resist; but he was nevertheless called as a baron to all parliaments of the period in which he lived. He confirmed all the later grants that had been made by his predecessors to the

Priory, and agreed with its canons to provide him with the services of two chaplains and a clerk at Sheffield castle, to whom he engaged to pay five marks a year as their remuneration.[18] He died about 1279, and his body was supposed to be discovered in the foundations of Sheffield castle when it was demolished; and a slab above a stone coffin was said to have been disclosed, bearing the following inscription:—

I Lord Furnival
I built this Castle hall
And under this wall
Within this tomb was my burial.

But this epitaph has clearly been greatly tampered with, even if such a slab was really found at all.

His son, a third Thomas, also summoned as a baron to Parliament in 1294, married Joan, daughter and co-heiress of Theobald de Verdun, of Alveton castle. He died Oct. 14th, 1339, and was buried in Beauchief abbey. His only transaction with the canons of Worksop was the commutation of his tithes from the manor of Sheffield, for a fixed annual money payment to the Priory, agreed on by both parties in 1328.

He left two sons—a fourth Thomas, surnamed *the hasty*, and William. The former was liberal towards the Priory, but in what way is not recorded, Pigot merely saying of him,

"*Which Thomas, sterne and right hasty man,*
The hasty Fournivall, but he was good founder
To the place of Wyrksoppe."

He was buried in 1356 on the north side of the Priory church, above the high choir. The upper portion of his effigy in alabaster is still preserved in Worksop church, but in a mutilated condition. Round the conical bascinet of the period a rich garland was carved, part of which still remains, and on the jupon may be traced the Furnival bearings. Tufts of foliage enriched the edge of the slab on which the effigy reposed, and angels supported the cushion beneath its head. This monument is described by Gough, but not correctly.

Thomas, having no issue, was succeeded by his brother William, who died April 12th, 1383, leaving, by Thomasia, his wife, an only daughter and heiress, Joan, married to Sir Thomas Nevil, brother of Ralph, 1st Earl of Westmorland. William, the last male heir of the Furnivals,[13] was buried on the south side of the Priory church, above the high choir, and opposite his brother Thomas. Sir Thomas Nevil was summoned to Parliament as Lord Furnival in right of his wife. He embraced the cause of Bolingbroke against Richard II., and was made Treasurer of England; to him also was entrusted the two-fifteenths granted by Parliament to Henry IV. for the defence of his government. He bequeathed his body to be buried in the Priory church of Worksop, "without any great pomp," leaving £40 to the fabric of its tower or towers, and the rents of certain lands in Worksop for the purpose of keeping his

obit with "*placebo*" and "*dirige*" annually, and for a Mass of "*requiem*" on the following day. He died in 1406, and was buried beneath a stately alabaster monument above the high choir, Pigot saying,

> "*And Sr Thomas Nevill treasorer of England,*
> *Aboven the quere is tumulate, his tumbe is to see*
> *In the middes, for most royall there it doth stand.*"

A part of the effigy from this monument still exists at Worksop, but in a more mutilated state than that of Thomas Lord Furnival. It has the same camail and gussets of mail, the same bascinet, and enriched hip sword-belt; but the head in this instance reposes on a tilting helmet. On the jupon is indicated the saltier of the house of Nevil, with a martlet as a mark of difference. His wife Joan, who died previously, viz. in 1395, was buried on the left side of her husband and near him, but not necessarily close to him. Her monumental slab is now in Barlborough church, and still retained a portion of its inscription in 1707, as stated in "Church Notes" written by Bassano the herald painter of Derby, in that year; viz.:—"*Hic jacet—Johanna fil—hær—Willielmi Furnival—Tho*"—. In the dexter chief corner was a saltier the arms of Nevil, in the sinister those of Furnival; and at the bottom of the monument these two coats were impaled together on an escutcheon, supported by two talbots collared and belted. It has been suggested with much probability by Hunter, in his *History of Hallamshire*, p. 41, that Judge Rhodes, who was seneschal to the Earl of Shrewsbury at the time of the Reformation, might have obtained this monument from the Priory church when it was in ruins, as an interesting memorial of one of that family from whom his patron had inherited a vast estate; and that he carried it off to the church at Barlborough, in which parish his newly acquired estate was situated.

On the death of Thomas Nevil, Lord Furnival, the Worksop estates passed away to another noble family, that of Talbot; Sir Thomas Nevil's only daughter Matilda (by Joan, the Furnival heiress) having previously married John, the brother of Gilbert, Lord Talbot, in whose right he was summoned to Parliament as Baron Furnival, in 1409. Afterwards in 1442, for his great military services he was created Earl of Shrewsbury, by Henry VI., and Earl of Waterford in 1446; he was also made a Knight of the Garter, High Steward of Ireland, Marshal of France, and by his father Lord Chancellor of Ireland. By Shakespere he was termed "*the great Alcides*," and by others "*the scourge of France*," from his long and usually successful services in that country, on the part of England; but he was at length slain there, at the siege of Chastilon, June 20, 1453, in the 80th year of his age; and was buried at Whitchurch. His wife Matilda was buried in Worksop Priory church;

> "*In Saynt Mary Chappel tumulate lyeth shee,*
> *Afore our blessed Lady, next the stall side*
> *There may she be seene, she is not to hyde.*"

He fell at the battle of Northampton, July 10th, 1460, and was buried in the chapel of St. Mary at Worksop, between the altar and the tomb of his mother, and willed "*that his executors do make a tomb for him according to the exigency of his state.*"[15]

The said tomb was accordingly erected, and thus inscribed—SEPULCHRUM MAGNANIMI ATQUE PRÆPOTENTIS DOMINI JOHANNIS DE TALBOT COMITIS SALOPIÆ SECUNDI, EX REGIO SANGUINE DUCENTIS ORIGINEM. QUI HENRICO REGI FIDISSIMUS BELLO APUD NORTHAMPTONIAM GESTO, ANTE SIGNA STRENUE PUGNANS, HONESTA MORTE OCCIDIT DIE DECIMO JULII ANNO DOMINI NOSTRI JESU CHRISTI 1460; CUJUS ANIMÆ PROPITIETUR DEUS. AMEN.

Salopiæ comitis lapis hic tegit ossa Johannis,
Cui nihil antiquius, quam fuit alma fides.
Hanc ut servaret, regi tormenta subivit,
Intrepidus ferri, sanguineamque necem.
Ergo licet parvum condat sua viscera saxum,
Virtus Angligenum lustrat in omne solum.

John, the son of the late earl, succeeded to his titles and estates. He was born on the vigil of St. Lucy, the virgin and martyr, 1448, when one of the canons of Worksop professed to have heard a voice saying, *Gloria in excelsis Deo et Angelis!*[16] He was a poet, and addressed one of his pieces in French to Margaret of Anjou; but he was early called to arms, having been at the second battle of St. Albans when only fourteen years of age, on which occasion he was knighted by prince Edward. He fought for the House of Lancaster under the Earl of Warwick, and died at Coventry, June 28th, 1473, at the early age of twenty-five; but his body was brought thence to Worksop, and buried in St. Mary's chapel. By his wife, Catherine, daughter of Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, he had a son George who succeeded him as the 4th earl, and who stood in high favour with Henry VIII., to whom he presented several pieces of plate in token of his gratitude. He married Anne, daughter of William Lord Hastings, and was visited by Wolsey at Worksop in 1530, on his way from Newstead Abbey to Cawood. He died July 26th, 1538, and was buried at Sheffield.

He was succeeded by his son Francis, as 5th earl, who was also highly esteemed by his sovereign, and received from him a grant of the site and precincts of Worksop Priory, its houses and lands, &c., shortly after the dissolution of monastic houses, on condition that he, the earl, should provide a glove for the sovereign's right hand at coronations, and should support it while he held the sceptre, by the service of a tenth part of a knight's fee, and by a yearly payment of £23. 8s. 0d. He married Mary, daughter of Thomas, Lord Dacres, and died at Sheffield, Sept. 21st, 1560. His son George, the 6th earl, married, first, Gertrude, daughter of Thomas, Earl of Rutland, by whom he had four sons; and secondly, the celebrated Elizabeth Hardwick, widow of William Barlow, Sir William Cavendish, and Sir William St. Lo. To his care was committed the unfortunate Mary of Scotland by Elizabeth; during

which time of her unhappy life the captive queen was certainly a visitor at Worksop.[18] He died at Sheffield Manor, Nov. 18th, 1590.

He was succeeded by his eldest surviving son, Gilbert, the 7th earl, who had the honor of entertaining James I. at Worksop, on his way from Scotland to assume the crown of England, where he slept on the 20th April, 1603. This earl married Mary, daughter of Sir William Cavendish and of his own mother-in-law; but, dying without male issue, he was succeeded by his brother Edward, the 8th earl, who also died childless, Feb. 8th, 1617. The earldom of Shrewsbury then passed to a distant relation, George Talbot of Grafton; but the estates reverted to the three surviving daughters of Earl Gilbert, and through the youngest of these, Lady Althea Talbot,[19] married to Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, Surrey, and Norfolk, passed away from the Talbot to the Howard house. Thus the manor of Worksop was inherited by one family after another, but always, without exception, by those of the most noble blood in England, until it finally became the property of the late Duke of Newcastle, in 1842, by purchase, whose son, the present lord of Worksop, yields the palm to none of his predecessors in public estimation, from his great liberality in projecting and forwarding all such works of benevolence as are calculated to advance the public good, as well as from his high lineage.

Besides grants of lands and other benefactions received from the ancient lords of Worksop Manor, the Priory here was gradually enriched by gifts of lands, houses, mills, and money-payments, from other persons, most of whose names have been lost. The greater part of these lands were situated in Nottinghamshire, as may be seen from their enumeration given in the *Monasticon, vol.* 6, *p.* 124; but some were in Derbyshire and Yorkshire, and at least two benefactions were derived from Lincolnshire, viz., certain messuages in the city of Lincoln, and a payment of £2 per annum from the Rectory of Ruskington, still paid by the incumbent of its first mediety, every Michaelmas. From these it finally possessed a net income of £239 15s. 5d. at the time of the suppression, according to the *Valor Ecclesiasticus,* 26 Henry VIII. There were also many benefactors to the fabric of the Priory church, whose names have perished, such as the founders of St. Peter's chapel, and St. Catherine's chantry; but that of the St. Leonard's chantry founder is preserved, the following being an extract from "*Torre*, 1258," in St. Mary's tower at York, for which I am indebted to the researches of the Rev. J. F. Dimock. "2[d] Id. March, A.D. 1300. The Archbp. of "York confirmed the chantry which William Pelliparius de Radeford on the feast of St George (April 23[d]) 1300, erected for one "secular priest to celebrate divine service for ever in the parish "church of Worksop, at the altar of St. Leonard, for the soul of "himself when he dyes, and for the soul of Elene his wife, &c. And "for holding the same he gave to the ministery of the altar one "silver chalice gilt, 2 whole vestments, one Festivall, the other "Feriall, and other ornaments of the same altar."

I will close this sketch of the history of Worksop Priory with a list of its Priors, the dates of their election, and the authorities for the same; to which I have added the names of the Canons found in the Priory at the time of its suppression, together with the amount of the pensions they afterwards severally received, and a list of the Vicars of Worksop, for which I am indebted to Mr. Dimock.

Priors of Worksop.

	TEMP. ELECTIONIS.		AUTHORITY.
	Anno.	*Mense.*	
William	1180	——	Tanner.
Stephen . . . *circa*	1196	——	Ibid.
Henry	1200	——	Ibid.
Walter de Leirton . .	1233	——	Ibid.
Robert de Pikeborn . .	1253	——	Ibid.
John	1260	——	Ibid.
Alan de London . . .	1279	——	MS. Harl., 6972. fol. 7.
John de Tikehill . . .	1303	2 Non Nov^{br}	Ibid.
Robert de Carleton . .	1313	11 Kal April.	Ibid.
Johannes	1396	——	Torre, 1268.
Roger de Upton . . .	——	——	Tanner.
John de Laughton . .	1404	22^{d} April.	MS. Harl., 6969. fol. 88.
Carolus Flemyng . *circa*	1457	——	Tanner.
Will Acworth, Prior de Felley	1463	11th Octr.	Torre, 1268.
Robert Warde . . .	1485?	——	Ibid.
Robert, or Thomas, Gateford, Prior de Felley . .	1518	13th July.	Ibid.
Nicholas Storth . . .	1522	14th Feby.	Ibid.
Thomas Stokkes, or Stokke, Prior of Felley . *circa*	1535	——	Willis' Mit. Abb. vol 2. p. 170.

who surrendered the Priory to King Henry, Novr. 15th, 1539.

He and the fifteen canons who then belonged to the Priory, and whose names are subjoined, subsequently received the following pensions, according to a pension-book of the period, now in the Augmentation Office, and quoted in *Dugdale's Monasticon*, vol. vi, p. 124.

Thomas Stockes, Priori	l^{li}.	Thomas Bedall . . .	v^{li}. vi^{s}. viii^{d}.
Willm̄us Nutt	vi^{li}.	Georgius Barnesley . .	v^{li}. vi^{s}. viii^{d}.
Thomas Richardson .	v^{li}. vi^{s}. viii^{d}.	Edmūdus Robyneson .	v^{li}. vi^{s}. viii^{d}.
Willm̄us Yngrame . .	v^{li}. vi^{s}. viii^{d}.	Jacobus Wyndebank .	iiij^{li}.
George Copleye . . .	vj^{li}.	Robtus Hermystede . .	iiij^{li}.
Ricūs Astelye . . .	vj^{li}.	Johñes Hailes	... xl^{s}. ...
Laurenc Starkbone . .	v^{li}. vi^{s}. xiii^{d}.	Chrōferus Haslame . .	.. xl^{s}. ...
Alexandre Boothe . .	v^{li}. vi^{s}. viii^{d}.	Willm̄us White . . .	... xl^{s}. ...

Thomas Crumwell.

Catalogue of Vicars of Worksop.

(TORRE, 1258.)

	INSTITUTED.	VACATED.	PRESENTED BY
Dom^s^. Alanus de London:	Id. Aug., 1276.	——	The Prior & Convent.
Fr. Adam de Rodesham, Can. de W:	5, Id. Feb. 1300	——	Do.
Fr. Robt de Beverlac, Can. de W:	4, Kal. Oct. 1324.	per mort.	Do.
Fr. Will^s^ de Hanay, Can: .	14,Kal. Mar.1328.	per resig.	Do.
Fr. Ric de Trent, Can: .	17th April, 1358.	per resig.	Do.
Fr. John de Stanelay, Can:	24th Nov., 1390.	per resig.	Do.
Fr. Thos Barneby, Can: .	3d Dec., 1405.	——	Do.
Fr. Walter Burne, Can: .	———	per resig.	Do.
Fr. John Howe, Can: . .	12th March, 1450.	per resig.	Do.
Fr. John Emlay, Can: .	27th Aug., 1452.	——	Do.
Fr. Walter Burne, Can: .	———	per mort.	Do.
Fr. Thomas Ingill, Cap: .	15th March, 1472	per mort.	Do.
D^ns^ Thos Scott, Pbr: . .	18th March, 1486.	per mort.	Do.
Fr. John Johnson, Can: .	24th Sept., 1519.	per resig.	Do.
D^ns^ John Thornley, Pbr: .	6th May, 1544.	per mort.	Henry VIII.
John Goodriche, Cl: . .	ult. May, 1577.	per cession.	Assignees of Richard Whalley, Esq.
Richard Barnard, Cl: . .	19th June, 1601.	per cession.	Richard Whalley, Esq.
Olyver Bray, Cl: . . .	16th Feb., 1613.	per mort.	Ibid.
Willm Carte, Cl. MA. . .	19th April, 1615.	per cession.	Ibid.
Saml Smyth, Cl. BA. . .	22d May, 1628.	——	Fr. Rhodes, Esq.
Walter Bernard, Cl. . .	15th Sept., 1662.	per mort.	Guardian of Sir Fr. Rhodes, Bart.
Saml Buckingham, Cl. MA.	19th March, 1673.	——	Wm Bishop of Lincoln.
Thomas Calton	——— 1685.	——	
Jacob Calton	——— 1698.	per mort.	Sir M. Rhodes, Bart.
John Cook	——— 1718.	——	T. Wentworth, Esq.
John Ward	——— 1758.	per mort.	Marq. of Rockingham.
Honble Philip Howard . .	——— 1778.	per cession.	Marq. of Rockingham.
Thomas Carter	——— 1783.	per mort.	Earl Fitzwilliam.
Thomas Stacye, MA. . .	May, 1792.	per mort.	Duke of Norfolk.
James Appleton, MA. . .	April, 1847.		Duke of Newcastle.

THE ARCHITECTURE OF ITS CHURCH.

Part of the original endowment of the Priory was the Parish Church of Worksop—probably a comparatively speaking small Norman edifice, terminating in an apse at its eastern end. This must have been rebuilt, or at least remodelled, when William de Lovetot founded his establishment of Augustine Canons at Worksop, but yet not without some reservation in favour of the parishioners.

Not long after, this church was incorporated into, or exchanged for, another of far larger dimensions, erected at two different, but not widely separated, periods, the evidences of which still exist. Of the first period are the two most eastern pillars, and also some features of the south-western angle of the now detached Lady Chapel; of the second, the greater portion of the existing fabric. The former were a part of a second greatly enlarged church,

erected no doubt by the aid of Richard de Lovetot the son of the founder, who, there is reason to suppose, commenced the rebuilding of the same about 1150—60, to which date the earlier features of the existing edifice belong. He appears also to have re-dedicated the church to the Virgin as well as to St. Cuthbert, judging from the evidence of his son William's confirmatory charter, wherein we for the first time find the name of St. Mary, coupled with that of St. Cuthbert, in connexion with the Priory. *(Dugdale, vol. 6, p. 119.)* And there would be a reason for this; for, when the church was enlarged, it was doubtless found convenient to take that opportunity of apportioning one part of its area to the parochial use, and the other to that of the canons. On this occasion, either from the original dedication of the old parish church, or from a new preference, the people of Worksop might wish to hear their portion of the new fabric at least called by the name of St. Mary, while the canons would naturally wish to retain that of St. Cuthbert.

When Richard de Lovetot died is not recorded, but he was living in 1161, as he during that year received a visit at Worksop from king Stephen. An interval then elapsed before the works connected with the church were resumed, as intimated by its architectural testimony, almost the whole of the present fabric being of the last quarter of the 12th century, and probably of the date 1170—80, when William de Lovetot the second, son of Richard, was lord of Worksop, and almost as surely the great promoter of, if not the actual builder of this fine fabric.

Then, certainly, if not before, a separation of the area of the church took place, the nave being assigned to the parishioners, the choir to the canons of the Priory; to a certain extent each then constituting a separate church, yet combining to present the usual form of a large conventual church, 265 ft. long, external measurement;—see the Plan, for which the Society is indebted to a member of its committee, Mr. James Fowler of Louth, from whose skilful drawing it has been printed.

The choir, or Priory church, probably of six bays, had an eastern apse, and north and south aisles, not carried round the apsidal end of the choir, but terminating in flat walls. The high altar doubtless stood within the apse, and was approached by several steps; in the presbytery the principal benefactors of the Priory were buried, as indicated on the Plan, arranged by the aid of Pigot's descriptive chronicle. To the conventual church a most beautiful addition was made, about 1240–50, and probably in a great measure through the liberality of Maude de Lovetot, in her old age. This was a pure Early English chapel, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and commonly called the *Lady Chapel*. It was attached to the eastern side of the south transept and the western portion of the south aisle wall, communicating with the former by a single arch, and with the latter by two arches supported by a central pillar and responds. Its roof was vaulted, as indicated by the remaining springers, &c., but this has long since fallen

in. Its graceful line of shafted lancet windows on the south, divided into two groups of three in each, and also its eastern triplet are admirable. The sill of the middle window of this last is much higher than those of the others, from its position over a buttress; internally the blank space thereby occasioned was probably concealed by a shrine, ciborium, or piece of sculpture. The aumbrey, double piscina, and sedile of this chapel are still in a good state of preservation; and its remaining features, generally, are so excellent, its details so purely designed, that it would be difficult to find a better model for a small modern church.[20]

We have now to search for another chapel, dedicated to St. Peter, that was on the south side of the choir, and adjoining it, according to Pigot. These conditions will be fulfilled by the space [E] on the Plan, included within the two easternmost bays of the south aisle, if duly chancelled off from the choir and the remainder of that aisle; and there, in all probability, was St. Peter's chapel.

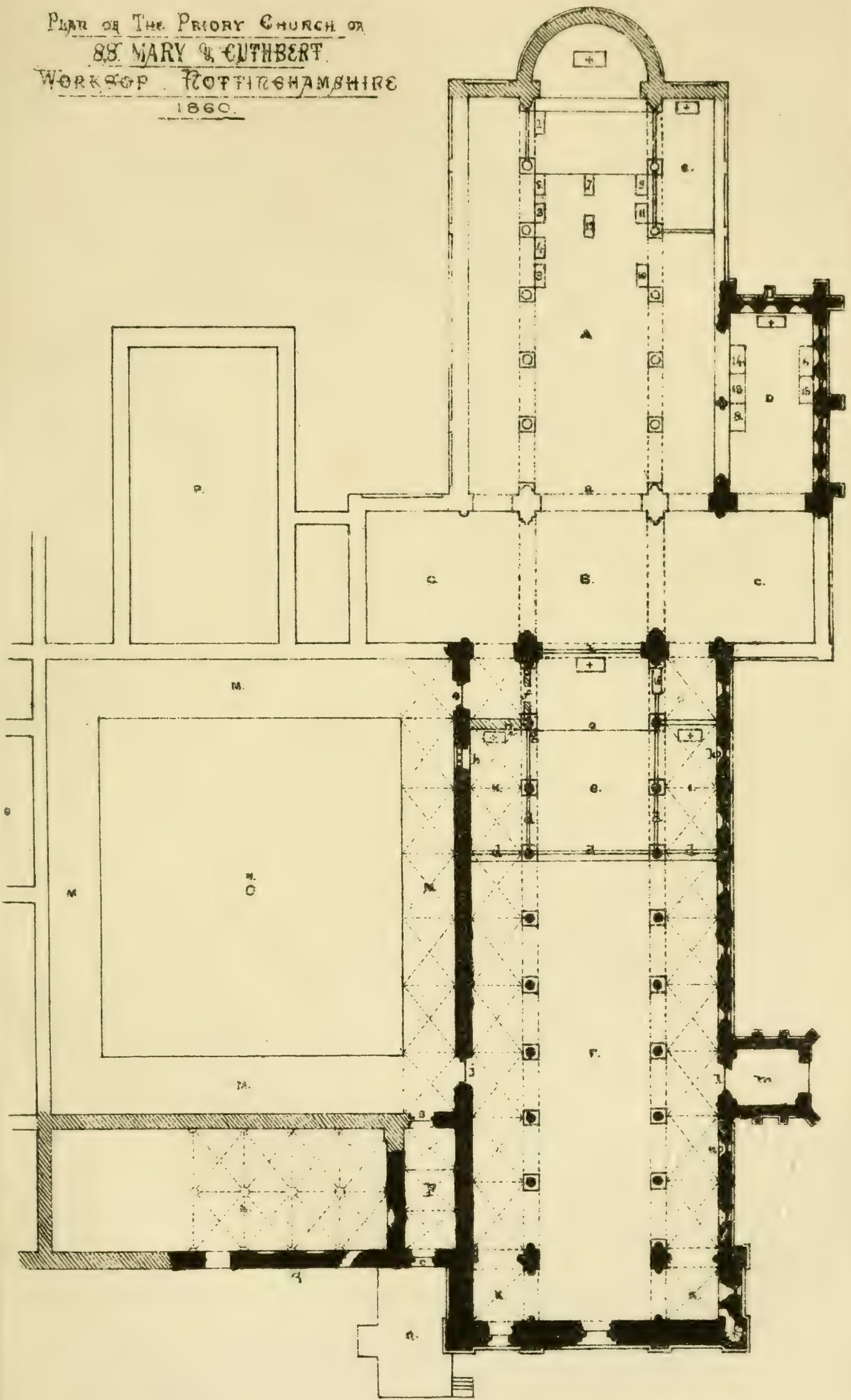
The area of the central tower, in combination with that of the transepts, occupied a space of one hundred feet from north to south; this, not improbably, formed an ante-church to the conventual choir, or at all events was esteemed a portion of the Priory church, —a connexion that seems to be pointed to by the destruction of these features, in common with the choir.

And now let us examine what may be termed the Nave of Worksop church, if regarded as a whole, but which was also a complete parochial church, before the Reformation, as well as at present.

It is one hundred and forty feet long and sixty feet wide, external measurement. On entering, the effect of its unbroken aisle-arcades, supported by eight solid alternately octangular and circular shafted pillars, is very imposing; while the long range of the triforium arches above, together with the arcade work between them, adds much to the beauty of the interior.

A low wall, or solid reredos, must always have existed at the east end, within the central tower arch; and some indications of the former have been pointed out to me by Mr. Stacye, viz., in the non-continuance of the tower-arch shafts to the ground, as though they had formerly rested upon, or were connected with, a wall at their respective bases.

The first pair of pillars are not only of an earlier date than the others, but they rise from a slightly higher level. A step between these probably marked the limit of the parochial church sacrarium; but its choir extended[21] two bays further to the west, and was partitioned off from the remainder and from the aisles by screens. Over the one between the choir and the nave was a rood-loft, alluded to several times in churchwardens' accounts, viz., "*Anno* 1564; *I*^t^. *for takyng downe of the Rode lofte, xii*^d^;" but this appears to have been only some portion of the same, for in 1570 again appears a similar entry; "*I*^t^. *for ale and bred to the workmen at the takyng down of the rode-loft, ij*^s^ ;—*I*^t^ *to the paynter, for paynting the rode-loft before it was takyn downe;—I*^t^. *received of Mr. Vycar for tymber of the rode loft, vj*^s^. *viij*^d^. Nevertheless the screen was still



Plan of The Priory Church of
SS. Mary & Cuthbert
Worksop . Nottinghamshire
1860.
A
B.
C.
C.
D
E.
F.
M.
M
M.
O
P.
R.
K.
S.
100 ft.

Key to Plan of Worksop Priory.

A *Choir.*

B *Central Tower.*

C *Transepts.*

D *St. Mary's Chapel.*

E *St. Peter's Chapel.*

F *Nave.*

G *Parish Choir.*

H *St. Katherine's Chantry.*

I *St. Leonard's Chantry.*

K *Western Towers.*

L *Dormitory.*

M *Cloister.*

N *Well.*

O *Refectory.*

P *Chapter House.*

Q *Prior's Lodgings.*

q *Existing Wall.*

a *Choir Screen.*

b *Original Reredos.*

c *Step.*

d *Screens.*

e *Upper Canons' Entrance.*

f *Oaken Door.*

g *Remains of Screen.*

h *Late Tudor Window.*

i *Locker.*

j *Lower Canons' Entrance.*

k *Piscina.*

l *Southern Doorway.*

m *Porch.*

n *Stoup.*

o *Doorway.*

p *Passage.*

q *Existing Wall.*

r *North Wall.*

s *Doorway.*

Tombs.

1. *William de Lovetot* 1st.
2. *Richard de Lovetot.*
3. *William de Lovetot* 2nd.
4. *Thomas de Furnival.*
5. *Gerard de Furnival* 1st
6. *William de Furnival* 1st.
7. *Maude de Furnival.*
8. *Gerard de Furnival* 2nd.
9. *Thomas, Lord Furnival (the hasty.)*
10. *William, Lord Furnival.*
11. *Joan Nevil.*
12. *Sir Thomas Nevil.*
13. *Matilda Talbot,* 1st *Countess of Shrewsbury.*
14. *John,* 2nd *Earl of Shrewsbury.*
15. *John,* 3rd *Earl of Shrewsbury.*
16. *Frances Clipsby.*

left intact, another item in the following year's account pointing to this, viz:—"*To Mychael Hardye for makyng a crest to the roode loft ij*s. *ij*d." This was done in accordance with Archbishop Grindal's visitation directions, "that the rood-screen be left to separate the chancel from the nave, and instead of the rood-loft some convenient crest be put upon it."

The aisles were originally vaulted, as at present; but the first vaulting appears to have fallen in about the year 1567, from the evidence of the churchwardens' accounts, and was only restored a few years ago. The easternmost bay of the north aisle was formerly separated from the church by two very thick walls. This formed the canons' upper entrance to their own church from the cloister; and a stout oaken door opposite to the external one could be opened for their admission into the presbytery of the parochial church when required. This door was adorned with beautiful iron work similar to that still remaining on the south door of the church. Latterly, this space was used as the vestry, until another was provided. The two next bays were divided from the parish choir and the remainder of the aisle by screens; an upright of the former still existed against the pillar *g*, and the latter was entire, until the late restoration. This space, we believe, formed St. Katherine's choir, or chantry, thus alluded to in the churchwardens' accounts,[24] viz.—"*A° Ed. VI. p*mo. *Itm. payd to Edward Ward for makyng yrons for the glass wyndow yn Saynte Katheryn's quere*, xiid;" for here was the only window of the period thus spoken of, until it was superseded by one of a more appropriate character within the last few years. The small recess, marked *i*, indicates a locker that belonged to this chapel.

Another doorway originally alone broke the uniformity of the remainder of this aisle-wall, excepting a sepulchral arch of a date of about 1250, the cloister on its other side preventing the insertion of windows in it; but this wall has now been rebuilt, and is pierced with lights corresponding with those in the south aisle. This last seems to have been treated in the same way as the north aisle, the first bay having apparently been taken off,[23] perhaps to form a sacristy; and the two next were certainly screened-in, so as to form a chapel, probably constituting that of St. Leonard, expressly stated to have been in the parish church, and alluded to previously as the foundation of William Pelliparius. A piscina formerly existed at the point *k*. The south doorway, *l*, is well proportioned, and contains a door covered with iron scrollwork of a very graceful character. A Perpendicular porch now protects this doorway, but evidence is afforded of the existence of an older one by "*Torre*, 1262;" whence we find John de Gateford desiring in his will, dated 1347, to be buried in the porch of the parish church of Worksop. On the west side of this door was a stoup (marked *n*) until the time of the late restoration of the fabric. Two other beautiful doorways are in the west end, the one, a very rich one, in the centre of the nave, the other in the northern tower; and there is a newel staircase in the south-western angle of the southern tower.[25]

Such was the condition of this fine church when the religious storm connected with the Reformation took place. The royal commissioners, George Lawson, Richard Bellasis, William Blithman, and James Rokeby, demanded its surrender Nov. 15th, 1539, after its dissolution had been ordered by the royal authority. To this the Prior, Thomas Stokkes, and the fifteen canons then resident in it, appear to have made no resistance; and the work of destruction began as soon as they had been expelled from that establishment that was theirs through the grants of a succession of private individuals, and confirmed to their use by several sovereigns of England. Then were all the portable valuables of the church ruthlessly swept away; some destined to reach the treasury of the royal despoiler, but more finding their way into the hands of Jews and brokers. Then perished the storied window-glass, glowing with the hues of rubies and emeralds. Then were broken up the tombs of the ancient lords of Worksop. Then were carried off the very altars that had been so long dedicated to the service of God. Quickly was the lead from the roofs hissing in the melting-pots of the highest bidders for the same; while oaken beams and boards, mingled with rich carved-work, were dispersed in a similar manner, for the purpose of being applied to the most ordinary uses, until nothing was left of the Priory church but a mutilated skeleton; and for a time, the parochial church, although spared from the same destruction, appears to have fallen into a state of complete dilapidation, as if in sympathy for its lost twin sister. In 1542 Francis, Earl of Shrewsbury, obtained a grant of the remains of Worksop Priory and its precincts, who would naturally feel well disposed towards the fabric as the representative of its founder; but yet the church appears to have become still more dilapidated subsequent to that date, for in 1567 the vaulting of its aisles had fallen in, and the debris of their roofs was then carried away, the following items from the churchwardens' books alluding to this. "*Itm. payed to ij men yt watchyd the lead in the church ij nights after the falle of the roofe.*"—"*Itm. payed to Medley & others for carying forth of stone into the church yard: xlvs. vd.*"

Probably at this time, when much was apparently done to the church, the triforium arches were converted into windows, and other similar acts of barbarism were committed, although perhaps well intended.

Subsequently the fabric experienced a second period of decadence, lasting until fifteen years ago. Then certain small mean windows were inserted in the north aisle wall, apparently at the fancy of individuals; then a system of large pews was introduced, followed by a vast western gallery, erected in 1760, and another over a portion of the north aisle, erected in 1784; and finally the east end of the church was made to glisten with an enormous canvas altar-piece, on which was pourtrayed the figures of Moses and Aaron on an ambitiously large scale. This reached entirely across the church, and doubtless had its admirers, although most irreverently termed by Mr. Nicholson, in his work on this church, "an

admirable specimen of the signboard style." Such was the condition of the fabric in 1845, when the restoration of its ancient features was commenced, and all that was bad or spurious swept away. Chiefly through the undermining of its foundations by grave and vault makers, its aisle-arcades were found to have declined very considerably from the perpendicular, one of them as much as fifteen inches. These were brought back to their original position very cleverly and successfully by the architect employed, Mr. Nicholson, who had to deal with a wall of 117 feet long and 34 feet high, containing 4,000 square feet of material. New bases were also then given to the pillars, and both aisle walls were rebuilt, in which the old doorways and new windows of an appropriate form were inserted. The triforium arches were then restored, the aisles re-vaulted, and the whole fabric was re-roofed, reseated, and re-paved. The present pulpit and prayer-desk are of good design, and very beautifully executed; but it is more than questionable whether they have been conceived in a spirit accordant with the character of the church in which they have been placed, or, indeed, with English gothic architecture generally. The last ornament added to the edifice is the beautiful *reredos* presented to it by his Grace the Duke of Newcastle, with his usual generosity. This gives great richness to the east end of the church, and, looking from its opposite end, terminates the vista very pleasingly; but when the eye has become accustomed to its varied hues, and can critically trace out all its details, again it becomes a question whether its features accord well with the old fabric it has been placed in; and also whether its really best materials, such as the marble shafts forming a part of the composition, should have been so entirely subdued by the tints emanating simply from the painter's brush aided by gilding. As a work of art, however, it will command admiration; and the difficulty of treating this end of the church must be borne in mind, consisting, as it does, simply of a veil of masonry, filling up the original central tower-arch. There can indeed be no doubt as to the genius of the designer, Mr. G. G. Scott, nor of the munificence of the noble donor of this reredos; but as the former has himself expressed to me the debt of gratitude he conceives is owing to such societies as our own from that profession which he elevates by his brilliant talent, and this chiefly from our critical observations as leaders of unprofessional public opinion, I have no hesitation in submitting these concluding ideas to your notice, and offering them to your individual consideration.

Externally, dignified simplicity is the characteristic of the remaining portions of Worksop church. Formerly some Decorated windows were inserted in the south aisle, but these have now been replaced by others according with the original design. The west window, between the towers, is of unusually large size, considering its date. Whether the space between the towers was originally finished, as now, with a flat parapet, is uncertain; but by greatly heightening the nave-roof behind this feature during the late restoration, its gable at present rises above the western façade in an

unpleasing manner, because it neither assumes its proper prominent place, nor is concealed.

The towers have been capped with angle pinnacles and embattled parapets of the Perpendicular period; the southern one, I regret to find, inclines outwards towards the south, and may give some trouble. For the following particulars of the domestic buildings of the Priory I am indebted to the Rev. J. Stacye, of Shrewsbury Hospital, Sheffield, whose great interest in the subject of Worksop Priory has led him to spare no pains in answering all my queries, and in supplying me with much valuable information connected with that subject, which I gratefully acknowledge.

The Domestic Buildings.

The sum total of all the lands belonging to Worksop Priory, when these were bestowed upon Francis, earl of Shrewsbury, amounted to 2333 acres 2 roods and 19 perches. To him also was given the monastic buildings. From a survey, made in 1636, it appears that a considerable portion at least of these last was then standing, but in a ruinous condition; in it the Priory is thus described, "*Imprimis, an auncient house, wh in tymes past was a Priory, being much decayed, adjoyning unto Worksop church.*" There is mention made also of a kilnhouse, granary, and brewhouse, situated near the mill in Priory Foulds, between the other priory lands on the east, and Pond Yards on the west. A small portion of the Priory has survived the lapse of years since the above named date, consisting chiefly of a wall pierced with a fine doorway, marked [*l*] on the Plan, adjoining the north-east angle of the north-west tower of the church, and of the same date as that tower.

This doorway opened into a passage [2], having a groined roof, now forming the vestry of the church.

There are also in the said wall two small round-headed windows, and a third that has been converted into a doorway, in addition to another original round-headed one.

Until lately a portion of an upper story to this building remained, in which was one plain pointed window and indications of others. The eastern face of this wall 3, from its traces of arches and its brackets, shows that it was connected with a groined roof, and the northern one of the passage above mentioned, [4], that that roof was supported by a central row of pillars. These facts, in addition to the testimony of foundations of walls that have been found, point to the former existence of a building here eighty-five feet long and twenty-five feet wide; its height also was declared to be equal to that of the clerestory of the church, by a gable of the same, containing a window that existed until the recent alterations. This feature, marked L, was probably the dormitory of the Priory, built above an undercroft.

The passage, [2], was the vestibule, or approach to the cloister [M], which was continued as far as the transept, as indicated by the windowless north wall of the church and the brackets in the same, until it was rebuilt. There is no positive evidence as to where the

other three sides of the cloister ran, excepting the discovery of foundations that certainly favour the lines given in the Plan, which thus form an exact square, having the still existing Priory well [N] in its centre. On the north side of the cloister we might expect to find the refectory, in accordance with the usual monastic arrangement; and that such was the case at Worksop can scarcely be doubted, from the evidence of a discovery made about twenty years ago in excavating for the foundations of the Girls' National School. Remains of an ancient building were then disclosed, consisting of very large carefully squared stones, laid upon oaken piles; and also a portion of a stone pavement. This building is marked O on the Plan; and from the discovery of many animals' bones turned up around it, as well as of boars' tusks and portions of deer's horns, we may fairly assume that there was the refectory, with the kitchen adjoining it.

On the eastern side of the cloister we naturally look for the chapter-house; and the discovery of foundations, as indicated at *p*, leads us at least to suggest that such was its position and size.

The usual position of the Prior's lodgings would incline us to search for these at the north-eastern angle of the cloister, but no foundations have been disclosed there; sometimes however this building was at the opposite angle of the cloister, as at Bridlington; and, as at Worksop, remains of ancient walls existed until lately at *q*, including a lofty well designed chimney springing from a moulded bracket; there, we may at least suggest, were the Prior's Lodgings, immediately communicating with the cloister entrance. At some distance to the east of the church was the Priory infirmary, a detached building in a field formerly called the "Fermery Yards," next but one to the church-yard; and there the remains of something like a moated enclosure are still to be seen. Beyond this is a deep depression in the ground, running north and south, which is perhaps a portion of the "*magnum fossatum*" of Richard Lovetot's charter, beyond which he gave a mill to the Priory, and a tenement: "*totum videlicet situm villæ de Wirksop, juxta ecclesiam, sicut per magnum fossatum clauditur usque ad pratum de Bersebrigga, et extra fossatum sedem molendini cum mansurâ unâ.*" A mill and tenement still existed at Bracebridge in 1636, which may be those here alluded to, near which was "Jesus House," mentioned in a survey of that date as being "moated about," and standing in part up to this time within the remains of its moated enclosure, a little to the south-east of Bracebridge. The road leading from the Priory gateway to Jesus House and Bracebridge was formerly called "Long-wall way," but now "Cheapside." Its first designation was probably derived from one of the large "*closure waulles*" of the Priory, spoken of by Leland. To what use "Jesus House" was applied is not known.[26]

South-west of the Priory-gatehouse, in a close called *Marecroft*, was the Priory-barn, whose site was marked until lately by the remains of an old building; south of this were other Priory lands, respectively called *Laith Fields*, *Arnall Park*, and *Arnall Park Wood*.

West of the Priory, and between it and the mill, was a small close, termed *Priory Fould*, adjoining a field called *Great Pond Yard*, probably deriving its name from the *vivarium*, or fish-pond, mentioned in the Priory charters as being near the church; beyond this was another field called *Buslings (Pratum Buslini)*.

North of the Priory was a small meadow called *Little Pond Yards*, and beyond it another, termed *Prior's Well Meadow;* the road adjoining is also still called *Prior-well-way*, because it leads to a fine spring of water, gushing into a trough on its western side, from a source in a field formerly called *Well-house Yards.*

From the abovenamed survey it appears that the tenants of the Priory lands were, in addition to their money payments, required to render certain capons and ling to their landlords; on the death of a tenant a small payment was also demanded, "*nomine Heriot,*" as it is termed.

The only other object of interest in connection with the Priory that we need allude to is a finely groined bridge, that stood about thirty yards to the north of the present one, over the mill-race, but which was needlessly destroyed by an officious surveyor of the highways some years ago. True it was of no use, as the stream it once spanned had been previously directed into a new channel; but as it was no impediment to the road, and was an interesting relic of the past, its destruction was a needless act of vandalism which is to be regretted.

NOTES.

(1) His coat was *Gules a bezant, or.* (*Hunter's Hist. of Hallamshire.*)

(2) Termed *Wirchesope* in Domesday Book, and spelt thus variously by different old authors—*Wyrksoppe, Wirkensop, Wirchesop*, &c.

(3) Hunter at one time thought he had acquired a clue to the connexion between Ricardus Surdus and the Lovetot family, but he afterwards found he was mistaken.

(4) The Coat of this family, spelt *Lovetoft. Luvetoft, Louvetot*, as well as *Lovetot*, was *Argent, a lion rampant parti per fesse gules and sable,* according to Dodsworth; but the field was occasionally *or.* The site of the castle at Worksop, formerly inhabited by the De Lovetots, is indicated by the mound, once surmounted by its keep, situated on the west side of the town.

(5) The monks of Kirkstead erected a grange on their newly acquired property, and established ironworks thereon. It was called Synocliffe or Thundercliffe Grange.

(6) This grant was addressed to Thomas, archbishop of York, the archdeacon of Nottingham, &c. *Dugdale's Monasticon, vol.* 6, *p.* 118.

(7) *Dugdale's Monasticon, vol.* 6, *p.* 118.

(8) *Ditto, vol.* 6, *p.* 120.

(9) Mention is here made for the first time of the name of St. Mary, as well as of St. Cuthbert, in connexion with the Priory church.

(10) Of Fournevall in Normandy, according to Pigot, a manor near Dieppe; the name of Lovetot however was not extinguished by this marriage, as it was still borne by Nigel, the second son of the first William de Lovetot, and transmitted to his descendants.

(11) He made various small grants to the Priory, viz., 10 marks a year from a mill, and the pasturage of two hundred sheep, &c. See "Carta Regis Henrici pro immunitate Tolneti, &c.," *Monasticon, vol.* 6, *p.* 121.

(12) Their name however is still preserved by the site of their town-residence, viz., "Furnival's Inn," in Holborn; and their heraldic bearings also, the present occupants

of their London house having adopted their coat, viz., *Argent a bend gules between six martlets of the same, with the addition of a border gules.* The Furnival crest was a horse's helmet, with a plume of three feathers, or.

(13) *Dodworth's Extracts from Archbishop Greenfield's Register, 2nd pt., fol.* 87. *Harl.* 801.

(14) The sword of this noted English commander was afterwards found in the river Dordon near Bordeaux, with the following inscription upon it:

Sum Talboti M. IIIIC. XL. III.
Pro vincere inimico meo.

His arms were *Gules, a lion rampant within a border engrailed, or.*

(15) His Will is given in *Test. Eborac.* ii., 252, made just before setting out for Ireland, as may be gathered from its preface:—"*Proponens iter facere versus partes Hiberniæ condo testamentum meum in hunc modum.*" (*See* " *Torre,* 1269." *York Minster.*)

(16) *Monasticon, vol.* 6, *p.* 124.

(18) *Talbot Papers, vol. G., f.* 225."

(17) " Item, a Salt of golde, fagot facion chased, gone to the kingis grace by therle "of Sherewesbury (weighing) IX oz. ½: Item, iij spones of gold wt wrethen stilys and " Roses red and white at thende geven to the kingis newyeres gift by therle of Sherewes- " bury (weighing) x oz, d., qrt. (*Henry 8ths Jewel-book, by Sir Henry Wyatt, keeper of the jewels; a manuscript exhibited at Worksop in the Society's Museum, by his Grace the Duke of Portland.*)

(19) The Howard Arms are, *Gules on a bend between six cross crosslets fitcheè argent, an escutcheon or, charged with a demi-lion rampant, pierced through the mouth with an arrow, within a double tressure floreè counterfloreè gules.*

(20) It has been previously stated that Wm. de Furnival the first, Gerard de Furnival the second, Matilda 1st Countess of Shrewsbury, John 2nd Earl of Shrewsbury, and John the 3rd earl were buried in this chapel; but in it also were deposited the remains of many other persons, as will be seen from the following extracts from *Torre,* kindly furnished by the Rev. J. F. Dimock:—" Die Veneris in crast. St. Barthol. Apos- " toli, A.D. 1396, 20 R. 2.; Robt. de Morton of Bautre made his will, proved 9 Novr., 1396. " His body to be buried in the Chappell of St. Mary of the Conventual Church of " Wyrksop." (*Torre,* 1269.)

" Feby. 8th, A.D. 1464. John Gaiteforth of Gaiteforth, Esq., made his will. His "body to be buried in the chappell of St. Mary the Virgin in the parish church of " Wyrksop," (*Torre,* 1258.)

" Sir Charles Pilkington, knt., left his body to be buried in the parish church of " Wyrksop, before the altar of St. Mary the Virgin." (*Torre, do.*)

(21) The Parish Choir is distinctly spoken of by *Torre,* 1262, in the following extract:—

"2 March, 1582, Willm Bolles, of Osberton, Esqre, in his will directed his body to be "buried in the south side of the Quere or Chancell of the parish church of Wyrksop, and "to have a fair and large marble with his arms, and cognizance of his wife, Lucy Bolles, "graved in the metal called Lattyn, and set forth in their right colours."

So also Dame Mary Lassells of Gateford, whose will was proved 18 Jan., 1615, directed her body to be buried in the "*S.quire*" of the church of Wyrksop.

(22) There were evident traces of the former existence of this screen, previous to the late restoration of the church; portions of the capitals of the third pair of pillars having been cut away to admit of its erection.

(23) If this space was ever walled off, as in the case of the other aisle, the wall was removed when the large altar-tomb of Frances Clipsby, who died in 1597, was erected in the archway between the choir and the aisle, which filled up the greater part of that archway.

(24) Other items in the churchwardens' accounts refer to payments made on account of the stonework and glass of this window.

(25) In the Fabric-Rolls of York Minster, published by the Surtees Society, p. 236, reference is made to these towers as forming part of the parish church prior to the Reformation: Nov. 13, 1311: " Monitio parochianis de Wirksop super reparatione cam- " panillis navi ipsius ecclesiæ ex parte occidentali annexi, et in angulo versus boream " annexi." (*Cap.* LII., *Excerpta quædam è Registris Arch. Ebor. de Ecclesiis infra Provinciam Ebor. et alibi.*)

(26) Near Jesus House was a piece of land, consisting of about twenty-five acres, on the south side of the Longwall way, and called *Godscroft,* in the survey of 1636; both

names apparently pointing to some very holy use to which this building and the three closes of land constituting the above named twenty-five acres, were applied. In the absence of all information on this head, we can only suggest that Jesus House may have been one of those mediæval institutions—a *Lazar-House*, formerly so greatly needed, from the (comparatively speaking) small quantity of fresh meat that was then consumed, and the large use of salted fish, as well as of salted meat, that then prevailed.

Bolsover Castle. *A Paper read at the Worksop Meeting, June 7th, 1860.* By the Rev. J. Hamilton Gray, M.A., Vicar of Bolsover.

The time-honoured towers of Bolsover stand as a beacon of history in the most central county of England; their vicissitudes being intimately connected with those of the government and social condition of this country. We can, in fancy, revert to the time when Leuric, the great Saxon thane, (the earliest lord of Bolsover on record), assembled his vassals to oppose the Norman invader, and was involved in the total ruin of his native land. Those were times when the law of the strongest prevailed; when the Norman trooper was often seated in the hall of the Saxon lord, and the proud nobles who traced their descent from princes of the Heptarchy were hurled from their palmy estate to the condition of peasants.

Then, Bolsover became the spoil of a mighty Norman baron, whose race, however, enjoyed but an ephemeral splendor; and after their sudden fall it became a portion of the immediate domain of the Crown. Thenceforward, the fortress sustained sieges, contained garrisons, protected armies, and became the scene of bloody strife during the reigns of the early Plantagenet kings. It was little less important during the wars of the Roses; although, as it had then become private property, we do not find mention made of it in the public records. Under the Tudor monarchs Bolsover again became Crown property; and from them it once more passed into the hands of a great family, under whom it acquired even a larger share of historical interest than ever. The splendid court of King Charles I. and Queen Henrietta Maria was occasionally held within its walls; and the iron age of the great civil wars marked it with the traces of plunder and ruin, from which, however, the hand of wealth and taste speedily rescued it. But the historical celebrity of Bolsover ceased with the close of the eighteenth century; and during the last hundred and sixty years it has been a mere monument of the past—but a monument of whose ancient features no modern alterations have destroyed the character, while judicious and constant repairs have arrested the progress of decay.

It is probable that Bolsover has been a strongly fortified place from the earliest times; and that when the Norman baron, William Peverel, or his successor, built a castle there, and at the Peak, he merely further fortified strongholds which he found ready made, and which he strengthened by erecting feudal fastnesses in order to rivet his yoke more tightly on the necks of the miserable Saxons.

When wrested from the Saxon Leuric at the Conquest, Bolsover did not fall to the share of any of the meaner followers of William the Norman, but was one of the lordships given to the great leader, William Peverel, who was by birth a near connection of the Duke of Normandy. The degree of relationship which subsisted between Duke William and William Peverel has been differently stated. By some he is called a natural son, and by others a half-brother. The most probable account is that they were sons of the same mother, who, after being the mistress of Duke Robert, became the wife of Ranulph de Peverel, and the mother of a lawful son, who, in 1066, accompanied his sovereign and kinsman on the conquest of England.

Confiscation now became general, and the Conqueror avowed his purpose to harry and spoil the natives. Almost all landed property began to change hands, passing from the old lords to Normans or other foreigners—for the army of William was composed of needy adventurers from every part of the European continent. The greatest Saxon nobles were despoiled of their lands, in order to make way for the hungry French, Flemish, and Italian followers of the Norman army; and the simple squire or poor trooper oftentimes found himself master in the mansions of descendants of Hengist and Horsa.

Among those who were enriched by grants of many noble domains—although he certainly did not belong to this class—was William Peverel, who, having held a high command in the Conqueror's army, was now admitted to reap the fruits of successful invasion.

In the second year of the reign of William the Norman, 1068, that monarch granted to William Peverel the following immense possessions. The Castle of Nottingham; forty-four lordships in Northamptonshire; two lordships in Essex; two lordships in Oxfordshire; two lordships in Bedfordshire; fifty-five lordships in Nottinghamshire; six lordships in Derbyshire, including Bolsover, which, with some smaller grants, constituted the "Honour of Peverel."

From 1068 to 1086, the time when the Domesday Survey was made, the lordship of Bolsover was in the possession of William Peverel, and it is therein stated to have been previously the property of the Saxon Leuric. We have no notice concerning *his* fate. It is probable that, like many other noble Saxons, his family descended from being lords to become tillers of the soil; and his posterity may have earned a hard subsistence by labour on those broad lands which once owned him as Thane.

The family of Peverel possessed two noted strongholds in Derbyshire—the castles of Bolsover and of the Peak. The former was not yet built at the time of the Domesday Survey, in 1086; whereas the latter is there mentioned as already existing. Yet there can be no doubt that Bolsover was built during the reign of one of the Norman kings. It was erected by a Peverel. That race was extinguished in its main line, in the first years of the reign of King

Henry II. The reign of Stephen was too troubled and stormy to admit of much castle-building by his partisans, and thus we are limited for its erection to the reigns of William Rufus and Henry I.

The Peverels were not destined long to enjoy the wealth and the honours thus violently acquired; what they gained by conquest they did not transmit to future ages. There are only two generations of the family who possessed Bolsover and Peak castles, with the lordships attached to them in Derbyshire, together with Nottingham Castle, and the vast estates which had been granted to them in the counties of Nottingham and Northampton.

The original ancestor was Ranulph de Peverel, father of William de Peverel, of Bolsover and the Peak; of another William, who was governor of Dover, and father of William de Peverel of Essex; and of Payn de Peverel, an eminent soldier, who was standard-bearer to Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy, in the Holy Land. He obtained from Henry I. the barony of Brunne in Cambridgeshire, and was father of William de Peverel, who was also a crusader. There was also a William de Peverel of London, in the days of K. Edward I.; and a John Peverel of Bradford-Peverel, in the county of Dorset, whose family ended in an heiress, who died so recently as 1576.

The two Williams, father and son, who possessed Bolsover, must have been very long-lived; as their sway over the extensive possessions which were granted to them by the Conqueror began in 1068, and did not terminate until 1153, when it ceased with a violence equal to that of its commencement. William Peverel, the son of King William's favourite, appears to have been a zealous supporter of King Stephen, and thus made himself obnoxious to Henry Plantagenet. He was accused of administering poison to Ranulph, the third Earl of Chester, in 1153, in the eighteenth year of Stephen. This Ranulph was a strenuous supporter of the Empress Matilda against that prince, whom he took prisoner in the battle of Lincoln, when the victory was mainly won through the gallantry of this earl.

As he and William de Peverel were among the most powerful chiefs of the opposite political parties of their time, we must receive the odious accusation of poisoning, brought against the latter, with considerable suspicion. It was, however, a convenient pretext afforded to Henry Plantagenet, for at once ridding himself of a formidable enemy and acquiring vast possessions; so he did not fail to turn it to good account for his own interest.

As soon as Henry ascended the throne, Peverel knew that the hour of his destruction had arrived; and, anticipating the vengeance of the new monarch, he fled for refuge to the religious house of Lenton, near Nottingham, where he assumed the habit of a monk. He was not able, however, to remain long in this seclusion; for, as King Henry passed by this monastery on his way to York, he was compelled to cast aside the monastic habit, and to escape privately from the punishment of his alleged crime.

King Henry immediately seized upon the castles of Bolsover, Nottingham, and the Peak, together with the immense estates of the Peverels; and, henceforward, many of these remained for several generations in the hands of the Crown. Although the main line of this great house failed thus early in heirs male, the second William de Peverel had a daughter, Margaret, the heiress of whatever portion of her father's wealth escaped confiscation. She made an illustrious marriage, having espoused William de Ferrers, third Earl of Derby, the head of one of the greatest of the Anglo-Norman houses; and was the ancestress of a mighty race, through whose wide-spread intermarriages the blood of Peverel of Bolsover circulates largely in the highest and most ancient lines of the English nobility.

The immense possessions of the house of Peverel having thus fallen to the Crown, there is not much difficulty in tracing their subsequent history, as the Great Roll of the Pipe throws considerable light on their estimated value, the repairs and alterations which were made on them, as well as concerning the series of their successive possessors.

We will here introduce a series of entries in the Great Roll of the Pipe, which will show the frequent outlays by the Crown on the fortress of Bolsover, which underwent many sieges during the various civil wars by which England was desolated, and which consequently stood in need of constant repairs.

From the very frequent disbursements which appear to have been made by the Crown on Bolsover, it is evident that it must have been one of the most important strongholds in the centre of England. The enumeration of many of these entries in the Pipe Roll would be tiresome; a few specimens will suffice to show the care and pains bestowed by successive monarchs in keeping up the fortifications of this place of strength.

The earliest notice of Bolsover in the Pipe Roll is in the nineteenth year of King Henry II., 1172, when the sheriff, Reginald de Lacy, accounted for 40 shillings expended on the works, and for 53 shillings and 4 pence expended on victualling the garrison with 40 quarters of corn, 20 hogs, and 60 cheeses. In the following year, 1173, there are charges of 2 pounds, and again of 46 pounds, for works at Bolsover Castle.

Many expensive repairs were effected in the reign of King John, in consequence of the sieges which the Castle sustained during the civil commotions of that prince's reign. In his second year Bolsover park was enclosed, at the great expense of 302 pounds; and in his fifth year the works on the *Turris*, or Tower, cost 7 pounds 13 shillings and 4 pence; and in his thirteenth year, there were further repairs amounting to 19 pounds.

These are mere specimens of the Crown's records of the repairs of this castle during successive reigns. It was evidently regarded by the government of the day as a very important fortress, and no expense was spared in keeping it in good repair, so as to enable it to sustain sieges during the innumerable civil wars which desolated

England under the early Plantagenet kings. And as it continued to be a fortress of the Crown during several centuries, its condition, and the various improvements which it underwent, are fairly and fully set forth in the national evidences in the Tower.

Besides the castellated fortress, it is evident that the town of Bolsover was anciently prepared for defence, from the extensive fortifications which protect it on those sides where it has not the natural defence of a steep bank or precipice, and where it is not under the more immediate shelter of the Castle. When the Castle was a fortress, the adjoining town was probably fortified. It is most likely that the old market-town of Bolsover has never greatly varied in size; there is no trace of the houses having, at any former time, covered a larger space of ground than they now do. Therefore, there must always have been, as there now is, a large uninhabited space within the circuit of the fortifications; and the object of this was to contain the encampments of bodies of troops, which, during the numerous civil wars, were doubtless frequently stationed at Bolsover as a stronghold, under the immediate protection of the castle-garrison, and defended from external attack by the high earthworks and deep ditch which surround the town.

It is probable that the precipitous bank on which the town stands was crowned with fortified walls, overlooking the Vale of Scarsdale, traces of which still exist in a series of watch-towers situated on the ridge of the precipice, and which must have been connected with the ancient town-walls. The present watch-towers are probably of a date not earlier than the reign of Elizabeth, or James I.; and were erected at the time of the last great restoration of the Castle, in order to keep up the memory of the ancient fortified character of the town; and, regarded in this light, they are curious, and together with the adjoining earthworks, possess considerable traditionary value.

The military structures of the 11th and 12th centuries which we denominate Anglo-Norman castles, and of which Bolsover was one of the most important in the centre of England, must not be confounded with the great fortified residences of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. These palatial and castellated mansions of the feudal barons, with their large halls and lightsome oriels—which are so intimately connected with our notions of chivalry and our dreams of romance—were very different from the grim fortalices which the Norman tyrants erected to compress the conquered Saxons, and to resist the sieges which family feuds, civil wars and rebellions caused to be of such perpetual occurrence.

The Norman castle was lofty and not large. It was very strong, and was surrounded by a *Ballium,* or Bailey-court, which was defended by a solid and lofty perpendicular wall, strengthened at intervals with towers, and surrounded by a ditch or moat. Flights of steps led to the top of this outer rampart, which was protected by a parapet embattled and pierced with loop-holes, through which missiles might be discharged.

Of an actual Norman castle, Bolsover—although very curious—cannot be regarded as an existing specimen, because it has been subjected to so many repairs and alterations that but little of the original structure remains. The existing building may be called the Elizabethan restoration of a Norman castle, of which the ancient general character has been preserved, with modifications and ornaments according to the taste of the age of Elizabeth. At this stage of the history we must take no account of the structure on the terrace, but confine our attention to the castellated portion of the building planted on the summit of the steep bank, and protected by the broad wall, which is—in fact—the wall of the Bailey-court rebuilt on the exact site of the ancient fortified wall; and which, like it, was furnished with battlemented parapets, which, having fallen into decay, have been removed within a century.

The castellated portion of Bolsover which is still inhabited, and is in perfect repair, is reared exactly on the early Norman foundations, is of the precise extent and size of the Norman castle, and is built in part with the ancient Norman materials. Not only are the foundations Norman. The lowest portions of the Castle are original, as may be surmised from the great thickness of the walls, and their general proportions.

The vaulting of the kitchen, larder, and servants' hall, and the disposition of the piers and basements of the central pillars lead to the conclusion that a similar arrangement had formerly existed, which had been exactly followed out when the last great repairs were effected in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. The proportions of the whole are so entirely Norman that, if the lower walls were divested of their external facings, we should find the original Norman masonry. Indeed this is perceptible to any one who will traverse the upper shrubbery walk, which winds along the steep bank under the Bailey-wall and below the castle. Here the original building is, all along, to be perceived very plainly, rising far above the foundations. At the time of the last restoration of the Castle, under Elizabeth and James I., the lower portions of the ground-story were encased with new masonry, while in the first, or principal story, the Norman character has been accurately preserved; the pillars in the hall and drawing-room (or *pillar parlour*) and the vaulted and arched stone roofs having been carefully replaced as they existed in the original structure. The lightness, height, elegance, and beautiful carving of the pillars, arches, and groins show that, to the simple and massive strength of Norman masonry, the more refined taste of Tudor times had added the ornaments of elaborate decoration. The same remarks will apply to the restored Bailey wall, which, although rising from the same foundations and the same lower masonry with that of the ancient fortress, contains in its inner circuit many quaintly carved stone summer-houses, ornamented alcoves, and beautifully groined and arched chambers; all of which must necessarily be attributed to the Elizabethan restoration.

In the nineteenth and twentieth years of his reign, Henry II. caused extensive repairs to be executed on the Castle; and it was granted, along with the Castle in the Peak, by King Richard Cœur de Lion, in the first year of his reign, to his brother John, on his first marriage with Isabella, daughter and coheir of William, Earl of Gloucester. During the absence of King Richard in the Holy Land, and in the quarrel which ensued between John and Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, the castle of Bolsover was confided by the former to Richard del Pek, who received forty pounds for the service.

When John ascended the throne, he found Bolsover a most important stronghold during the unhappy civil commotions that distracted his reign. He first granted it to his favourite, William de Briwere, whom he enriched with large possessions in the county of Derby, particularly the manor and borough of Chesterfield, and the hundred of Scarsdale. This Briwere was a much esteemed counsellor in the reigns of Richard and John, and was one of the Barons of their Exchequer. He was nominated one of the Regents, when Richard set out on his crusade. In the ninth year of his reign, John appointed Brian de l'Isle governor of Bolsover, who was a firm adherent to himself and afterwards of Henry III., and held high military posts. Soon after that it fell into the hands of the Barons, who were at war with the king; and it was held out by them against the royal forces until 1215, when it was retaken for the king by William de Ferrers, Earl of Derby. This nobleman, in besieging and taking Bolsover Castle was, in fact, recapturing the ancient inheritance of his ancestors, for he was the rightful heir of the Peverels, being great grandson of Margaret Peverel, Countess of Derby. In 1215 he was constituted governor, but this post does not appear to have suited him, for, immediately after, we find the former governor, Brian de l'Isle, re-appointed; and in the eighteenth year of John, 1216, he received a royal mandate to fortify the Castle, and to hold it out against the rebellious Barons; or, if he found that he could not render it tenable, to dismantle it. This, however, was not done, and Bolsover was rendered a good place of defence and security. In the same year John appointed Gerard de Furnival, the son of one of the companions in arms of Cœur de Lion in Palestine, with his wife Maude, daughter of William de Lovetot, and his family, to reside in Bolsover Castle, for the better preservation of the peace of that part of the country. Thus, it would appear that Bolsover was not regarded as a mere place of strength, like the fort on the Peak, but was furnished with all the necessary conveniences and comforts suitable to the large households of families of distinction, such as those of Lovetot and Furnival.

During the long and tumultuous reign of Henry III. Bolsover was a place of great importance. In his first year, the loyal Earl of Derby, William de Ferrers, obtained its custody, which he held for six years. During the troubled reign of this monarch the governors were changed very rapidly. Their names were Brian de l'Isle; Robert de Lexington, (who was one of the Justices Itinerant

for the northern counties); William de Briwere; Robert de Tatshall, (a great Lincolnshire landowner); Brian de l'Isle; Hugh le de Spencer, a nobleman who made a great figure in this reign, as he was Chief Justiciary of England, and had the command of several important castles. His son and grandson afterwards attained to an amazing height of court favour and power during the reign of K. Edward II., and in 1325 they both ignominiously perished; Gilbert de Segrave, in the 38th year of Henry III., this nobleman, being sent on an embassy, was treacherously seized as he was returning, by the French, and died soon after in consequence of the hard usage which he had received; William de Ferrers, Earl of Derby.

All of the Castellans were, under the early Plantagenets, of baronial rank; and many of them held the most elevated posts during the reign of Henry III.

About the year 1234, Bolsover was given to a lord of royal descent—John the Scot, Earl of Chester, son of David, Earl of Huntington, and nephew of William the Lion, King of Scotland. It was in consequence of the childless death of this prince that the Scottish crown came to be contended for by Baliol and Bruce, the descendants of the two elder sisters; while Bolsover passed, along with other lordships and manors, to the younger sister and co-heir, Ada, the wife of Henry de Hastings, lord of Abergaveny. But in 1243 other lands were given to Hastings in exchange, and Bolsover reverted to the Crown; and in 1253, Roger de Lovetot, when sheriff of the counties of Nottingham and Derby, was appointed governor by the king. There is, after this period, a considerable gap in the list of governors of Bolsover, for the next of whom we know anything was Ralph Pipard, who was appointed by K. Edward I. in his thirtieth year, and who died in the third year of Edward II., 1310.

We do not know the names of the governors of Bolsover during the next eighty-five years, from the third year of Edw. II. to the eighteenth of Richard II., when Sir Richard Stury was appointed governor. The next king, Henry IV., granted a moiety of the manor of Bolsover to Robert Litton, who continued to hold it during the reign of Henry V. In the twenty-sixth year of Henry VI., 1448, Ralph, Lord Cromwell, of Tattershall, was farmer of the manor of Bolsover. This nobleman held great estates in Lincolnshire, and was constable of Nottingham Castle. He was much connected with Derbyshire, and he possessed the magnificent seat of Wingfield Manor, and his wife was sister and co-heir of William, Lord Deincourt.

Very little is known of Bolsover Castle during the disastrous period that now ensued,—the wars between the houses of York and Lancaster. And two reasons may be adduced to account for our want of accurate information. The one is that we are, in general, very much in the dark as to the history of the troublous times of the wars of the Roses. And the other is that Bolsover Castle was not then in the possession of the Crown, so that it would be impossible to trace the outlays expended upon it, or the names of its Castellans, in any public record. King Henry VI. had granted

Bolsover Castle to his half-brother, Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond. Thus we are certain that, during the terrible struggle between the houses of York and Lancaster, it must have been a stronghold of the Lancastrian party, and it was doubtless one of their most important fortresses; and, although we have no historical notices of the facts, it must have made a prominent figure in those civil wars.

Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond, was the eldest son of a romantic and indecent second marriage of Catherine of France, widow of Henry V. and mother of Henry VI. The object of the youthful royal dowager's attachment was a very obscure Welshman, an officer on guard in the palace, of the name of Owen Tudor. The issue of this unsuitable union was two sons, the elder of whom, Edmund, was created by his half-brother, King Henry VI., Earl of Richmond, and received among other royal favours a grant of Bolsover Castle. He married Margaret Beaufort, daughter and heir of John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, a legitimated branch of the house of Plantagenet through the line of Lancaster. On this remote maternal descent did Henry VII.—the only son of Edmund Tudor—found his feeble pretensions to the English crown, which he, however, wisely fortified by marriage with the undoubted heiress, Elizabeth of York, daughter of Edward IV. It is curious that the proudest, richest, most powerful, and most tyrannical of all the English monarchs, Henry VIII., was greatgrandson, in the direct paternal line, of a Welshman of most obscure station and doubtful origin: whose claims to bare gentility depend upon tradition rather than evidence: who began life as a soldier under Owen Glendower, fighting against the culminating power of the house of Lancaster, and ended his days on the battle-field, bravely defending the sinking monarchy of that house, with which he had become connected not more intimately than strangely.

In the thirty-fifth year of the reign of Henry VI., Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond, died possessed of Bolsover Castle.

When the house of York had finally prevailed over that of Lancaster, and when King Edward IV. was firmly seated on the throne, he dealt out attainder and forfeiture to the partizans of the race whom he had supplanted. Among the foremost of the sufferers was the young Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond (afterwards Henry VII.), and his father's younger brother, Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke. Their great estates were, for the most part, confiscated; and consequently it may be presumed that Bolsover Castle, of which Edmund Tudor had died possessed, devolved to the Crown. And if this supposition be well founded, Henry Tudor would of necessity regain this portion of his paternal inheritance among the spoils which he wrested from King Richard III. on the battle-field of Bosworth, in August 1485.

However, we do not know with absolute certainty how far the attainder of the Tudors extended, nor what Henry, Earl of Richmond, took as his father's heir. And on that, as a proof, it would of course depend whether he had continued to hold Bolsover Castle during

the reigns of Edward IV. & V., and Richard III. (while he himself was for the most part in exile), or whether on the accession of King Edward IV. the possession of the Castle had been resumed by the Crown. The latter is the more probable conjecture. At all events, in 1485 we find Henry VII. Lord of Bolsover,—either as king of England, or as heir to his father, Edmund Tudor.

Bolsover had now ceased to be important as a fortress. During the less troubled times which ensued after the union of the Roses, a place of strength was no longer of so much consequence. We have, accordingly, no record of the Castellans, or of the continuation of those repairs and alterations which had in the earlier reigns been a constant source of outlay to government. We are unacquainted with its history until the 5th year of the reign of King Henry VIII., 1514, when Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, obtained a grant of it. He died in 1524, and was succeeded by his son Thomas, 3rd Duke, on whose attainder, in 1546, it escheated to the Crown. On the 10th April, 1552, King Edward VI. granted a lease of Bolsover Castle for fifty years to Sir John Byron, who a few years before had become proprietor of the confiscated abbey of Newstead. But almost immediately after 1552 we find that Bolsover was granted in fee-farm to George, Lord Talbot, and his heirs. This great nobleman, who became sixth Earl of Shrewsbury, was one of the most distinguished and worthy of the eminent men who graced the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He succeeded his father, the fifth earl, in the family honours, in 1560.

From this time, during the last three centuries, Bolsover Castle has always continued to be possessed by a subject; but, during a portion of that period, it has been the scene of events not less remarkable than those which distinguished it as a royal stronghold.

In an evil hour, Lord Shrewsbury became the victim of the arts of fascination of one of the most astute and talented women that this country has ever seen, by contracting a matrimonial engagement with the famous *Bess of Hardwicke*, thrice a widow—*first*, of Mr. Barlow : *second*, of Sir William Cavendish : *third*, of Sir William St. Lo. The Earl was at that time no longer a young man, but he was rich, and of exalted rank. Indeed, he might be reckoned the first subject in England, as at that time the ducal honours of Norfolk were in abeyance. He was high in Queen Elizabeth's favour, trusted by her beyond any other nobleman in her court; and justly so, as he was full of well-tried loyalty, probity, and honour. Such a man, a widower, in the prime of life, and with a fine family of marriageable sons and daughters, was the very person of whom a wealthy, crafty, and ambitious widow might naturally desire to make a prey, so as at once to elevate herself to rank, and to provide noble matches for the sons and daughters of her less aristocratic family.

Much might be said as to the origin, early life, and progressively advantageous marriages of Elizabeth Hardwick. But to follow up her history would occupy too much space. She was one of the numerous daughters of the considerable—although neither very

ancient, nor very wealthy—squire of Hardwick Hall; and her original portion was only forty marks. She inherited the wealth of her first and third husbands, Barlow and St. Lo, with which she enriched her children by her second husband, Cavendish. She drove hard bargains with her brother Hardwick and her brother-in-law Leech, and acquired their estates of Hardwick Hall and Chatsworth; and now she made a stride upwards to one of the highest places in the English peerage, at the same time bargaining for matrimonial alliances between Talbots and Cavendishes—a son and daughter of hers being wedded to a son and daughter of the Earl.

The peace of mind of Lord Shrewsbury was now gone for ever, for at this time he committed the double mistake of allowing himself to be caught by the attractions of a designing woman, and of accepting the sad office of guardian to a captive queen. The Countess Elizabeth greatly resembled her royal namesake in character, and there was little chance of sympathy or pity in her selfish heart towards the captive Queen of Scots, who languished so long under her jealous guardianship. In the year 1588 the domestic misery of the Earl appears to have reached its climax. His letters at this period upbraid his sons and daughters-in-law, as well as the Countess, for their continued ill treatment of him, and greedy seeking of their own interests at his expense. In his letters, written about and prior to this time, frequent mention is made of Bolsover Castle. Lord Shrewsbury appointed meetings there with his sons, and from thence occupied himself with the inspection of his adjacent property.

At length, in November 1590, his domestic troubles were brought to a close by death, and the Countess was left to preponderate, without restraint, over both families. Gilbert Talbot, her son-in-law, was now Earl of Shrewsbury. He seems to have been a time-serving weak man, entirely under the influence of his imperious wife and her mother. The Countess survived her husband seventeen years, living to the verge of ninety, and even to the last hour indulging in her pride and worldly magnificence.

Although her connection with Bolsover Castle was through her marriage with its lord, she seems to have regarded it with as much interest as her own contiguous mansions; and it was her ambition to raise the ancient fortress from its state of dilapidation to more than its original dignity. And although she was interrupted in this work by death, that which she left unfinished was completed by her second son, Sir Charles Cavendish. This aged and magnificent despot died at Hardwick in 1607, after having enjoyed an uncommon share of the good things of this world during her long life. She was proud, selfish, unfeeling, and cruel. She was a builder, a land-jobber, a usurer, a farmer, a coal and lead merchant, a courtier, and a politician. She was the oppressor of her husband, the tyrant of his family, and the aggrandizer of her own. Her ruling passion was for building; and it is hard to say how many more noble monuments of her taste she might have left upon her extensive estates, if a hard frost in 1607 had not compelled the workmen to stop suddenly

Eliz: Hardwick
Daughter and Coheir of
John Hardwick of Hardwick
in the County of Darby Esqr.
Married to her second
Husband Sr. Wm. Cav-
endishe of Chatsworth
in the Same County
She settled her 3rd
Son Charles Cav-
endishe at Wel-
beck in the
County of
Nottingham

when engaged in improving the Norman keep of Bolsover. The magic spell was broken, the charm was ended; the witch's prophecy was fulfilled which foretold that, as soon as Bess should cease to build, she should cease to breathe.

The portrait, forming the frontispiece to this treatise, is taken from an original painting in the possession of the Duke of Portland, and was one of the number he exhibited in the Society's temporary Museum formed at Worksop. The Society is indebted to his Grace for the lithographic copy of the same, it having been executed at his charge. The dress of the Countess Elizabeth is nearly akin to that of a still greater Elizabeth; but in this case, instead of the tasteless profusion of jewels indicating the portrait of England's greatest queen, one ornament alone points to the wealth and rank of the Countess of Shrewsbury, viz., four long strings of immense pearls round her neck, which reach below her waist, and contrast well with the sober grandeur of her black velvet robe. Determination is impressed upon the lower part of the Countess's face; and the high, as well as expansive, forehead indicates the possession of unusually great mental endowments, although perhaps of a masculine character; but the hands are truly feminine and delicate; the left is painted in a stiff position, but the other just touches in a graceful posture the table below it.

While the Countess's second, but eldest surviving son, inherited Chatsworth and Hardwick, and became the first Earl of Devonshire, her third son, Sir Charles Cavendish, was richly endowed with the estates of the Premonstratensian abbey of Welbeck, in the county of Nottingham. To this was speedily added Bolsover Castle, which was granted to him by his brother-in-law Gilbert, Earl of Shrewsbury, most probably in consequence of an arrangement made with the Countess before her death. We find that in 1608, the year that followed that event, Earl Gilbert granted a lease of Bolsover Castle to Sir Charles Cavendish for a thousand years, at a nominal rent; and in the year 1613 he sold it to him for so small a sum that it might be regarded as a donation. Sir Charles was thus encouraged to complete with spirit the work of restoration; and on the foundation of the Norman fortress arose the present castle of Bolsover, which was finished in 1616—the date inscribed on the lofty chimney-piece in the hall.

Not only is this mansion reared on the very foundations of the original castle; the Norman character has been preserved in many very remarkable peculiarities of the internal arrangements, as well as in the strong central pillars and round arches which distinguish the rooms in the two first stories—combined, however, with much ornament foreign to the simplicity of the Norman style, and marking the period of Elizabeth and James I.

Bolsover is a square castellated mansion, four stories in height, with turrets at each corner, except the north-east, where there is a high tower. On the site of the ancient fortified Bailey-wall there is a broad wall, enclosing a curious garden, ornamented with a carved fountain and numerous stone alcoves and summer-houses.

The drawing-room, or pillar-room, has a beautifully carved and arched roof, and the walls are covered with gilded wainscote, the upper compartments of which are ornamented with paintings allegorical of the five senses. To this a historical interest is added by the fact that the great Marquis of Newcastle entertained King Charles I. and Queen Henrietta Maria at Bolsover; Ben Jonson, in his masque of *Love's Welcome*, composed for that occasion, introduces the five senses as uniting to welcome their majesties,—the idea being obviously taken from the decorations of the room in which they were then received. The hall, and the kitchen, larder, and servants' hall are in like manner arched and supported on pillars.

In the second story there is a room forty feet long, called the *Star-chamber*, the decorations of the roof being in imitation of the Star-chamber at Whitehall; and on the upper part of the walls are hung very large pictures of the twelve Cæsars, copied from those that hung in the Star-chamber in the days of Charles I. Adjoining the Star-chamber there is an exquisite little room, of which the arched roof is formed of white and grey marble, and which was the boudoir of the literary Duchess of Newcastle. Another room, said to have been used by the first and second dukes as their bed-chamber, has two dressing rooms which are painted in fresco, a curious specimen of that art in England at the commencement of the seventeenth century.

Nearly every room in the Castle is adorned with an elaborately carved chimney-piece, reaching to the ceiling, coming out in the form of a canopy, and supported on marble pillars. Those canopies are formed of marbles of different colours, and are richly and tastefully sculptured. The canopied chimney-piece in the Star-chamber displays in the midst of much rich and varied ornament the ancient arms of the house of Shrewsbury *(bendy of eight, gules and argent)* surmounted by the lion crest, and supported by two Talbots—a compliment, on the part of Sir Charles Cavendish, to his brother-in-law and benefactor, Earl Gilbert. Those quaint chimney-pieces are characteristic of Bolsover Castle, and are rarely to be met with in other mansions of the same period. The idea of their form is taken from the chimney-pieces which are found in many castellated abodes of an early age; but here they have been developed with the profuse fancy and elaborate design which more especially belong to the time of James I., and which might be copied with advantage in some of the costly structures reared in the present day in imitation of those of the olden time.

A broad flight of steps leads from the front of the Castle into a paved court, surrounded by embattled walls, and flanked by four towers; and two flights of still broader steps lead from this court to the terrace, which extends in a wide sweep from the Castle through gigantic pillared gates to the commencement of the village.

Sir Charles was altogether a most prosperous gentleman, and held a high position both at the court and in the country, where he was a representative at once of the Abbots of Welbeck and the Castellans of Bolsover. He made a marriage, at once noble and

wealthy, with Catherine Ogle, which brought an ancient peerage and great Northumbrian estates into his family. He died in 1617, and was buried in the Cavendish vault in Bolsover church, where his recumbent figure in armour, beside that of his wife, reposes under a stately canopy; and where his virtues are quaintly commemorated in the style of the seventeenth century.

Although it was under his son William (better known as Marquis of Newcastle) that Bolsover attained to its highest grandeur, yet Sir Charles had no sooner completed the restoration of the Norman fortress, than he began to build the pile which, standing by its side, crowns the terrace. With excellent taste he preserved the original castellated mansion in its isolation as a Norman keep, remodelled—it is true—with an intermixture of Elizabethan decoration, but still representing the castle of the Peverels, and the stronghold of King John and Henry III. His plan appears to have been to erect a grand three-storied mansion, in the later Elizabethan style, by the side of lhe castle, fronting the terrace, and commanding an extensive view over the vale of Scarsdale.

The architecture of the back part of this building, which faces the space called the Tilt-yard, is peculiar, consisting of a series of large gable-ends, something in the style of a French chateau. This building, though so close to the Castle, was quite separate from it; and the style of architecture was so different that it could not in any way interfere with the unity of design of the ancient fortress, with which it had no more direct communication than by a door opening from the side of the highest story upon one end of the Bailey wall. Sir Charles had made very little progress in this undertaking when he died; but his plans were completed by his son about the year 1630.

In 1620, Sir William had been raised to the peerage, as Viscount Mansfield, and in 1627 he was created Earl of Newcastle, and Lord Bolsover. He was regarded with real friendship by Charles I., who could not but respect his noble character, which soared high above the littleness of courtly intrigue, for he was attached to the monarch from motives the most pure and disinterested. This sentiment was rewarded, as it deserved to be, with due appreciation on the part of the Sovereign, who—in 1638—made him Governor to the Prince of Wales. He was now a man in the meridian of life, having been born in 1592. Although, from the favour of the prince, he was in frequent attendance at court, he found ample time to combine with this the execution of magnificent works on his estates, for he inherited the old countess'—his grandmother's—passion for palace-building. He had, accordingly, scarcely finished the new mansion on Bolsover terrace, when he added a great range of building at the end most distant from the old castle. The Duchess, in her life of her husband, alludes to this when she says that he made some additional buildings at Bolsover. These consisted of a gallery, 220 feet long, overlooking the terrace, and a suite of three very large saloons, running parallel with the gallery, and fronting the tilt-yard. This palatial range of apartments was of one story, the rooms being

extremely lofty and the roof being flat and covered with lead. At the summit of the lofty portal which opens from the terrace there is a circular iron balustrade which could be ascended by steps from the roof behind. From this spot it is supposed that Charles and Henrietta Maria enjoyed the splendid coup d'œil of the crowds assembled to do them honour on the broad esplanade below. The façade of this palace is of very singular architecture, combining much Grecian and rustic work on a grand scale with Gothic battlements and Elizabethan windows of gigantic size. And all along the building from end to end, between each window, are pilasters carved in the shape of cannon, which produce a very odd architectural effect. This immense structure has long been a roofless ruin, while the old Norman keep has been preserved in perfect repair; and both have been kept up until the present time in their respective conditions of picturesque ruin and habitable mansion.

The ruins of Bolsover have caused much speculation, and have given rise to many idle surmises. Their extent, their comparatively recent date, their great solidity, and their state of utter decay have occasioned many absurd theories. Some have asserted that they were not built by the Marquis of Newcastle until after the Restoration, when he was duke. This is sufficiently refuted by the engravings in his great work on Horsemanship, published during his exile, in which the buildings of Bolsover are delineated as they at present stand—and, moreover, how could the Marquis of Newcastle have entertained Charles I. and Henrietta Maria, their court, and all the gentry of the surrounding district, if his accommodation had been limited to the old castle and to the original dimensions of the structure on the terrace? The date of Diepenbach's view of Bolsover (1652) decides the point that they were erected prior to the civil wars, and indeed they were undoubtedly fitted up for the royal visits. During the subsequent sequestration of the immense Newcastle estates, Bolsover suffered much as to its buildings and furniture, but all these damages were repaired at the Restoration. It is certain that the state apartments were not dismantled until after 1710, at which time Bassano, in his "Church Notes," mentions them as furnished, and describes the pictures which were then in the several rooms, and which are said to have been removed to Welbeck.

The Marquis completed his works at Bolsover by constructing a large building running at right angles from that on the terrace, enclosing the tiltyard and facing the castle, for the accommodation of his stud. This contains, besides a multitude of chambers, a riding-house, which is a very noble room, and which is still in perfect preservation, its massive oak beams and rafters being now in as good repair as on the day that they were put up.

The Earl of Newcastle (for such at that time was his grade in the peerage) entertained Charles I. with great magnificence at Bolsover, in 1633, when he was on his way to Scotland. The expense of the banquet is said to have been £4,000. Lord Clarendon speaks of it as "such an excess of feasting as had scarce ever been known

"in England before, and would be still thought prodigious, if the "same noble person had not within a year or two afterwards made "the King and Queen a more stupendous entertainment, which no "man ever after, in those days, imitated." The Duchess, in her Memoirs of her husband, says that "the King liked the first enter-"tainment so well that, a year after his return out of Scotland, he "was pleased to send my Lord word that her majesty the Queen "was resolved to make a progress into the northern parts, desiring "him to prepare the like entertainment for her majesty as he had "formerly done for him; which my Lord did, and endeavoured for "it with all possible care and industry, sparing nothing that might "add splendour to that feast." He employed Ben Jonson in preparing masques for the occasion; and he sent for all the gentry of the country to come and wait on the King and Queen. In short, he did all that he could to render the reception worthy of Royalty, at the expense to himself of between £14,000 and £15,000.

During the civil wars, that immediately after ensued, the Castle of Bolsover was held out for the king, by its loyal lord; but the fortress which had been a tower of strength in the wars of the Barons could not hold out for one day against the cannon-shot of the Parliament. The Earl, who in 1643 was created Marquis of Newcastle, placed a garrison at Bolsover, and he was there in December of that year. But about the middle of August, 1644, it was taken by the army of the Parliament; and the mark of a cannon-ball is still to be seen on one side of a lofty gateway. The parliamentary writers represent it as having been well manned and fortified, with strong works and great guns; and that one hundred and twenty muskets were taken from it, with much plunder. The noble sacrifices which the Marquis made in the service of the King entitle him to all praise, while in undaunted daring and chivalrous courage he surpassed most Paladins of romance. His successes as a general—it must, however, be admitted—were not equal to his accomplishments as a gentleman and his valour as a knight.

Margaret, sister of Lord Lucas, the second wife of the Marquis, was one of the most voluminous writers of her sex. She was the companion both of the graver studies and lighter accomplishments of her lord, and she has bestowed much pains in chronicling his virtues and his sacrifices. Their mutual attachment was enduring and exemplary, and was enhanced by the congeniality of their sentiments and tastes, and by the remarkable vicissitudes of good and evil fortune which they experienced together during their protracted union.

On the destruction of the monarchy they retired to the continent, and finally settled at Antwerp, where they lived for some years, on means so slender that the Marchioness informs us that they were sometimes compelled to pawn their clothes in order to procure the necessaries of life. This was an extraordinary change for a man whose income had amounted, before the Great Rebellion, to upwards of £22,000 per annum. It is calculated that the losses which he sustained during the civil wars, and his long exile,

amounted to more than £700,000. He and the Marchioness beguiled the tedium of their exile by devoting themselves to literature; and, after having sacrificed his immense fortune to the principle of loyalty, he was enabled, with practical philosophy, to accommodate his mind to the pursuit of elegant studies in an obscure retirement.

He was a poet, and a writer of plays, some of which possess considerable merit. But the work with which his name is most familiarly associated, and which is considered to be a masterpiece of its kind, is his large *Treatise on the Art of Training and Managing Horses,* published at Antwerp during his exile. It is illustrated by an immense number of engravings, in many of which, different views of Bolsover Castle are introduced. These are especially interesting, as they serve to show the extent and condition of its various buildings previous to the civil wars.

When the Marquis returned to England at the Restoration, he continued to adhere to his dignified contempt for office and proud independence of court favour; and for the most part secluded himself in the mansions of his great estates. In 1664 he was raised a step in the peerage, by being created Duke of Newcastle, with the earldom of Ogle as a second title. The serious business of the remainder of his life was to repair the ravages which war and spoliation had made on his estates, and to restore his dilapidated mansions to their original grandeur. He spent much of his time at Bolsover, and seldom appeared at court, where the dignified demeanour and old-fashioned stateliness of himself and the Duchess did not suit the taste of Charles the Second's laughter-loving circle. They continued to devote themselves to literary pursuits; and the Duchess—at her death in 1673—left behind her not less than ten folio volumes of printed works, chiefly on philosophical subjects. She was followed, three years afterwards, by the Duke; and they lie magnificently entombed in Westminster Abbey.

Henry Cavendish, second Duke of Newcastle, made Bolsover a frequent residence; and both he and his Duchess are buried in the Cavendish vault in Bolsover church. He died in 1691; and, as he had no surviving son, his daughter Margaret, wife of John Holles, Earl of Clare, inherited his great estates, and the latter had his father-in-law's dukedom revived in his favour, in 1694. He and his Duchess frequently resided at Bolsover. Their only child, Lady Henrietta Cavendish Holles, heiress of her mother's vast estates and of a portion of those of her father, married Edward Harley, 2nd Earl of Oxford, by whom she had an only child, the Duchess of Portland, great grandmother to the present Duke.

In Lady Oxford's time, Bolsover ceased to be a residence of the family. While the Norman castle was preserved in excellent repair, the structure on the terrace was dismantled and unroofed, and has continued ever since a picturesque ruin, abandoned to the ivy and the lichen.

But, while the Countess of Oxford undid the works of some of her ancestors, by dismantling one of their favourite residences, she was not unmindful to do them honour. She erected a costly monu-

ment of the most precious foreign marbles, in the grandest style of Italian art, to the memory of her grandfather, Henry, second Duke of Newcastle ; her mother, the Duchess Margaret ; and other relations who were buried in the vault of Bolsover church. This she placed above the vault in the Cavendish chapel, opposite the monument which Baroness Ogle had erected to the memory of her husband, Sir Charles Cavendish. This vault contained thirteen members of the Cavendish family, commencing with Sir Charles and the Baroness Ogle, and ending with Margaret Cavendish, wife of Holles, Duke of Newcastle, who died in 1716. From that time it remained closed, until 1854, when it was re-opened to receive the remains of her great great grandson, the late venerable Duke of Portland.

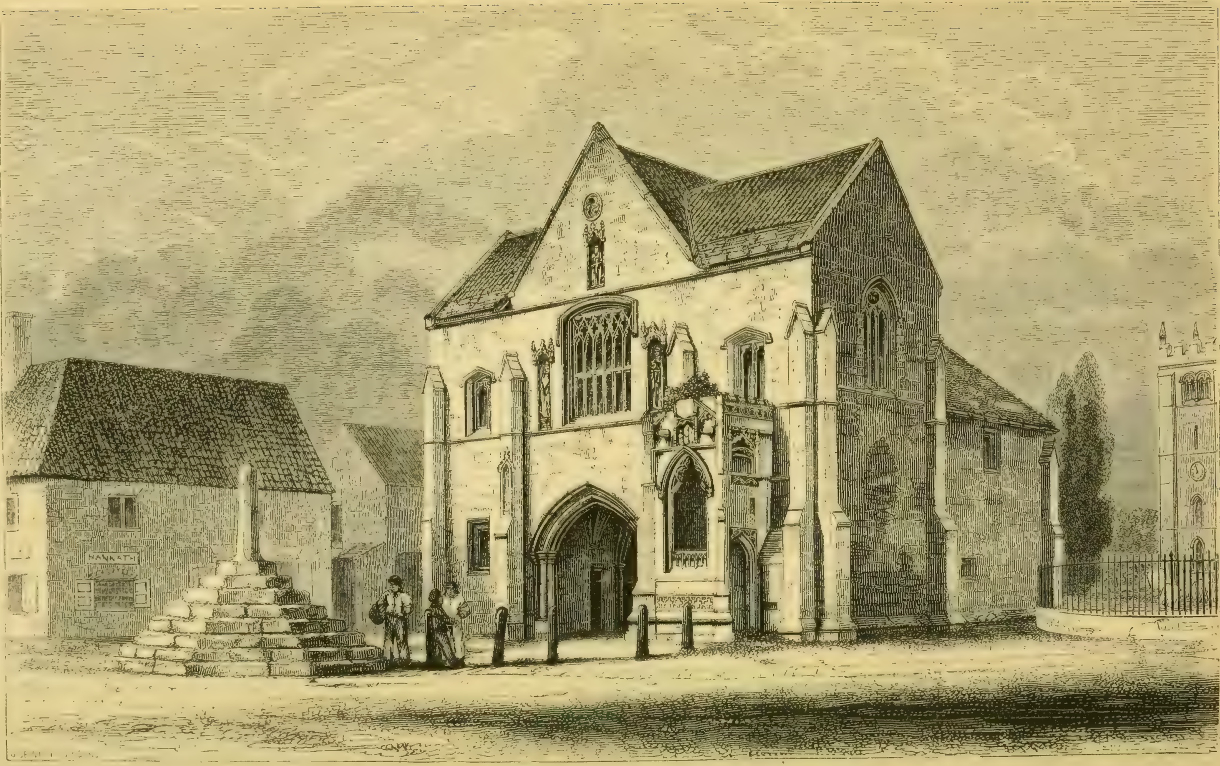
The Countess of Oxford's only daughter and heir, Lady Margaret Cavendish Harley, in 1734 married William Bentinck, second Duke of Portland ; and her great grandson and heir is William John, fifth Duke of Portland, proprietor of Welbeck Abbey, Bolsover Castle, and all the other estates which belonged to the Newcastle branch of the Cavendish family, of which he is the representative.

Although Bolsover Castle has ceased to be inhabited by its lords for about a century and a half, its preservation has been the object of their constant care ; and they have shown excellent taste in abstaining from making alterations on the quaint and picturesque old building, which remains a curious monument of the past, uninjured by modern improvement ; while their judicious outlays have arrested the progress of decay, and preserved a remarkable relic of the olden time.

It may not be out of place to subjoin, in conclusion, a short description of the present state of Bolsover Castle, extracted from the "*Proceedings of the Congress of the British Archæological* "*Association*," who visited it in the month of August, 1851 :—

"Upwards of a hundred years ago the palace on the terrace was "unroofed, and it has since then been kept in good order, as a "picturesque ruin, by the Dukes of Portland, who represent in the "female line the Dukes of Newcastle of the race of Cavendish. The "Elizabethan reproduction of the Norman keep has always been in "excellent repair ; and for the last twenty years it has been in- "habited by the Reverend John Hamilton Gray, Vicar of Bolsover, "by whom it has been furnished in the Early English style, with "a profusion of English and foreign ancient carvings ; so that it "may be said to be no bad specimen of an ancient English man- "sion, adapted to the elegancies of modern society. It is difficult "to conceive a more beautiful and striking view than that which is "enjoyed from the rampart which surrounds the old garden, and "which is on the site of the fortifications surrounding the keep.

" The interior of Bolsover Castle well corresponds with its pic-
" turesque exterior. The Early Norman features have been pre-
" served and modified according to Elizabethan taste. The drawing-
" room and dining-hall are supported on central pillars, and have
" beautifully-arched and carved roofs. The same may be said of
" others in the basement story. The largest room in the house is
" the 'Star Chamber,' so called from its stellated roof, constructed
" by the Marquis of Newcastle in imitation of the too celebrated
" 'Star Chamber' of his unfortunate master; and it is curious that
" here there are copies of the paintings of the Twelve Cæsars which
" are said to have hung in the 'Star Chamber.' This room is
" fitted up as a library and museum, as Mr. Hamilton Gray and
" his lady have made a considerable collection of antiquities and
" curiosities."



WORKSOP PRIORY GATEHOUSE.

YORKSHIRE

ARCHITECTURAL SOCIETY.

MONASTIC WALLS AND GATEHOUSES. *A Paper read at the Worksop Meeting, June 7th,* 1860. By the Rev. Edward Trollope, M.A., F.S.A.

GATEHOUSES, in connexion with strong walls, constitute an ordinary mediæval feature; and yet one that has, I believe, never formed the theme of any especial treatise devoted to their description. Such a subject, therefore, will at all events possess the recommendation of novelty, which can now be very rarely offered to the notice of Architectural Societies; and as, in addition to this, one of the chief

objects of interest at Worksop is a Gatehouse that will certainly command general attention, I am encouraged to hope that some observations on such buildings may be acceptable on the present occasion.

From the time of the Conquest to that of Henry VIII., towns, castles,[1] and even mansions[2] of importance, as well as religious houses, were almost always defended by outer walls and gatehouses; but I propose to confine my attention now to Monastic examples alone.

These were sometimes inserted honestly in a distinct wall, surrounding the actual buildings within them; sometimes rose proudly far above the adjoining enclosure, so as hardly to come in contact with it; and sometimes were so incorporated into the general mass of the buildings as scarcely to be observed as distinct features, except from their arched gateways.

Gatehouses also varied as to their distinctive character. There was the *tower* type, so familiar to the members of our Universities; there was the imposing *rectangular* structure type, flanked by two, and sometimes by four, conspicuous turrets, as in the magnificent instance of Thornton Abbey; and there was the *gabled* type, as illustrated by the Gatehouse at Norwich, and this at Worksop. Again, there was a considerable degree of variety in the construction of their doorways; some having a single arched gateway, some one large and one or two smaller gates, all opening into the same inner archway; and others having distinct entrances, entirely separated from each other throughout the whole depth of the Gatehouses which they pierced, by internal divisional walls.

Gatehouses are often the only existing relics of monastic houses—remaining in a more or less perfect condition—as in the cases of Bolton Abbey, and Wetherall and Kirkham Priories. These were perhaps left, in the first instance, for the use of their despoilers' agents, who were commissioned to sell the lead and the timber of the adjoining church and ecclesiastical buildings,—or even their very stones, in those days of mercenary pillage, when the monuments of the pious and illustrious dead were sold to the highest bidder, as well as the very gravestones[9] covering their mortal remains, when there was any hope of turning another penny by so base a deed. Afterwards, some Monastic Gatehouses were converted into prisons, as in the case of Bridlington Priory. Town monasteries usually had several Gatehouses, in various situations, so as to fall in with the principal thoroughfares adjoining them; but in the country, unless the peculiarity of the situation demanded it, as at Furness Abbey, there was ordinarily only one Gatehouse leading to religious houses, and this most commonly either to the south-west or north-west of their churches; although here, at Worksop, the Gatehouse is on the southern side of the Priory church.

The rooms over Monastic Gateways were very often used as chapels, as at Chertsey, described as *Capella super portam*; Barlings —still remaining in the time of Browne Willis; Peterborough— termed *Capella Sancti Thomæ ad portam;* and Winchester, where

the old chapel is now used as the parish church of St. Swithin. In other cases, chapels, when not forming an actual part of Gatehouses, closely adjoined them, as at Furness and Malling, at Finchale, termed in its charter of endowment, *Fundacio cantuariæ ad portam de Fynchall;* and at Merivale, whose monks had a piece of land bestowed on them for the maintenance of fifteen tapers in the chapel of Our Lady near the abbey gate.

But there was another purpose to which the rooms over Monastic Gatehouses were applied—namely, the reception of guests; the *Hospitium*—or Guest-chamber—being not unfrequently in such a position, and almost always adjoining the chapel so often found near the entrance of religious houses—as at Stoneley Abbey, and Peterborough, where abbot Benedict built a Gatehouse and a *Hospitium* close by. In connexion with these two features, R. Swapham says, (*fol. xlix.*), "In Benedict's days there was a gladsome reception at the gate, without any murmuring of the guests or strangers;" and next we are told that abbot Akarius granted the offerings made in the Gatehouse chapel[10] to the adjoining Hospitium, but that at the same time being anxious not to interfere with the parochial system, he suffered only visitors, and those who through weakness were unable to worship in their own parish churches, to make their oblations there; and further ordered that even of the sums thus collected on festivals, two-thirds only were to be retained by the sacristan of the Gatehouse chapel, and the other third to be handed over to the chaplain of the adjoining parish of St. John the Baptist; but that on other days, if any came out of peculiar regard for this chapel, their offerings might be unreservedly accepted for the use of the Hospitium, as well as those of strangers whenever they might be given..

Hence we gather to what an excellent purpose Gatehouse-chapels and Guest-chambers were applied; namely, in the first place to enable visitors and travellers to offer up their devotions to Almighty God: and, secondly, to encourage the rich to assist in the maintenance of their poorer brethren.

History is entirely silent on the point as to when the Gatehouse of Worksop Priory was built, and by whom; we must therefore endeavour to make architecture supply the deficiency. For the most part the structure is of the Decorated period, and appears to have been erected in the first quarter of the 14th century, when the third Thomas de Furnival, lord of Worksop, was living; who, in the 24th Edward I., obtained the grant of holding a market and fair, of which the wide-spreading base of a cross close by is a pleasing reminiscence. We may, therefore assume that this Lord Furnival, the then representative of the Priory founder, at least aided in the erectiou of its Gatehouse, and perhaps in connection with the establishment of the above-named fair and market, which would render a gatehouse to the Priory especially necessary. Externally, the southern and principal elevation of this feature is worthy of much admiration, from the general character and variety of its design. Four buttresses break up its monotony of surface; in the

centre is the entrance archway, 12 feet wide, and above is a large flat-arched transomed window of six lights, surmounted by quatrefoiled tracery; this is flanked by two richly canopied niches containing statues, the one on the east representing St. Cuthbert, the patron saint of the Priory, the other either St. Aidan, his early preceptor, or more probably St. Augustine, whose rule was observed at Worksop. In the gable above is another similar niche, filled with a statue; not of the Virgin and Child, as has been usually said, but of the first person of the Holy Trinity, holding a crucifix between His knees; and above this is a pretty little perforated circlet. The western elevation is in a ruinous condition. The northern one has a central gable, lit by a four-lighted transomed window, and supported by a lean-to on either side. There will be perceived a closed doorway, about ten feet from the ground, once giving access to the upper rooms of the Gatehouse by means of external stone steps up to that point; and thence by an internal stone staircase, of which traces remain. This staircase was afterwards cancelled, and a new one was made on the opposite side of the Gatehouse, provided with a protecting porch, now constituting its most conspicuous feature, and adding much picturesqueness to it appearance. It is of the beginning of the 15th century, and was not improbably erected wholly, or at least in part, by John Talbot, the celebrated Earl of Shrewsbury, and in right of his wife, Maude Nevil, the heiress of the Furnivals, lord of Worksop Manor at that time. This opinion is strengthened by the MS. notes of Dodsworth, who, writing in 1634, says that two of the niches of this Gatehouse were then filled with statues of knights, the one on the west bearing a shield, charged with a lion rampant, the other displaying a bend between six martlets, i.e. Talbot and Furnival. These no doubt occupied the now empty niches in the central pair of buttresses, and were probably erected at the same time as the porch, in honour of the first Talbot, who was lord of Worksop, and of William, the last Lord Furnival, his wife's grandfather, who died in 1383. Above the sadly mutilated window of this porch is a canopied recess, filled with a small piece of sculpture, representing the *Adoration of the Magi*, with the remains of censing angels above, bending downwards; and this was surmounted by a richly wrought flat gable. On the east is a doorway, now walled up, below a large and interesting sculptured representation of the *Annunciation;* and on the west is another doorway still in use. Internally the porch is everywhere richly decorated with carving, and within its elaborately carved niche once, no doubt, stood a statue, probably of the Virgin and Child. The great richness of ornamentation bestowed upon what we have termed a *porch* to the Gatehouse, appears to point to another and a higher use to which it was not improbably applied, namely prayer. A chapel and a guest-chamber were usually found in close proximity within or near to Monastic Gatehouses; and I am inclined to think this feature, of which we are speaking, served as an oratory to coming or departing guests, who could here thank God for the relief they had sought and obtained at the hands of the former occupants of Worksop Priory.

Although Monastic Gatehouses were, in some instances, built for defensive purposes, as I shall afterwards show, it is quite evident that no such intention was entertained here; not only from the exposed character of its entrance, but from the position of its great door and postern, these having been hung in the centre of the Gatehouse, instead of in its external archway, so that assailants could have readily fired the finely-groined oak roof above without any fear of assault from the Priory inmates, through the protection offered by the outer portion of the Gatehouse itself. On either side of the archway are two small rooms, one, no doubt, originally intended for the use of the porter, and the others were perhaps connected with the duties of the *Hospitiarius* or guest-master, and the *Elemosinarius* or almoner. The oak roof of the archway will be doubtless much admired as a good specimen of ancient carpenter's work, although produced in some respects by different means to what would now be used. This forms the floor to a long room above, now used as a school-room, but formerly as the monastic *Hospitium* or guest-chamber, as is pretty clearly indicated by the large hooded chimney-piece and the ample hearth below—that has, I doubt not, in former years warmed a long succession of way-worn travellers, and mendicant poor, ever craving admittance beneath the roofs of religious houses in older times, aud where alone such charity was then usually to be found. Formerly, there were two other smaller chambers opening into this central apartment, one of which alone is now remaining, These were probably dormitories for strangers, and with one of them the original staircase immediately communicated. Afterwards, when the new staircase was made, both became inner rooms; and there is something very pleasing in the idea that so much pains and cost were generously incurred in facilitating and beautifying the way, leading the poor and weary towards that refuge provided for them above; while at the same time, as soon as they had set their feet upon the monastic threshold, they were invited to bend their knees in humble thankfulness to God for His mercy, before they partook of the hospitality of His servants, the Augustine canons of Worksop Priory.

Mercy has usually found some place in the heart of man, even in the darkest ages of heathenism; and this has led to the invention of various means of defending the weak against the strong, and of preserving offenders from the avengers of their evil deeds. Thus the temples of Greece and Rome were more or less looked upon as Sanctuaries, calculated to save men's lives when in danger from the violence of their fellow men; and only crimes of a deep dye—or exasperation of an unusual character—were found sufficient to drag trembling fugitives from the horns of heathen altars. This arose from a belief that the Gods were the just avengers of crime, and that it was impious to interfere with their privileges. One of the epithets of Diana was *Asylos;* and the camp formed by Romulus and Remus was dedicated to the God *Asylæus*, or the *Theos Asylæus* of the Greeks. Hence Rome may be said to have derived its origin from the refuge it offered to offenders; so Athens is reported to

have been founded as an asylum for the protection of the descendants of Hercules from the fury of their enemies. Tyre and Sidon were both possessed of the same privilege, as indicated by their medals and coins, on which the following legends are sometimes found, ΤΥΡΟΥ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ: and ΣΙΔΩΝΟΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ. Vienna and Lyons also had their Sanctuaries. The Emperors Honorius and Theodosius granted the privilege of asylum to certain churches and their environs, from which much evil afterwards arose—these favoured spots becoming like fortresses, filled with the worst criminals, who, there, not only eluded, but braved the magisterial powers.

Charlemagne appears to have been the first monarch that found it necessary to limit the advantages attaching to Sanctuaries, by ordering that no food should be brought to criminals seeking an asylum in churches; afterwards these were allowed a space of forty days' law, and were then expected to come out, and to submit to transportation. If, in the interim, a layman drove out one of these offenders from his asylum, he subjected himself to excommunication; if an ecclesiastic was thus unmerciful, he was punished by his superior. The privilege of Sanctuary was afterwards extended to cemeteries, episcopal and clerical residences, and even to districts within certain limits around abbeys, &c.

In England the law of Sanctuary was in vogue from the most remote period. Dunwallo Molmutius, a British prince, is said to have enacted laws, termed the *Molmutian Laws*, by which he ordained that the cities and temples of his idol gods, the highways leading to them, their farms, and tenants, should enjoy the privilege of *Sanctuary;* so that malefactors were safe there, even in the presence of their adversaries.

This favour is also said to have been extended to Winchester Cathedral, by King Lucius, A.D. 169. (*Usher de Primordiis, fol.* 126.)

How far this very early portion of British history can be believed in is questionable, but in the 9th century some ecclesiastical Sanctuaries had certainly become established. Witlaf, king of Mercia, granted the privilege of Sanctuary to Croyland Abbey, in 825. He was led to do this from the circumstance of his having himself previously found an asylum for four months in the cell of St. Etheldrith, on Croyland island, when in great danger from his predecessor, King Egbert.

Early in the same century, the Sanctuary privilege was given by Athelstan to the churches of Ripon, St. John of Beverley, and St. Burien in Cornwall.

Edward the Confessor bestowed a similar favour upon Ramsey Abbey, and perhaps upon St. Peter's of Westminster,[4] as did Matilda, Stephen's queen, upon the church of Temple Cowley, or Sandford. The privilege of Sanctuary was also granted especially to the churches of Worcester, Tintern, Tinmouth, Leominster, Carrow Nunnery (on the outskirts of Norwich), Hexham, St. Martin's le Grand, and Whitefriars, in London, &c., &c.; and

finally, from custom, if not from legal right, all churches, cloisters, and cemeteries, were deemed to be the safest asylums for criminals, being looked upon, like the Israelitish cities of refuge, as places of temporary protection for persons whose lives were endangered, whether from the consequences of their own violent acts, or from those of their enemies; and many a life has doubtless been saved by the protecting walls and strong gates of such ecclesiastical establishments as that of Worksop Priory.[3]

Yet let us not suppose that such ordinary mediæval defences were always the legal boundaries of the several places gifted with the privilege of Sanctuary; for in many instances immunity from arrest or violence was extended far beyond such narrow limits, by virtue of royal charters; and perhaps in other cases by custom; whilst some appear to have had the power of protecting hard pressed fugitives only—or most securely—in a limited portion of their respective fabrics, as at Westminster, where a small church, or chapel, within the abbey-precincts, seems to have formed the usual, or at least the safest asylum in cases of imminent danger. It was termed, *par excellence,* "the Sanctuary," and was only pulled down in 1750.—*(Paper by Dr. Stukeley, in the Archæologia, vol.* 1, *p.* 39.*)*

In the cases of Ripon and Hexham, on the other hand, the privilege of Sanctuary was extended by Athelstan over an area of one mile in every direction round the church; in that of the nunnery of Armethwaite in Cumberland, founded by William Rufus, stone crosses, engraved with the word "SANCTUARY," indicated the precise limits of its protecting powers; and in that of Croyland Abbey, the five waters surrounding the island on which it originally stood, were its asylum-boundaries, so that fugitives might labour, fish, and shoot in safety, within the spacious area of that Sanctuary. Much inconvenience, however, seems at an early period to have been experienced at Croyland, from the very extent of this privilege; for, when the abbey received a fresh charter from Edward, A.D. 948, Turketul, the then abbot, declined to have the privilege of Sanctuary inserted in the document, lest he should be led to protect criminals improperly, against the execution of the law.—*(Ingulphi Hist., p.* 40.)

Various ceremonies were observed on the admission of fugitives into these asylums. First, they were led to a particular seat, termed the *Grith-stol,* (chair of asylum) or *Freod-stol* (liberty seat); and after sitting in the same, were then considered free of the immunity of Sanctuary.

In the collegiate church of St. John at Beverley, this *Freod-stol* was placed at the upper end of the choir. It was of stone, and had the following inscription cut upon it, *Hæc sedes lapidea* FREEDSTOOL *dicitur, id est, pacis cathedra, ad quam reus fugiendo perveniens, omnimodam habet securitatem. (Camden.)*

The poetical charter of Athelstan, in reference to Ripon Minster, also alludes to the *Grith-stol,* or chair of asylum, there. The fugitives next had to take certain oaths, and finally their names were entered in the Sanctuary Register, when they might, under ordinary circumstances, consider themselves secure.

Still, however, vengeance was not to be stayed either by the sanctity of such asylums or the force of their charters, when acts of unusual violence had been committed by refugees within their boundaries, or when the avengers of their evil deeds were powerful, or unscrupulous. In 1348 certain armed persons forced their way into the Sanctuary of Leominster, and dragged out thence some trembling fugitives who had sought shelter therein; but for this act of violence its perpetrators were excommunicated by Trilleck, Bishop of Hereford. In the first year of Godfrey de Croyland, abbot of Peterborough, some violent men pursued certain fugitives into the chapel of St. Thomas à Becket, at Peterborough, and after wounding them, carried them off, in defiance of the privilege of the place. In consequence of that deed the performance of divine service in this chapel was suspended for a time, and was only recommenced after the restoration of the persons seized, the sprinkling of holy water within its limits, and the reception of the Bishop's absolution.

Some soldiers took refuge, or *Grithe*, as it was termed, in St. Martin's-le-Grand church, London; but the sheriffs took them out thence by force, first to the Compter, then to Newgate. Upon this the Dean and Chapter of Westminster appealed to the then king, Henry VI., and the prisoners were released.

So again, when one Robert Hawley fled to the Sanctuary of Westminster, in 1378, he was followed by Sir Alan Boxhall, constable of the Tower, accompanied by armed men, who pursued their victim into the choir, and there, after some resistance on his part, killed him while high mass was in the act of being celebrated. In consequence of this profanation, the church was shut up for about four months; and in two subsequent parliaments, held respectively at Gloucester and Westminster, Litlington, then abbot of Westminster, complained so loudly of this breach of sanctuary, that he in consequence obtained a fresh confirmation of its asylum privileges. (*Widmore's Hist. Westm. Abbey, p.* 106.) But the sword of justice, as well as of vengeance, was sometimes not withheld from following offenders into Sanctuary, especially in the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries. For instance: Edith Weston, prioress of Carrow, was prosecuted by the prior of Norwich for harbouring in Sanctuary the murderer of William Kok, of Trows, and was actually committed to prison on this charge, but was finally acquitted.

In 1487 Henry VII. obtained a Bull, qualifying the privileges of Sanctuary, so as to remedy its then frequent abuse. It ordained that if any Sanctuary-man should secretly leave his place of refuge, and should commit any misdeed, he should lose the benefit of Sanctuary; secondly, that, though his person was safe, the property he should leave out of Sanctuary might be seized; thirdly, that if any took Sanctuary for treason, the king might appoint keepers to watch him, even in Sanctuary.

In the following reign a further step was taken; for, in 1523, when Robert Lambert and others, after murdering Christopher Radcliff, at Shenston in Durham, took refuge in Tinmouth Priory, no

less a personage than Wolsey, then archbishop of York, wrote to Lord Dacre, warden of the marches, to extract those evil doers from their asylum. See Wolsey's letter, in the *Monasticon*, vol. 3, p. 306.

A little later, in 1534, it was enacted that gross offenders against the laws, taking Sanctuary at Hexham, and similar consecrated places, should be considered out of the protection of such asylums.

Perhaps the most celebrated instances in English history of the weak flying to Sanctuary for protection from the strong, are united in the person of Elizabeth Woodville, the queen of Edward IV., who, in 1470, sought for safety in the Sanctuary of Westminster during the temporary restoration of Henry VI., where her son, afterwards Edward V., was born; and where "the sayd child with-"out pompe was christenyd; whose Godfaders were the Abbot "(Thomas Millying) and the priour of the sayd place, and the lady "Scrope, Godmoder," according to Fabyan. (*Chron., edit.* 1811, *p.* 659.)

And again, in 1483, for a second time did Elizabeth, with a far more despondent heart, hurry into the same Sanctuary, with her five daughters and the youthful Duke of York, when thoroughly alarmed at the arrest of the Earl of Rivers, and Gloucester's treachery towards his brother's house was becoming palpable. "She "went out of the palais at Westminster (says Sir Thomas More) "into the Sanctuary, and there lodged in the Abbot's place; and "she and all her children and compaignie were regysted for Sanc-"tuary persones." (*Life of Edward V., by Sir Thomas More.*) One of the last persons who took shelter in the same asylum was the poet, John Skelton, when he had incurred the much feared power and wrath of Wolsey, in 1529.

The privileges of Sanctuary were first limited, and eventually almost extinguished by Henry VIII. In 1530 a statute was passed, ordering all persons flying to Sanctuary to be confined for life in one particular place of detention, or Sanctuary; on the plea that many persons abjured their country after flying to the usual Sanctuaries, as a means of extricating themselves from their difficulties, and thus deprived the state of useful and skilled subjects.

In 1535, on the plea of the encouragement given to murderers, robbers, and other criminals, through the existence of Sanctuaries, it was ordered that all taking refuge within their walls should wear a badge of distinction, should always go unarmed, and should not leave their lodgings before sunrise, or after sunset. In 1541, the privilege of Sanctuary was entirely abolished, excepting in the cases of Westminster, York, Wells, Derby, Manchester, Northampton, Norwich, and Lanceton; nor were these even to be entitled to defend murderers, burglars, and other gross offenders. Moreover, none of the remaining asylums were to have more than twenty inmates within their walls at a time; and if any of these did not answer to their names for a space of three days, their privilege of Sanctuary was forfeited. (*Codex Juris Ecclesiastici, tom.* 2, *pp.* 1144 *to* 1149.)

Finally, in 1623, the law of Sanctuary was totally abolished by an Act of James I., running thus, "Be it enacted by the authority "of this Parliament, that no Sanctuary or privilege of Sanctuary "shall be hereafter admitted or allowed, in any case." *(Codex Juris Ecclesiastici, tom.* 2, *p.* 1151.)

Nevertheless, the assumed privilege of Sanctuary still lingered on in England for about another hundred years more, on the site of the Whitefriary adjoining the Temple, so graphically described by Sir Walter Scott, in the *Fortunes of Nigel*, as "Alsatia;" debtors and petty offenders there finding an asylum from the pursuit of bailiffs and the ordinary officers of police, until the beginning of the last century. In the sister kingdom of Scotland the ancient privilege of Sanctuary is still upheld. Within the *Grith*, or asylum, once belonging to the abbey of Holyrood, and now attached to the palace, debtors are yet safe from their creditors; and as within its limits Arthur's Seat and Salisbury Crags are included, this refuge is both roomy and agreeable enough. It cannot, however, protect criminals. The precise limits and the character of this asylum are described in the introduction to the *Chronicles of the Canongate.* See also Erskine's *Principles of the Law of Scotland*, *edit.* 1820, *p.* 497.

But, besides affording a refuge to fugitives, walled inclosures—supplied with stout gates and strong gatehouses—were, during the mediæval period, almost indispensable for the protection of life and property generally, against open violence and secret plunderers; cathedrals, abbies, and other monastic houses,[12] as well as castles, greatly needing the same defensive girdles, even at an early period. Abbot Kenulph accordingly surrounded Peterborough Abbey with a wall in 992, *(Hugo Candidus);* and seventy-seven years later, viz. in 1069, its strength was tried by an armed force, when Hereward le Wake with the Danes under Osbern, from Eli, furiously attacked the abbey, which had only just passed into the hands of the haughty Norman abbot Turold. By burning down some houses near one of the abbey-gates called *Bulchithe*, they forced an entrance into the close, and ended by giving to the flames all within it, except the church. Turold had previously retired to Stamford; but, after the heroic Hereward had left Peterborough, he returned with a hundred Norman followers, and erected a further means of defence in the form of a mound, or keep, near the church, afterwards termed *Mount Turold*, and eventually pulled down by abbot Martin de Vectis.

We cannot be surprised to hear that Tinmouth Priory was defended by an outer wall and gates, as well as various monasteries near the Scottish border, or those near the sea, such as Bridlington Priory;[14] but there was good reason for others also to be thus fortified—their inmates, occasionally at least, having to protect themselves from civil, as well as from foreign, aggressions. The abbey of Bury St. Edmunds, for instance, was defended by a wall and gateway; and, strange to say, the latter was built at the expense of the town of Bury, whose inhabitants it was intended to exclude

when necessary. This arose in the following manner. Some of the townsmen having tumultuously attacked and pillaged the abbey, they were afterwards sentenced to pay a large sum, as a compensation, to its inmates; and that sum was very wisely spent in erecting the beautiful, but at the same time strong, barrier, that still remains there, as a defence against any similar *emeute* that might afterwards arise. Bayham Abbey, in Sussex, was attacked in a similar manner, in 1302, by Sir Henry de Legburne, and besieged for three days. His followers clustered round the Gatehouse, and assailed the poor monks with flights of arrows, &c., threatening to kill any who should attempt to escape, until at last the abbot was frightened into making an agreement, by which he bound himself to give his assailant £20, on condition that he and his band should retire. (*Treatise by the Rev. G. M. Cooper: Sussex Archæological Collections, vol.* ii., *p.* 122.) So also in 1381, *temp.* Richard II., when Wat Tyler and Jack Straw had succeeded in stirring up the lower orders against those above them, not only in London,[8] but in many parts of England, some of the rioters persuaded the country people, and even the tenants of Peterborough Abbey, to rise up, and attempt to destroy it; but most fortunately, by the aid of its strong wall it was able to hold out until Henry le Spencer, Bishop of Norwich, came to its rescue with a large force, and dispersed all the rioters, after killing some and taking others prisoners. On this occasion the privilege of Sanctuary was violated, for some of the unhappy peasants flying to the altar for refuge, were there run through with lances. (*Gunton's History of Peterborough, p.* 280.) Nor was this the last occasion when the Peterborough Abbey wall was useful, for in 1481, during the abbacy of William of Ramsey, a hundred of the tenants were again in an insurrectionary state, and began to throw down the hedges, fill up the ditches, &c.; and, had they dared, might have proceeded to further extremities. (*Gunton, p.* 31.)

During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, monasteries had reason to guard against another class of assailants, viz., bold bands of robbers; and especially if situated, like Worksop, in the county of Nottingham, so famed for its connexion with some of Robin Hood's lawless deeds, and who had an especial aversion to rich ecclesiastics.

> "From wealthy abbots' chests, and churches' abundant store,
> "What oftentimes he took he shared amongst the poor:
> "No lordly bishop came in lusty Robin's way,
> "To him, before he went, but for his pass must pay."
>
> (*Drayton's Polyolbion, song* 26)—

—though, at length, the bold outlaw himself was thankful to retire within the calm and protecting walls of Kirklees Priory in Yorkshire, to escape from his pursuers, and to die in peace.[5] Still more dangerous, however, was the race of expert thieves, from whose depredations many churches and monasteries suffered very severely; and totally in vain were walls and gatehouses built, in many instances, as a protection against such marauders. In 1102 some

worthies of that description from France and Flanders broke into Peterborough Abbey, when Godric was abbot, by forcing their way through a window over the altar of St. Philip and St. James. One of their number kept watch over the sleeping sacristan, Turicus, with a drawn sword, intending to kill him instantly should he awake; while the others were packing up the gold cross, chalices, patens, and candlesticks, &c., with which they decamped. But they were pursued, seized, and taken before the justices of King Henry I., when a very strange result occurred, or rather one that would be considered strange now; for, though the aggrieved ecclesiastics saw their secret despoilers deprived of their ill-gotten plunder, they never saw their plate again; for that was swept off into the royal treasury, whence it was never again extracted. In 1285 Edward I. granted a license to the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln to enclose the minster, &c., with a wall, twelve feet high; because thieves and other evil-doers had been in the habit of prowling about its precincts, where they had been guilty of repeated acts of violence. But this wall did not succeed in producing the hoped-for result; for in a subsequent reign, that of Edw. III., thieves broke into the cathedral, and stole the highly venerated head of St. Hugh, with its gold and silver ornaments and precious stones, which they sold in London for 20 marks. Returning however to Lincolnshire with the greatest effrontery, and with the proceeds of their iniquity in their pockets, it is highly satisfactory to learn, further, that they were first relieved of their ill-gotten gains, and then hung, probably on the same gallows at Canwick, near Lincoln, on which the presumed Jewish murderers of little St. Hugh, and many others of their persuasion had suffered for their wealth's sake. In the same way the chapel of the Pyx in Westminster Abbey was robbed of £100,000, which Edward I. had deposited therein (for the purpose of carrying on the Scotch war), notwithstanding its presumed sanctity, its stout doors covered with the skins of sacrilegious criminals, and its double grated windows.[6]

Lastly, walls and gatehouses conduced greatly to the preservation of monastic discipline.

Slander has often preceded contemplated deeds of violence, in the hope that they may be justified, or at least palliated by this additional wrong; as bees are smoked before they are defrauded of their honey, and as the lamb in the fable was growled at and voted a nuisance by the wolf for disturbing the stream, whether it drank above or below the said wolf, before it was finally eaten; so it is not surprising to find that the most abominable accusations were made against the monks as a body by Henry the Eighth's Commissioners, when they were preparing to wring from their ecclesiastical victims the possession of their lands and houses—by cajolery if possible, but otherwise by force. Without, therefore, giving credit to such base and self-interested false witnesses, whose testimony is strongly rebutted by the rules, and usually by the recorded practice of monastic establishments—wherein self-denial was strictly enjoined, charity on a most extended scale was practised, learning was

carefully promoted, and prayer was seldom silent—doubtless there was evil mingled with the good, there, as elsewhere. We admit that there were bad ecclesiastics in days of old, and probably a far greater number who were exceedingly troublesome, and in various ways difficult to control. As, therefore, modern college-gates tend, in some measure at least, to the preservation of order and decorum at our Universities, so were monastic gates found most useful to attain the same end formerly.

In a locality in the immediate vicinity of Sherwood Forest, hunting and shooting must have put strong temptations in the way of the younger canons of Radford, or Worksop, Priory.

The privilege of hunting was sometimes formally confirmed to monasteries by royal charters; for instance, Richard I. granted a licence to the monks of Peterborough, allowing them to hunt the fox, the hare, and the wild cat, in all their manors within the Nassau Burgh hundred, the other game being reserved to the king; —also to possess dogs, "*non expedatos*," i.e. those not maimed by the loss of three of their forenails, or by the paring of the balls of their feet. *(Gunton's Hist. of the Church of Peterborough, p.* 268.) But, usually, hunting on the part of ecclesiastics was strictly interdicted, under pain of the greater excommunication; as well as all pursuit of game—"*omnimodas venationes;*" and even wanderings abroad, "*alicubi discursus.*" It was found quite as necessary, also, to place similar restrictions upon the inmates of nunneries, lest they should indulge in gossip, and—I blush to allude to it—in tipling! for, when Edward Story, Bishop of Chichester, examined the Benedictine nunnery of Easebourne, Sussex, A.D. 1478, he strictly ordered that neither its prioress, Agnes Fawke, nor any of the nuns, should pass beyond the priory walls for the purpose of drinking together, or engaging in any similar reprehensible habits. *(Paper by W. H. Blaaw, Esq., in the Sussex Archæological Collections, vol.* 9, *p.* 15.*)*

Shooting, also, in this country, must always have been tempting even to religious, as well as to other men; but this was against the monastic rule, although—of course—that rule was not always kept. The prior of Boxgrave, for example, in 1518, was restrained by his diocesan from frequenting public archery meetings, where he had often proved himself to be a remarkably good shot, but was comforted with the permission to indulge in such a sport privately within the priory wall. "You are noted (says his superior) *pro sagittario,* "(as an archer), even outside the priory, with laymen; and because "you wear out the time which ought to be your leisure for contem-"plation and wholesome reading, in vain forbidden sports, and in "unlawful matches—*(illicitis contractibus)*, we enjoin you, under "penalty, that neither you nor your fellow brethren contend in "arrow-shootings in any way, beyond the boundaries of the priory." *(Paper by the Rev. W. Turner, Sussex Archæological Collections, vol.* 9, *p.* 65.*)*

Drink, again, had its charms in former days, as well as now, and monks, as well as others, occasionally were overcome by this temptation; for instance, when William, Bishop of Lincoln, visited

Peterborough Abbey in 1515, the majority of its inmates bitterly complained of the troublesome and unseemly results produced by the existence of a tavern close to the monastery, which had tempted some of the fraternity to frequent it; who sometimes returned thence in a very unseemly condition, and by their singing, and even dancing, in the dormitory until ten or eleven o'clock at night, were an intolerable nuisance to their more staid and properly conducted brothers.

Well, then, might there be an injunction to this effect:—"That "there be no entering into monasteries but one, and that by the "great for-gate of the same, which shall be diligently kept and "watched by some porter especially appointed for that purpose, and "shall be shut and opened by the same, both by day and night, at "convenient and accustomed hours, for the purpose of enforcing "propriety of conduct, &c." *(MS. Cotton, Cleop., E. iv. fol. 21.)*

But with all their failings, and with a cloud of enemies eagerly hankering after their lands, their goods and chattels, in many instances the monks still retained at least a partial hold upon the regard of the laity. The great counties of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire rose in their behalf in such a formidable manner as to cause very considerable anxiety to the government of Henry VIII.; and in many other localities rebellion against the royal mandate on a smaller scale broke forth, when the suppression of monasteries was in the act of being carried into effect, as at Norton Abbey in Cheshire, where the Commissioners were only saved from the fury of the people by seeking refuge in the strong tower of the very church they were come to destroy. *(Ellis, 3rd series, iii, 42.)*

So also at Bayham Abbey, after its inmates had been expelled at an early period by Wolsey, they were again forcibly put in possession of their former establishment. Grafton, in his Chronicle (vol. 2, p. 382, *new edit.*) saying, "You have heard before how the Cardinall "suppressed many monasteries, of the which one was called Beggam "in Sussex, the which was verie commodious to the countrey; but "so befell the cause, that a riotous company, disguised and un- "knowne, with painted faces and visers, came to the same monas- "terie, and brought with them the chanons, and put them in their "place againe, and promised them that whensoever they rang the "bell, they would come with a great power and defend them."

The last prior of Worksop, Thomas Stokkes, might have excited greater admiration had he resisted the suppression of his monastery; but such resistance would have been utterly in vain, for, although it was the policy of King Henry either to cajole or terrify the inmates of monastic houses into an apparently willing surrender of the same; force—and even death—were in store for such as did not yield to the first-named pressure,—those abbots and priors that refused to submit to wrong and robbery usually being tried, and as certainly condemned to severe punishment, for such stiffness of character. Of this number was John Beche, abbot of Colchester; Hugh Cook, abbot of Reading, and Richard Whiting, abbot of Glastonbury.

The last, although weak and sickly, yet had the spirit to resist the despoilers of his abbey, and would not surrender it. It was then found necessary to accuse him of concealing the abbey valuables, of writing against the king's divorce from his lawful wife—the deeply injured Catherine of Arragon—and of possessing a copy of a certain life of the slaughtered Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury; after which he was condemned to death as being guilty of "dyvers and sundrye treasons," and the four quarters of his body were brutally exposed to public view at Bath, Wells, Ilchester, and Bridgewater, his head being especially reserved for exhibition on the Gatehouse of his own abbey at Glastonbury.

If, therefore, the last prior of Worksop did not boldly brave the assailants of his house, but submitted to live on a pension doled out to him annually by his royal despoiler, he simply succumbed to force which he could neither avert nor avoid,[13] instead of furnishing a ghastly addition to the outer façade of that Gatehouse, which has been the subject of the present treatise.

NOTES.

(1) The royal licence had to be obtained before castles could be built, or other buildings fortified or "crenellated," as it was formerly termed, from the *crenelles* or apertures in their battlements. Such a licence was granted to Robert de Ros de Beverlac, with respect to Belvoir Castle, 51st Henry III.; to John Bek, in favour of Eresby, 4th Edw. I.; to Ranulph de Friskney, allowing him to raise a stronghold at Friskney, 31st Edw. I.; and to Henry de Beaumont, permitting him to do the same at Folkingham, in the same reign. See Patent Rolls of those reigns.

(2) Such as episcopal residences, of which the following are a few instances gathered from the Patent Rolls:—

Anthony Bek, Bishop of Durham, allowed to build his castle at Somerton, 9th Edw. I.; Henry Burghersh, Bishop of Lincoln, allowed to surround his episcopal residence at Lincoln with a wall strengthened by towers, and to fortify his other residences at Stow, Nettleham, and Lydington, in the 3rd and 10th Edw. III.; and in the same reign Robert, Bishop of Salisbury, was allowed to protect no less than eleven mansions belonging to him, in a similar manner.

(3) In 1261 it was ordained that they who fled to churches for Sanctuary should not be deprived of food, nor disturbed in the highways after abjuration, nor be taken into custody; and in 1279 declaration of excommunication was uttered against all who should violently drag fugitives from churches, cemeteries, or cloisters; also against those who should prevent the necessary food from being taken to such refugees. (*Codex Juris Ecclesiastici, by Edmund Gibson, vol.* 2, *pages* 1053 *and* 1139.)

(4) The charter connected with this act is given by Stow, (*MS. Collections, Harl.* 540, *fol.* 51); but Widmore does not believe in its genuineness, who affirms that the grant was not made until after the Confessor's canonization, and in consideration of the sanctity attaching itself to his place of burial.

(5) Robin Hood is generally believed to have died Dec. 24th, 1247. He was descended from Gilbert de Gaunt and the Fitzooths of Kyme, and was also connected with the noble family of Wake of Deeping, &c. This connexion perhaps led him to adopt the old Lincolnshire stuff and colour for his own clothing and that of his men:

> "*Robin Hood took his mantle from his back,*
> "*It was of Lincoln green:*"

and again—

> "*He cloathed his men in Lincoln green.*"

(6) The Chapel of the Pyx occupies two bays of the Confessor's work in Westminster Abbey. Several chests of the 13th century are still remaining in it. The present small windows and double gratings may have been inserted in consequence of the above-named robbery. (*Gleanings from Westminster Abbey, by G. G. Scott.*)

(7) The older portion of the present western close gateway was commenced by William de Waterville, and finished by his successor Benedict in 1175. The southern gateway was built by abbot Godfrey in 1319, and is thus referred to in the Patent Rolls; "*Abbas de Burgo Sancti Petri—portam Abbatiæ et duas cameras inter eandem portam et ecclesiam in eâdem Abbatiâ kernellare.*" This was the Gatehouse leading to the Palace, containing what was termed the Knights' Chamber, from its containing paintings of the various knights holding abbey lands originally granted by abbot Turold.

(8) Those miscreants had an especial aversion to foreigners, as well as to all apparently of a different class to themselves; these they ruthlessly tore away from the altars to which they had fled, or from the Sanctuaries to which they had vainly betaken themselves, and then, if they could not pronounce distinctly the two test words of "*bread*" and "*cheese*," which of course was not often the case, their heads were instantly struck off.

(9) In John Scudamore's accounts as the king's receiver for several counties on the borders of Wales, we find the following item—in his bill of sale, connected with the property of the Austin Priory of St. Thomas at Stafford:—" Item, ij grave stones of alablast "sold to Wolrych, xij[d]." And in the same individual's bill of sale connected with the Grey Friary at Lichfield is a similar item:—" Item, the ffrayter and the chambers "stretchyng to the kichyn, with all the quadrant of the inner cloyster joyning to the "church and steple, and the church and quyer, and the long newe house of the est syde "of the same cloyster, except and reservyd ledd, belles, pavement, and *gravestones* "within all the seyd buyldynges," &c. See *Letters relating to the Suppression of Monasteries, by T. Wright, pp.* 272 *and* 276.

(10) Benedict had endeavoured to render this chapel attractive, by placing within it certain relics of Thomas à Becket that he had acquired, viz., his shirt, surplice, blood (preserved in two crystal vessels), and two altars made from the stone on which the Archbishop fell.

(11) He holds the crowned head of King Oswald in his hand, in commemoration of his having reverently placed it in a rich shrine, after its temporary exposure. Oswald fell in battle when contending against the heathen king of Mercia, by whose orders that slaughtered prince's head and hands were exposed upon stakes, until the former was rescued from such degradation by St. Cuthbert of Durham. A portion of Oswald's remains were afterwards taken to Bardney Abbey by Osthrida, queen of Mercia, and thence to St. Oswald's in Gloucestershire, by Elfleda, daughter of Alfred, and wife of Ethelred.

(12) The following are a few instances selected from the royal licenses to "crenellate," or fortify:—

York Minster, 26*th Edw. I.*: "Johannes de Cadamo domos suas quas habet infra clausum Ebor. eclesi Ebor. Ebor."

Lichfield, 27*th Edw. I.*: " W. de Conventr. et Lych. Episcopus, præcinctum domorum suarum et canonicorum infra clausum cathedral. Lichfield, muro lapideo includere, et murum illum kernellare."

St. Augustine's, Canterbury. 2nd Ed. II.: "Abbas Sancti Augustini, Cantuar., quandam cameram ultra portam Abbaci suam, quam de novo fieri faciunt kernellare."

Cathedral, Lincoln. 1st Ed. III.: "Decanus et Capitulum beatæ Mariæ—clausum ecclesiæ prædictæ."

Spalding Priory. 7th Ed. III.: "Prior et Conventus de Spaldyng Prioratum de Spaldyng, ad requisitionem dilecti clerici nostri Henrici de Edenestowe."

Thornton Abbey. 6th Richard II.: "Abbas et Conventus de Thornton, quandam novam domum (Abbatiâ de Thornton, Linc.) desuper et juxta portam Abbatiæ suæ de Thornton, muro."

Thornton. 12th Ric. II.: "Abbas et Conventus Abbatiæ de Thornton—Abbatiam Thornton. Linc."

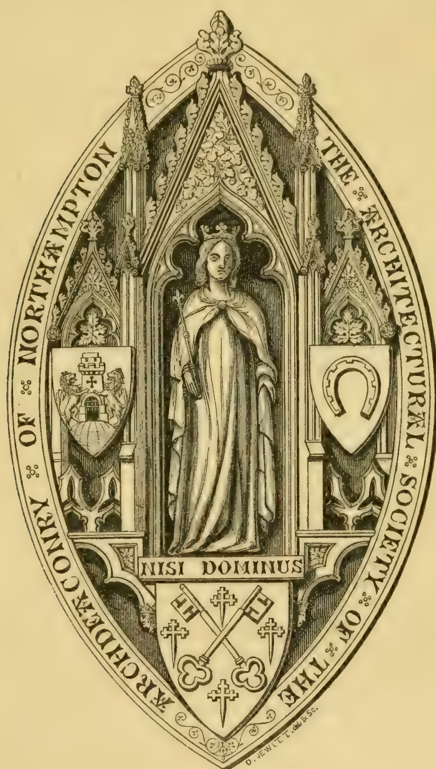
(13) He surrendered the house to the royal commissioners, George Lawson, Richard Bellasiz, William Blithman, and James Rokeby, Nov. 15th, 1539, and enjoyed his pension until 1553. There were fifteen brethren in Worksop Priory at the time of its dissolution, when its annual value was rated at £302 6s. 10d. by Speed, and at £289 15s. 0d. by Dugdale.

(14) This priory had been so frequently attacked by pirates, that Richard II., in 1388, granted a licence to its prior, permitting him to enclose its buildings with a wall and strong Gates or Gatehouses. One of these last, termed the *Bayle Gate*, is still standing, and in a good state of preservation. It is a rectangular structure, supported by buttresses on its inner or northern side, and having only one large arched entrance in that façade; but on the other it has a postern doorway also. On its northern side were lodgings and stables for strangers.

ARCHITECTURAL SOCIETY

OF THE

ARCHDEACONRY OF NORTHAMPTON.



A Plea for St. Sepulchre's Church. Read at the public meeting of the Architectural Society of the Archdeaconry of Northampton, Sept. 11, 1860. By GEO. AYLIFFE POOLE, M.A., Vicar of Welford.

THE most worthy motives for the restoration and enlargement of a church, and those by which, happily, persons are generally influenced in this good work, are those which appeal to our piety and

charity; but a special interest of another kind will sometimes attach to a particular church, and it is allowable to invoke that interest in aid, at least, of those which are higher and better. It is the object of the present very rapid sketch to point out in what respects the church of St. Sepulchre's, Northampton, on the enlargement and restoration of which we are now entering, may fairly claim to belong to this special class.

It is scarcely necessary to remind you that there are four round churches, and four only, still remaining in England; and that these were founded during a time when pilgrimages to the Holy City, or the defence of the pilgrims by the united chivalry of Christendom, or the attempt to wrest the sacred places from the hands of the infidels, formed a great part of the serious business of the Churches and nations of Europe. These churches owe their peculiar form and arrangement to a desire on the part of their founders to embody their recollections of the round church of the Resurrection in the Holy City, in which they had worshipped as pilgrims or crusaders. Inferior as they may be in grandeur, as they certainly must be in intrinsic interest; imperfect as they doubtless all are as copies of a remote original, this was the type after which all our round churches were erected, and this the spirit which led to the adoption of their peculiar plan. We may surely be allowed to sympathise with *our* "pilgrim fathers" in their wish to retain such a memorial of Jerusalem and its holy places; and recognize it as a natural feeling of those days when the land consecrated by our Saviour's footsteps was an object of devout aspirations to thousands as they left these shores, and of pious remembrance to the much smaller number who returned to worship the King of the New Jerusalem in their own land.

Two of the churches thus owing their form, and their very existence, to these facts and feelings, were erected by the Templars and Hospitallers respectively,—two religious orders associated under the most solemn vows for the protection of pilgrims to Jerusalem. These were the Temple, in London, so called because it belonged to the Templars; and Little Maplestead, in Essex, which was attached to a commandery of the Hospitallers. But if these two churches seem to be more especially interesting, from the chivalrous orders to which they owed their erection, the other two have also a peculiar claim, and perhaps a higher, on account of their greater antiquity. These are St. Sepulchre's, in Cambridge, and the church in this town of the same consecration. Of these, the church in Cambridge has, perhaps, the priority, having been consecrated in 1101; but that in Northampton followed immediately after, being assigned, with great probability, to Simon de St. Liz, Earl of Northampton, who died in 1115, after having been long absent from this country. Allowing, then, a barely sufficient time for his absence, this church, if erected by him, must be as old as the former, within a very few years, and may be even older; and there is nothing in the character of its original portion which at all casts a doubt upon the more remote antiquity we might be inclined to give it. Thus, besides its

connection with the history of the Crusades, which it shares with all the round churches, we claim for St. Sepulchre's a date scarcely, if at all, less remote than that of the oldest of the other three. And if anything beyond this be necessary to commend it to the interest of our Society, and of the town and county of Northampton, we may add that its foundation, remote as it is, is assigned to the first Norman who assumed the name of this town as his title. He was not, indeed, the first Earl of Northampton, for the title goes back one generation farther, and to another race. Its descent to this Simon de St. Liz, with those parts of his history which bear on the subject of a church commemorative of his pilgrim propensities, may fairly be considered introductory to a few remarks on the history of the church itself.

The first Earl of Northampton was Waltheof, son of Siward, Earl of Northumberland, a noble and valiant Dane. Waltheof was one of the most formidable of the Conqueror's opponents; but William, in respect for the doughty champion of a fallen race, confirmed him in his former honours, and added to them the earldoms of Northampton and Huntingdon. He gave him too (let us hope it was not wittingly), a treacherous and cruel companion in his greatness. He gave him Judith, his niece, to wife, who afterwards procured Waltheof's execution, by base, and probably false, accusation. At the same time there was in William's court one Simon de St. Liz, a noble Norman, but lame in one leg, a defect which turned out greatly to his happiness; for when William would have given him his niece Judith, the treacherous widow of the noble Waltheof, with all her possessions, the lady refused to ratify her part of the bargain on account of the lameness of the proposed bridegroom. Simon, happy to be thus rejected, married the daughter of Judith instead, and so succeeded to the greater part of Waltheof's estates and to his titles. Soon after this Simon de St. Liz built the castle of Northampton, and about the year 1084 he largely endowed the convent of St. Andrew (the church of St. Sepulchre's being a part of his bounty, though no part of the present church can have been then in existence), making it, however, an alien priory, subject to the Cluniac abbey of St. Mary de Caritate, on the banks of the Loire. As he advanced in years, his zeal for the faith advanced also, and towards the close of his life he took the cross and went to the Holy City. He was fortunate enough to return, and zealous enough to repeat his journey; but being seized with an illness on his homeward way, he died about the year 1115, at the aforesaid abbey of St. Mary de Caritate, and was there buried.

The condition in which he left the church of St. Sepulchre's may be very probably inferred from several indications still remaining. It seems certain that it consisted of the present round, together with a chancel, terminating in an eastern apse. The principal entrance was most likely through a highly-enriched doorway at the west end of the round, which has given way to the present tower. Instead of a tower or other steeple to the original church, the round was crowned with a lofty clerestory or lantern, with a

conical roof of high pitch; and as there was a triforium over the aisles of the round, which has now disappeared, the whole elevation would not be deficient in height. The chancel, I imagine, had no aisles, and, like that at Little Maplestead, which was also without aisles, terminated in an apse.

In the interior, the central circle of eight pillars and arches was surrounded with an aisle with a groined roof, over which was a triforium, opening into the church by a series of arches, probably little inferior in height to those below.[1] Resting on these, and rising to some considerable height above them, was the clerestory or lantern, doubtless of eight lights, with appropriate decorations. A richly moulded arch would lead to the chancel, the details of which can be supplied only by probable analogy. This at least there can be no reason to doubt, that it was both externally and internally a structure of very considerable elegance, and one which would excite the admiration, as well as the interest, of all who looked on it as a legacy from the deceased Crusader to those who had not been privileged to see its antetype in the Holy City.

It did not, however, satisfy more than two or three generations in the state in which Simon de St. Liz left it; and probably it was then, as it was often again, and is now, perhaps for the last time, want of space for those who would worship in it that led to essential changes in the fabric. It was probably about 1180, during the time of the gradual introduction of the pointed arch, but while the old Norman details were generally retained (thus forming a transition era), that the northern wall of the chancel was cut through, to form an arcade, for the addition of a northern aisle. The work does not seem to have been judiciously or even carefully conducted, for the changes about this time originated a series of failures in the fabric, which led first to the necessary erection of certain unsightly buttresses, and ultimately, perhaps, to the failure of the round, and the sacrifice of the old triforium and clerestory. The twelfth century, however, probably closed upon a church scarcely differing from that which St. Liz had finished before 1115, except that a northern aisle had been added to the chancel.

Thus, so far as at present appears, the church remained for upwards of a century, for it is not till early in the fourteenth century that there are any indications of a south chancel aisle. And it was before the close of the same century that the present tower and spire were erected. This was not without a purpose; for the round had probably suffered so much by former changes as to require great repairs. The aisle vaults and the triforium were probably sacrificed at this time, and the clerestory rebuilt on a much more meagre scale, though certainly not so wretchedly as at present. A tower and spire were therefore required to give character to the church. I need hardly tell you that this last feature is of great beauty, and long may it remain an ornament, not to this church only, but to the town of Northampton.

(1) But it must be remembered that the pillars were shorter than at present, by about two feet; and that the arches also, being round instead of pointed, would add less to the height.

Whatever has happened to St. Sepulchre's since the erection of the spire has been by way of destruction and deterioration. The only comfort we can derive from an inspection of it is this: that the very fact that matters have been getting worse and worse for two hundred years, necessitates so entire a reconstruction that we destroy, without compunction and regret, what the exigencies of restoration and enlargement require to be swept away. There is, indeed, no *special* historical interest in any portion beyond the round at present existing, the changes which have been made from the twelfth century to the present time having utterly destroyed the east end, as finished by St. Liz: we are certain, therefore, under the direction of our very able architect, to hand over the remodelled edifice to the parish, and to the people generally, as greatly increased in beauty as in usefulness, and not diminished in interest.

I am, indeed, very much understating the matter when I say that it will not be diminished in interest; for you are aware that it is the purpose of the Architectural Society of the Archdeaconry of Northampton to restore the Round—that most ancient and interesting portion of the church—to the memory of the late Marquis of Northampton. Besides its connection with our history as a crusading people, which it cannot lose, it will carry with it henceforth a double memory of an ancient title, which has graced two persons, who have been found with equal zeal, at so great an interval of time, and under such different circumstances, engaged—the one in the erection, the other in the restoration, of the House of God. Both may, indeed, be fairly called by the architecturalist "*representative men*,"—the one of a time and people on whom the work of construction devolved, and who did it with energy and zeal; the other of an age and generation to whose considerate and reverential touch the care of restoration is committed, and who are performing it, I will not say satisfactorily, but better than it has been performed at any earlier period. The two works cannot belong to the same era: the two men cannot stand side by side in point of time, but they may be working together in a great cause, which precedes and outlives them both; and both may be commemorated in such portions of our present work as it is lawful to devote to the honour of our fellow men. I hope I shall not be suspected of forgetting infinitely higher considerations, a better building, a holier consecration, because I do not think it would be right to speak of them on this occasion.

On Round Churches. Read at the Meeting of the Architectural Society of the Archdeaconry of Northampton, October, — 1860. By THOMAS JAMES, M.A., one of the Hon. Secretaries of the Society.

ON the very earliest revival of the study of church architecture in this kingdom, the subject of "Round Churches" seemed at once to gain a remarkable prominence, and to have excited a general interest even among people who had little care generally for antiquities or architecture.

I fancy that there is no one who has arrived at the first stage of his architectural catechism who would not be able to answer how many Round churches there are in England. The four round churches are almost as familiar to us as the seven wise men, or the nine wonders of the world, or any other conventional number of world-wide notorieties, which will always bear a little addition to their sum when critically tested, but which, for a popular lecture, such as this is intended to be, will be found amply sufficient for working purposes.

A *round* church! People will at once go to see that, who would pass by a hundred rectangular ones; partly, no doubt, because it is connected with that little bit of archæology which the most modern student has picked up, of the relation of that plan to the Holy Sepulchre; and partly, I think, also, from the circular form in itself commending itself to our love of beauty and completeness; so that of all figures, from the "round O" that children delight in above all the letters of the alphabet, to the globe which is our world, and to the mightier spheres which circle above us in the convex sky, all round things have a peculiar charm for us, symbolising, as they do, that eternity which the heart of man yearns to as his home.

It may be, I think, because the age of imagination has passed away, and that we are become, as most certainly we are, more prosaic, flat, common-place, square-headed, and unideal, that the round form has evaporated from our architecture, and that we can now seldom catch its vanishing image, except in a Windmill, or a Folly.

Men are said by civilisation to become less angular, and to have their individual points and peculiarities rounded off by rubbing against their neighbours; and if the architecture of the day is to symbolise the existing state of society (as is a favourite and not very false theory), we might expect to find all our buildings with their angularities smoothed off, and all projecting points rubbed down to the fashion of most polished circles.

But I believe that it would be truer, both in fact and figure, to say that our polish and smoothness is all surface-work, little more than a glaze of varnish and a thin veneering; and that all the individual crotchets and ugly corners still exist in the inner man as

strongly marked as they do in the ground plans of our houses,—the angles, perhaps, a little *canted* off, but no well-rounded, complete character either in our men or in their buildings.

Indeed, it is remarkable that, whereas the old Roman described a perfect character as a smooth and perfect sphere—

"Totus teres, atque rotundus,"

round and tight as a cricket ball—we moderns should take the most angular block in common use for our image of perfection, and call a good fellow "a regular brick."

That phrase would of itself imply that the day of round buildings has passed away, and yet with them, I think, the most beautiful of all forms, and the most perfect; if, also, the most ambitious.

For who can fancy the daring tower rising on the plain of Shinar other than a round building, tier above tier, reaching unto heaven? What are those round towers of Ireland, and those far more ancient topes and lâts of India, the works of the early Buddhists, but embodiments of the same spirit of aspiration, striving to express its craving after the Eternal and the Infinite by a form at once most lasting and limitless?

The earliest buildings of all nations are their tombs; and these, also, from the same feeling that erected them, are the best preserved. Love of father or mother, love of ancestry, love of child early snatched away, love of the departed, which is ever stronger because they *are* departed, the wish to perpetuate the memory of fleeting spirit by enduring matter, these motives have made our sepulchres the most enduring of our monuments, and those on which the earliest and highest art was bestowed. Leaving out the strange and isolated art of Egypt, the earliest existing tombs of old Greece and Etruria and of the further North and East are, for the most part, round, or, at least, domed and vaulted, and so partially in curved lines. I must omit references which I had made to them, and also to that much larger group of later Roman buildings, such as the Pantheon, the Temple of Tivoli, the Tombs of Cecilia Metella, of Augustus, Diocletian's Palace at Spalatro, the Church of San Vito (a tomb of one of the Tossia family), at Rome, and many other buildings in which the round form is distinctly developed.

But to come to those circular buildings of which Time has spared both their forms and records, and which are immediately connected with the round Christian tombs, baptisteries, and churches, from which the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem and its kindred churches sprung.

I have drawn out a series of circular buildings all to one scale, the ground plans being chiefly taken from Mr. Fergusson's admirable "Hand-book of Architecture,"—a book enough of itself to fascinate a reader into a student. This series will enable you to trace the growth of the round tomb, through a variety of phases, into the normal form of round church, such as our English architects adopted.

Passing from the classical period, and taking up the buildings of the Christian era of Constantine, we have the tomb of his mother,

Helena, who died in 328; and that of his daughter, Constantia, now known as the Baptistery of St. Agnese. They are both nearly on the same plan. I have drawn that of the tomb of Constantia. You will observe an inner circle of double pillars supporting the central dome, a vaulted circular aisle, and a further outer row of pillars, which is broken by the entrance or forum, which extended on both sides in front much further than I have shown it.

Of the fifth or sixth century is the much larger building (its diameter being 210 feet), now called the church of S. Stephano Rotondo, at Bologna. The pillars are all taken from older buildings. This was probably a tomb or a baptistery.

In Santi Angeli, at Perugia, we have almost the identical form, though of much smaller diameter (115 feet); and we here, then, see the first additions to the simple round in the forms of the square porches. Hitherto there is nothing to indicate any place set apart for the holy communion. The tomb of the saint, or the font, would occupy the central point; and though, from the tradition of the catacombs, the tomb might also form the altar, yet we find no divergence from the concluding circular wall for eucharistic purposes till we come to the budding chancel of the Baptistery at Nocera dei Pagani (on the road between Rome and Naples), where a small intersecting circle forms a recess, at the entrance of which, or possibly on the chord of the smaller circle, the altar stood. The ground plan of this, in which the type of our future round churches first comes distinctly out, is singularly like (and it may help you to remember) that of one of those venerable watches which our fathers delighted to carry in their fobs.

The simple curve being once broken, the expansion rapidly increased in various directions; the chancel became yet more developed, and the octagon form, the intervening link between the square and the circle, which had already appeared in the central font, comes out into prominence, sometimes affecting the outer, sometimes the inner arrangement of the building,—as is seen in the main ground plan of S. Vitale at Ravenna, where I have omitted, for the sake of clearness, the accessory chapels, towers, and porches.

I have done the same in the plan of S. Lorenzo, at Milan, where I have retained only the central part of the original plan, which strongly marks the combination of the square with the circle, and the germ of those foliated geometrical forms which, in after-times, characterised the window tracery and wall panelling of the best epoch of Gothic architecture, but which were, for many centuries, confined to the ground-plans of a series of the smaller class of churches and chapels, closely united, in motive and expression, to the earlier round churches, from whence they sprung. I give ground-plans of the chapels of Planes, in France; Montmajour, near Arles, also in France; and Ani, in Armenia.

It would be tiresome to give you a mere catalogue (and time would allow no more) of the many existing circular and octagonal baptisteries and churches still existing in Italy, and, at rarer intervals, in Northern Europe. Fergusson's Handbook, to which I have already

referred, and the much larger French work, by Isabelle, on "Edifices Circulaires," though referring chiefly to classic instances, will supply ample examples to those who are inclined to exhaust the subject. The baptisteries of Florence and Pisa, and, I think, of Parma and Modena, the campanile of Pisa, known as the "Leaning Tower," are familiar to us all, either by the engravings or still more faithful photographs which every traveller brings home with him. All combine, more or less, the rectangular with the circular form; and none of them very much exceed or fall short of the diameter of 100 feet, which may be taken as the average measure of this class of buildings.

It will illustrate better the history of our own churches to direct your attention to the ground-plan of S. Tomaso, in Limine, near Bergamo, where the arrangement is almost identical with the original plan of the English examples. Travelling further north, we arrive at the curious and important church of Aix-la-Chapelle, in which "more emperors have been crowned, and more important events happened within its walls, than have been witnessed within the walls of any existing church in Christendom." This was built by Charlemagne, and, though overpowered by the accretions of ages, still retains its main features complete. The nave is really a polygon of sixteen sides, but the shortness of each line brings it, in effect, to the character of a circle. Originally a circular niche, as in the baptistery of Nocera dei Pagani, formed the east end; the present chancel, terminating with a projecting polygonal or many-sided apse, which also has all the general effect of a round, was not erected till the 14th century. This church was, no doubt, a sepulchral one, and the parent of many similar buildings in Germany. The churches of Nimeguen and Magdeburg seemed to have followed its type, while that of Petersburg (in Germany) keeps to the true circle, both in choir and apse, and terminates westward with a large square tower. The baptistery at Bonn, which is of the 11th century, places the rectangular part as a large western porch, instead of its being inserted as a choir, between the round nave and apse. I notice the hexagonal chapel of Cobern, on the Moselle, on account of its rare form, and because, by the kindness of Professor Donaldson, I am able to exhibit very complete working drawings, which, in the elevation of vaulting, triforium, and clerestory, give you a good idea of the appearance which your own church of St. Sepulchre's must have exhibited in its pristine integrity, though the plan of S. Tomaso, near Bergamo, furnished also by Professor Donaldson, shows this much more clearly.

But it is time that I should say something of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, which, though by no means the first of round churches, as I have already shown, was yet the great progenitor of nearly all the round churches of the middle ages, and certainly of all English ones. Mr. Poole's paper of this morning has already prevented me in much which I might say, and into all the controversies on the authenticity of the site I am glad that I am spared from entering. It is enough, for an architec-

tural view, that the pilgrims of the Holy Land, from the fourth century downwards, found a round church, or, at least, a circular enclosure, built over the reputed tomb of our Lord; and that the Crusaders of the middle ages, after that earlier church had been destroyed, still saw a church of the same form, though with many anomalous additions, raised over the same holy spot. It was in fond remembrance of that form, so strange to our insular precedents, that individual knights or religious societies built those memorial round churches, four only of which are left us to the present day.

The Holy Sepulchre itself, in its present state, is a small chapel, of about 26ft. long by 18ft. broad, in the centre of the rotunda, which in itself is about 67ft. in diameter, and at the west end of the building. Beyond, to the east (not to complicate a very intricate plan with minor details) is the choir, presbytery, and apse. These are of much later plan than the original design; and of the walls and architectural details very little indeed remains of the older work. A fire, which occurred in 1808, destroyed the greater part of the old landmarks; and what has since been built is in the very worst taste (and it could not go lower) of Russián ecclesiastic architecture. The number of piers in the rotunda is 18 (probably 12 in the original rotunda of Constantine), and the walls are divided in the usual manner (as your own church once was), into three stories, ground floor, triforium, and clerestory. Quaresmius, who wrote, I think, in the seventeenth century, describes the wall of the triforium panelled with sacred subjects in mosaic on a gilt ground, consisting of the prophets Ezekiel, Daniel, and Hosea—the Emperor Constantine, and on the north side the Twelve Apostles. I mention this as indicating the character of decoration which might be added if our rotunda were ever thoroughly restored. The roof was conical, formed of cedar beams, and the top of the cone was truncated by a circular aperture, open to the sky, which, as in the example of the Pantheon, appears to have been its only opening for the admission of light. Being placed upon a hill of most irregular surface, so great a difference of level existed beween the outer soil and the floor of the rotunda, that the entrance door from the street on the western side opened direct into the triforium of the interior. The piers of the rotunda were in part circular (as ours are), in part square; the arches in this part were round, though traces of a pointed arcade, the work of the crusaders, still remain in the choir and eastern apse, and a pointed-arch doorway at one of the entrances. How this church grew up from the simple tomb, hewn in the native rock, to the present uncouth conglomeration, through ages of persecution and superstition, good faith and bad faith—how infidels desolated and defiled it—how Emperors and Patriarchs restored and sophisticated it—how Mahometans and Christians fought over it—and Christians, one with another—how legends and traditions obscured its genuine history—and rival churches and sects overwhelmed its primitive form, till the great fire in 1808 left little but fragments of the old walls remaining—would form a singular and instructive history, but one far too long to be even sketched in here. To us its

interest becomes greatest when, towards the close of the eleventh century, Europe was roused, by the preaching of Peter the Hermit, into that military and religious frenzy which resulted in the Crusades.

To free the Christian captives from the hands of the Mahometans—to redress the wrongs of pilgrims to the Holy Land—and to rescue the Holy Sepulchre from infidel defilement—were the motives which stirred up Europe to its centre, and drew all the ambition, and zeal, and prowess of our little distant island from its own internal broils and neighbouring wars, into the mysterious and romantic regions of the East.

We smile at the folly, or sigh over the crimes, of such fanaticism, and yet our own days have heard of "warring for an idea;" and, with a strange change and shuffling of names and circumstances, our Crimean war originated in a Russian protection of oppressed Christians—a French interest in Holy Places—and an English abstract love of right. Well, the crusaders may have been weak and childish, but it was only the other day that our British blood boiled up at the news of cruelties done to Eastern Christians by their Mahometan neighbours; and I know not that it is more manly—though doubtless more in the spirit of our age—to send out, by a draft on the Ottoman bank, the few pounds we have mustered for their relief, and the correct despatch of our Foreign Secretary, instead of going in our own persons to see that right was done. Damascus is a little farther off than Messina, or I know not why the chivalrous youth of Northampton, who are reported to have gone off to redress the wrongs of Italy, might not also have remembered those of Syria. I do not say this in scorn. I am glad that the chivalry and romance, and bold daring, and love for the right, and feeling for the oppressed, still remain within us; and if only for this—that it will better enable us to understand and appreciate the spirit of the old crusaders, and to take a more charitable view of their actions, than, after the spirit of modern historians, to call them a pack of knaves and fools—an ill-conditioned and licentious rabble. That portrait of the Crusader on the wall (though not exactly sketched from the life), is that of a most noble fellow, and one whom, were he within hearing, one would be very sorry to malign. It was from this crusading spirit of mingled faith and glory, which took the cross-formed sword-hilt as the symbol of its creed, that the great military monastic orders sprung up which are so intimately connected with our round churches. The earliest was that of the "Brethren of the Holy Trinity;" but, far conspicuous above this and several smaller societies, were the two great orders, often confounded, but strictly distinct and often antagonistic—1. *The Knights of St. John of Jerusalem;* and, 2. *The Knights Templars.* The Knights of St. John were so named, in the first instance, from their patron saint, John the Patriarch; and they were also called Hospitallers, from their early connection with the hospital, or hostel, or hotel (for it is the same word) attached to the St. Sepulchre at Jerusalem, for the reception of pilgrims to the sacred places. Origin-

ally they were Brethren of Mercy attending on the sick, the poor, and the stranger, and rendering them the offices of hospitality and charity. But about the year 1113, when the disturbed state of the Holy Land drove them from these works of peace and love, the lay members of the society drafted themselves off into a new order, under the name and guardianship of St. John the Baptist, taking the three vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, and making the defence of the holy places and their visitors the main object of their union. These Knights Hospitallers of St. John, being first called of Jerusalem, were afterwards known—from their possessions and change of domicile—successively as Knights of Cyprus, of Rhodes, and of Malta, at which last place many vast buildings and unedited records yet remain. Their dress was a black cloak, with red cross, in contradistinction to that of the Templars, which was white, with a red cross. They became exceedingly powerful and numerous in England; and at one time, after they had acquired the possessions of the dissolved Templars, they had as many as 53 establishments or "commanderies" ("*preceptory*" was the name assigned to the Templars' houses) in this kingdom, of which I may mention one—Dingley, in this county, in the cellars of whose modern house there are yet, I believe, remains of ancient vaulting, as early as the time of the Knights' proprietorship of the place. Long after their occupation was gone they lingered on, a rich and dreaded body, who might longer have stood their ground, and kept their own, had not the sweeping revolution of Henry the Eighth whirled them along in the wholesale destruction of all kindred societies. However, they had spirit enough to "die game," and our native historian, Fuller, speaking of their dissolution, says:—"The suppression of the Hos- "pitallers deserveth especial notice, because the manner thereof was "different from the dissolution of other religious houses, for manfully "they stood it out to the last, in despite of several assaults. The "Knights Hospitallers (whose chief mansion was at Clerkenwell, nigh "London), being gentlemen and soldiers of ancient families and high "spirits, would not be brought to present to Henry the Eighth such "puling petitions, and public recognitions of their errors, as other "orders had done. Wherefore, like stout fellows, they opposed any "that thought to enrich themselves with their ample revenues, and "stood on their own defence and justification. But Barnabas-day "itself hath a night, and this long-lived order, which in England went "over the grave of all others, came at last to its own."

And this last grave of its last Prior is yet to be found in this county. In the parish church of Rushton (removed, I believe, from the destroyed church, which stood in the last century close to the Hall), is the beautiful monument of Sir Thomas Tresham, in his robes of prior of the order of St. John of Jerusalem. Though Henry VIII. suppressed the order, Queen Mary revived it on her attaining the throne, and appointed Sir Thomas Tresham, well regarded for his adherence to the unreformed faith, as the Head and Prior of the order in England. He died shortly after; and this most unique and curious, but little-known monument (of which I

am enabled, by a friend's kindness, to exhibit a most faithful drawing), remains a singular memorial of the last brief revival of this ancient society; though I have an indistinct recollection of seeing, on the walls of the Royal Academy, either this or last year, a full-length portrait of Sir G. Bowyer, M.P., in the robes of the Prior of the Knights of Malta.

Still grander monument of the order, and in closer connection with our present subject, is the round church of Little Maplestead, in Essex, the most perfect of all the crusadic churches in England, and which, by the cruel irony of time, though still a parish church, has passed from the patronage of the world-known and dashing Hospitallers into that of an obscure and feeble sect of Sabbatarians.

Founded within a few years of the same time (1118) was the order of the Knights Templar, who were of a more exclusively military character, and affected no deeds but deeds of arms. Nevertheless, the rule of discipline was strict, and after St. Bernard's rule. They took their name from a palace adjoining the Temple at Jerusalem, which was appropriated to their use by Baldwin I. Their dress was a tunic of chain mail, with a long white cloak, on which a red cross was subsequently engrafted, and became their well-known badge.

They came to England in Stephen's reign, and first settled in Holborn, whence they removed to the site nearer the Thames, which—though the arms have yielded to the gown, and the long white cloak of the soldier to the long black robe of the lawyer—still retains the name of "the Temple," and rejoices in that round Temple Church, which exhibited almost the first noble, though still imperfect, example of the spirit of church restoration which has since so widely spread. The pride and haughtiness of this order brought it to an early fall; and, though the name of the Templar is more popularly known than that of the Hospitaller, the existence of the former society was of far shorter duration, the Templars having been, with great severity and cruelty, suppressed in the 14th century, and their lands passed over to their more fortunate rivals. Of their domains, of which the Hospitallers took possession, I may name as places probably familiar to most of you, Temple Bruern, in Lincolnshire (described in the volume of our Architectural Reports for 1858,) Temple Balshall, in Warwickshire, and Rothley Temple, in Leicestershire. I do not find they were ever established in Northamptonshire.

The ground plan of the Temple Church is the least elegant of all that remain, the round being smaller in proportion to the rest of the building, and forming rather a vestibule than the chief feature of the church. It differs from our own church in having twelve instead of eight piers, and so far has closer resemblance to the plan of the original. In its triple arches, opening from the rotunda into the chancel, it follows its Northampton sister.

We have, then, the round church of the Temple built by the Knight Templars; the round church of Maplestead by the other great society of the Hospitallers; while in the other two round

churches of Cambridge and of Northampton can be traced no connection with either order, but they sprung, in all likelihood, from the unaided bounty of individual benefactors; that of Cambridge from some unknown pilgrim or crusader, whose name has perished, though his good work remains; that of our own town, from indirect but very convincing evidence, may almost surely be attributed to the first great name in Northampton annals—Simon de St. Liz, the 1st Norman earl of this county, the founder of the castle, and of St. Andrew's, twice a pilgrim to the Holy Land, and whose name has become so identified with Northampton as to have gained a settlement in the racing card of the spring meeting!

Twice, at least, after the erection of this church, was the town of Northampton prominently connected with the crusades. On the 14th of September, in the year 1189, within a fortnight of his ascent to the throne, Richard Cœur de Lion assembled a council, at the neighbouring abbey of Pipwell, of all the English and Irish bishops, the abbots and priors, and lay nobility, to organise a crusade for the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre; and, no doubt, the now remote site of Pipwell was selected, both for its central position and its contiguity to the neighbouring commandery of Dingley. After his return to England in 1193, Richard kept his Easter with great pomp in this town, and probably knelt in thankfulness in the round church of this town, so suggestive of the object for which his wars and his perils had been undergone.

Again in 1240, the 24th year of Henry the Third's reign, a gathering of nobles took place in Northampton, previously to their setting out for Jerusalem; and again on Midsummer day, 1267, in the 52nd year of his father's reign, Prince Edward, with upwards of a hundred knights, here assumed the cross, previous to their departure for the Holy Land, in the presence of the King, and the Queen Eleanor, who was afterwards to be so gracefully bound up with the associations of Northampton in the beautiful cross which is the finest architectural monument it can boast of.

There are other slighter connecting links between Northampton and the crusades, which I pass over, not professing to have made any research into the subject beyond what may be found in the commonest histories of the place. You may expect me, however, before I conclude, to refer to the past and existing state of your own church, though that subject has been more fully and faithfully treated by Mr. Poole this morning. I need hardly tell you how sadly the original form has been marred, even in times to which we have generally given the credit of knowing better. Originally consisting only of a round and an apsidal chancel, the present round pillars were some three or four feet lower than they now are. They supported an open gallery or triforium, and above that was a circular clerestory (not octagonal, as we now see it) crowned by a conical roof. The circular aisle (if I may so call it) running round the pillars was groined over. There were a few round-headed windows, some of which yet remain. Probably, in the 14th century, the roof and vaulting had decayed; and the restorers in those days thought

it cheaper to pull down the whole of the vaulting, turn the two lower stories into one, raise the piers, put up pointed arches, insert large windows, add chancel aisles and two more arches into these new aisles, turn the round clerestory in an octagon, and otherwise mar the original design. Subsequently, the tower and spire were added at the west end; and then, in still more recent times, followed the abandonment of the chancel and its aisles, the accumulation of galleries and pews, stoves and pulpit, into the round, so that it has been said—and I know it to be a literal fact—that people have gone into St. Sepulchre's to see the round church of Northampton, and have come out again conceiving that they had mistaken the building, so utterly was its characteristic form obliterated. Now, whether we shall ever restore it to its original form—whether, even it is desirable to attempt to do so, to make it again "as round as the O of Giotto," I will not undertake to say. When we have placed the congregation in the new nave beyond it, and the choir in the new apsidal chancel, still further eastward, it will be time to see what can be done with the round. It will, at any rate, be a vestibule to the church, at the same time that it forms a most noble baptistery, with the font in the centre. The plans before you will show that in round churches the round was not always the nave, as it was originally here and in all the English churches. Sometimes it formed merely the vestibule, sometimes the nave; sometimes was placed between nave and chancel, sometimes formed the chancel itself, or the apse, eastward of the chancel; sometimes it was an attached chapel, sometimes a baptistery or tower.

But in all these churches, which were distinctly imitative of the rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, it formed the western or nave portion.

Symbolically,[1] the round church has its significance; imitatively,[2] its association; and, constructively, its beauty; but its circular form is not fitted—never was fitted—for devotional and congregational purposes.

There is one case only in which it well suited for Liturgical use—viz., for the administration of the sacrament of baptism. To this the round form was early devoted; to this it should have been confined. For a ceremony admitting many spectators, directed to one central object, no form could be more beautiful or more convenient. But it is not suited for the Holy Communion, nor for prayer, nor for preaching. Your own experience in St. Sepulchre's, and its present anomalous arrangement, prove this; it was a bold thing, therefore, for a lecturer in this town, not long ago, with such an example close at hand, to advocate the round form for English

(1) "The round form of the church having no end, and encircling the principles of life, that is the Divine Sacrament, may fairly be taken to signify the kingdom of Eternal Majesty and the hope of life everlasting, and the never-fading rewards with which the just shall be finally crowned."

(2) "He with much labour completed a work marvellously constructed, in imitation of the Lord's Sepulchre, according to the manner which he had seen, and carefully measured with a measuring rod when he was in Jerusalem."

churches. There are fashionable watering-places where the experiment has been tried, and octagon chapels were once becoming popular in London; but even as mere preaching houses, their form is inconvenient, and still less is it adapted to the Liturgical services of the Church of England.

It is well, therefore, that you propose to give up the round for congregational purposes, and place the worshippers in the rectangular portion eastward, reserving the round as a most noble vestibule, and most appropriate and serviceable baptistery, in the centre of which a font worthy of the position may, I hope, soon be placed as a memorial to the late Marquis of Northampton, who took so much interest in the church, built by the first earl of the same title. When the contemplated extension of the church is completed, and the present cumbrous fittings of the round swept away, I can conceive no interior more picturesque and unique than what St. Sepulchre's will furnish to a spectator standing under the western tower, which will then constitute an outer porch. I feel sure that there will not be one contributor to its enlargement and restoration who will not feel that, whatever he may have given, it will have been more than repaid him by the effect produced.

Before I conclude, I would briefly sum up the inferences which may be drawn from the very cursory and imperfect statements I have made on the very wide, and as yet unexhausted, subject of round churches. You will at least have seen that our four round churches are only a remnant of a much larger number, which once existed in England, and that these were not invariably connected with the orders of the Templars or of the Hospitallers, though probably in almost every case (the round chapel of Ludlow Castle perhaps being one exception) with some crusader, or pilgrim to the Holy Land, and therefore constructed in imitation, more or less direct, of the Rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem; in all which cases, as I have said, the "round" constituted the nave or western portion.

But from the earliest Christian ages, and linking on by subtile but unbroken chain, with ancient Rome and Greece, and indeed with the monumental history of almost every people, there existed a series of tombs, towers, temples, baptisteries, chapels, of circular or curvilinear form, which had no connection with the Holy Sepulchre (except that it was itself one link in the general chain), and which, quite irrespective of any imitation of that sacred building, are to be traced in the round portion, wherever situated, of the ecclesiastical buildings of the middle ages, and which received its greatest and final development in the many-foiled and many-angled apses, which constitute so striking and beautiful a feature of the finest continental churches.

In contradistinction to the use of the rest of Europe, England kept steadily, as a rule, to a square east end; and though at Canterbury and Tewkesbury, and in a few other noted examples, the circular form appears, yet often, with obstinate and hardly excusable persistence, as at Peterborough and Westminster, she capped the

curved apse with a rectilinear addition, protesting, as it were, against the foreign element, and reserving the round form for the western end. Round apses have been a favourite resuscitation with modern architects; and where, as in the new chancel of St. Sepulchre's, they can give the reason why, there can be no objection to their introduction, but a new round church we can never hope, never wish, to see again; the reason and the feeling for it is past; and its form, which was ill-suited even for the unreformed church, is doubly so for our own. As a baptismal vestibule, nothing can be grander, but in these days we want too much room for our congregations to be able, in a new church, to throw away so much space on mere architectural effect. The more incumbent upon us, therefore, is it to preserve that unique and beautiful feature, when we find it here. The fifth round church in England we shall never see, but we may yet make ours the most remarkable of the remaining four. There is more of the original in Maplestead; more completeness in Cambridge; more splendour of decoration in the Temple; but for size and usefulness—for correct arrangement and artistic effect, for local association, and, above all, for supplying the urgent spiritual wants of a daily increasing parish, the work which your committee has taken in hand will, if carried out in its integrity, yield to no church restoration, whether of round church or square, and will, when finished, become the glory, as it has hitherto been the shame, of Northampton. That work is now thrown upon your hands, and I fully believe that you will accept the responsibility, and carry it out. Don't trust to great men, or to rich men, or to strangers, but do you, the middle classes of Northampton, hold it to be an honour that you have such a church to restore and enlarge, and enlarge and restore it accordingly.

A WELL
DISCOVERED NEAR MADEN BOWER
IN THE RAILWAY CUTTING
BETWEEN
LEIGHTON & DUNSTABLE
IN 1860
From Surface of Ground to Railway 53 0
50 0 Bones & unbaked Ware
Railway
from Leighton to Dunstable
Shaft 3 6
from top to the depth
of 70 0
Scale.

59 0 Bones of small Animal, Birds Head, Burnt Wood
61 0 Unbaked Ware, Bones of small Animals Fir &c
64.0 Bones, Baked, and unbaked Ware
65 0 Roman Tile, Piece of Sandstone Squared
66 0 Human Bones
several Boulder Stones showing the action of fire
67.0 Black Flints brought from a distance
69 0 Bones and Teeth of Animals, very small Fragments
70 0 Jaw, Skull & other Bones of Pig, also coarse unbaked Pottery
Asses Jaw
72 0 Large quantity of charred Wood, Bones & fragments of baked Ware
75 0 Bones of small Animals
78.0 Skull, Horns, and various Bones of Goat, unbaked Ware, quantity of charred Wood
81.0 Small Bones, Wood Ashes
88 0 Small Bones, Goats Horn, Baked and unbaked Ware
89 0 Baked & unbaked Ware, Large Snail Shells, Goats Horn
90.0 Black Flints, which donot belong to this District
91 0 Snail Shells
92 0
93 0
97 0 Snail Shells
Shaft 2 7 in Diameter
100 0 Few Bones, Snail Shells, Burnt Wood
Lith by B. Hodges Bedford

BEDFORDSHIRE

ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND ARCHITECTURAL SOCIETY.

An Enquiry into the site of the Roman Station "Durocobrivæ." A Paper read at a General Meeting of the Bedfordshire Architectural and Archæological Society. By W. Monkhouse, B.D., Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, and Vicar of Goldington, Bedfordshire.

In constructing a line of railway between Leighton and Dunstable, in the county of Bedford, it was necessary to make a deep cutting through the chalk rock, about two miles to the north of the last-named town. The level of the line was taken about fifty-four feet below the surface at the place where the discovery was made which forms the subject of this Paper. Here, on the north side of the cutting, a crust of the rock fell down, and exposed the section of a very remarkable well.

When this was reported to the Archæological Society at Bedford, many members felt anxious that it should be explored, in the expectation that it might throw some light on the Camp at Maiden Bower, from which it is only about a hundred yards distant. Application was accordingly made to the Marquis of Chandos, the chairman of the North-western Railway, for permission to carry out this object, when his Lordship not only most graciously acceded to our request, but most kindly sent down two engineers belonging to the line to assist in our researches.

Having secured the assistance of Mr. Pool, of Leighton, who took charge of the labour department, Mr. Wyatt of Bedford and myself repaired to the place, and commenced our operations, which were attended with the following results. As the chalk rock had fallen down fifty-four feet, we were enabled to begin our diggings almost on a level with the line of railway.

I am spared the trouble of making any remarks—either as to the contents of the well or the order in which they were found—by Mr. Rudge's most excellent drawing, which is appended to this Paper. I must state, however, that when we had attained to a depth of a hundred and twelve feet, our work was suddenly interrupted by a snow-storm; and inasmuch as we had approached very near to the level of the plain from whence the Sewell springs issue, we did not think it expedient to renew our labours, for it was already clear to us that the object of the well was to supply water to the adjoining Camp.

It will now be the object of this Paper to enquire whether any light can be thrown on Maiden Bower by means of this well, from which, as I have said, it is only about one hundred yards distant. It has always been understood, and there is every reason to consider this Camp as the work of the Britons, whether we regard it as to its locality, size, or formation. Standing on the brow of a hill, it commands an extensive view over the country to the north and west. Of an oval form, it comprises an area of about ten acres, and for some distance the vallum is drawn along the edge of the natural hill. It is also essentially British in point of situation; for, as cattle was the only wealth of the Britons, and the sole means of their support,[1] it is easy to conceive that these downs, from the fine pasturage which they afforded, would be a place of great resort to them during the summer months. And it is almost impossible for us, in these days, to realise to ourselves the importance which an earthwork like Maiden Bower must have been to them as a protection for their cattle; for to have left them unprotected upon the hills would have been to have left them to certain destruction. History tells us that in those early days the country was infested with wolves; and we read that in this very neighbourhood, so late as King John's reign, a holiday of three days was granted to the people of Dunstable on the 10th of May, each year, for the purpose of destroying the wild animals—"*ad*

(1) Cæsar says, *lacte et carne vivunt.*

nocumentum vicinarum feriarum;"[2] so we may regard this earthwork as an absolute necessity—the very British *oppidum* which Cæsar describes—being adapted as well for the habitation of a nomad pastoral people, as for the protection and security of their extensive herds of cattle.

The Roman Camp—on the contrary—was invariably rectilinear, when the nature of the ground admitted it; and its site was chosen rather for the convenience of water and forage than for protection against surprise; and the fact of this camp being circular, and favouring the incline of the hill, proves it not to have been Roman. But, in abandoning the Roman claims for the construction of the camp, let us proceed to enquire whether we have materials enough to establish a Roman occupation at any subsequent time.

Although our diggings have not been rewarded by finding any great treasures of Roman art, yet the well has produced such articles as are commonly found among the debris of a deserted Roman Camp. But it is the well itself which affords the strongest presumption in favour of a Roman settlement. Being at least nearly 120 feet deep, it must have required a greater amount of mechanical skill in the sinking than the Britons ever possessed, for to them the windlass was yet unknown; whilst the Romans were deterred by no obstacles, and the great distance they carried their water-courses to their camps and garrisoned towns, shews that to them a plentiful supply of water was not only a luxury, but an actual necessity. So that, although there is a most copious spring at the foot of the hill—a short quarter of mile from the camp—yet to draw their water from thence, up a steep and difficult ascent, would by no means have satisfied the domestic requirements of that people.

We do not presume to say that the use of water was ignored altogether by the Britons in the choice of their stations; on the contrary—even to a casual observer—Maiden Bower seems to have been selected for two especial objects, namely, for its being a strong military position *on* the hill, and, at the same time, in as close proximity as possible to the fine springs in the valley *below*.

This water question would seem to open out a new theory with regard to the identity of the Down encampments, and there is no subject that has produced more controversy among antiquarians than the site of the stations of *Durocobrivæ* and *Magiovintum*, which are respectively placed by Antonine at the distance of 12 and 24 miles from Verulam. Now it is not to be wondered at that no two authors should agree with each other on this subject; yet it is rather singular that they should not even agree with themselves. Camden—after stating "that there was no manner of doubt that "Dunstable was the *Magiovintum* of Antonine, nor need it be "sought for in any other place,"—yet, at a later period of his life, most penitently admits that "time hath informed me better, and I "am not ashamed to change my opinion upon the point." He then, in the most unaccountable way, places it at Ashwell—"for

(2) Hearne.

"the reason that the Britons gave divine honours to rivers and fountains;" but he leaves it to the imagination of his readers to connect Magiovintum in any way with these aquatic ceremonies.

It is almost impossible to conceive the confusion into which modern writers have attempted to throw the clearly defined Itinera of Antonine and Richard of Cirencester in regard to these stations; and it may not be out of place to state some of their opinions.

In his second Iter, Antonine makes the distance from London to Uriconium 157 Roman miles, or 144 English, which very nearly corresponds with the distance by the present road line. The distance between the stations at Verulam and Durocobrivæ is put down at twelve miles, and from Durocobrivæ to Magiovintum at twelve more. Than this there can be nothing clearer; and Richard's map, which appeared about a thousand years later, confirms this Iter as far as Magiovintum is concerned, which it places also at the distance of twenty.four miles from Verulam. There is an axiom in logic that the whole is made up of all its parts; so that, applying the same rule in this instance, in order to complete the full complement of 157 miles from London to Wroxeter, we require the correct admeasurements between the several intermediate stations. But modern writers have arranged them in the most arbitary way to suit their own theories, and have placed them up and down the country at inconceivable distances from Verulam and the old line of the Watling-street. Thus, for instance, Gale places Durocobrivæ at Hertford—upwards of twenty miles from Verulam.

Burton, in his commentaries, places it at Redburn Stoke; only six miles distant.

Salmon places it at Ravensburg Castle, at least twenty miles distant.

Baxter assigns it to Woburn, which he call "*civitas paludosi profluentis*"—a little geological observation, which shews that he could have had no personal knowledge of the place.

Camden—again—places it at Hertford; and Stukeley remarks, "it certainly ought to be placed at Berkampstead," which is about eight miles from St. Alban's. But he afterwards atones in some degree for this most palpable mistake, for he admits being "ashamed "of his error after he had become acquainted with Richard's Iter." After this honest confession he makes matters more complicated by transferring it to Redburn-Stoke, for which he assigns an etymological reason. "The modern name of Redburn proves it," he adds, "for it means the same as Durocobrivæ does—the passage over the "red water brook." He does not, however, inform us what part of the word means *passage*, and what part means *red*; neither do I think that any one would be bold enough to come to his rescue and explain the interpretation. There is one little circumstance, however, which is rather damaging to Dr. Stukeley's version, which is this, that in the earliest writings in which this word occurs we commonly find it written "*Radeburn*," which is pure Anglo-Saxon for the road or ford-way across the burn.

Another writer, Mr. Ward, thinks he has found the key to solve the difficulty when he seeks to throw the blame on Antonine's copyist, whom he charges with having transposed—by mistake, of course—the words, *Magiovintum* and *Durocobrivæ*. But this charge has been made at random, and without reflection; for it not only affects the credit of two Itinera, but it also implicates Richard in the same mistake, who has placed Magiovintum 24 miles from Verulam, precisely the same distance as it is given in Antonine.

But why, it may be asked, all this disputation and crusade against the old authorities? What is the reason why Durocobrivæ is not allowed to rest peaceably on the site given it by the early chronicles? The movement seems to have been caused solely by an etymological discovery, which I think Camden claims the credit of having made, and whose opinion has been obsequiously followed by subsequent writers.

It is this: *Maig* or *Magh Guyn*, in British, they assert means *white plain;* and this therefore can only apply to the chalk soils around Dunstable.[3] Again, it is alleged that *Dur* is Celtic for *water*; and, as there is not a spring or stream of any kind in the neighbourhood of Dunstable, that consequently *Durocobrivæ* must be elsewhere. So they raise the former into the Down district, and transfer the latter place into the lowlands, by the same etymological machinery; let us see, however, whether we cannot restore them to their original position, as given in the *Itinera*, by the same leverage.

I look upon etymology as auxiliary to, and as useful in the support of history; but in building up a theory, it ought never to be admitted as a substitute for historic proof. So with respect to *Magiovintum*, it must first be shewn that the Britons gave it that name, and that it did not belong to an earlier Celtic race. In the next place, *guyn*, in British, is *fair*—" *candidus*"—as well as white; so that it would apply just as well to the " fair" banks of the Ouzel at Fenny Stratford as to the Chalk Downs at Dunstable. And again we might repudiate the derivation altogether, as being made up of two words belonging to two entirely different Celtic dialects, the *Magh* being Gaelic and not British, and the *Guyn* being British and not Gaelic; so that the derivation is just as inadmissible as a compound of High and Low German would be in the local nomenclature of any country.

Coming back to Durocobrivæ; I have already stated that Stukeley's version is " the passage of the red water-brook," which he leaves without any further explanation; only, having found *Dur* (" water") in the word, he jumps to the conclusion that it could not have been at Dunstable. Were we to grant the premises, this would be a fair inference; but it is quite possible to write the word another way, by a different combination of syllables, thus—*Du-roe-go-Brivæ*. By this arrangement we preserve an identity with An-

(3) "Veteres Belgæ dicerent in suo dialecto *Magion uinion*, campos candidos."

tonine's word, and also get a word very applicable to the Down district.

Du, therefore, means country:
Roe, a field or plain:
Go, *apud*—at, or near to; and
Brivæ, town, *oppidum*.

All these words belong to one Celtic dialect; all Gaelic, without any admixture of British whatever; and they collectively mean a town, or *oppidum*, in a plain country, or simply on a plain. Although Maiden Bower stands on high ground in respect to the adjoining district, yet it nevertheless stands on a platform of level land; and Stukeley, in describing it, says, "it stands upon a plain." So that if this derivation of mine should meet with any favour, we have drained away the water from Durocobrivæ at once. With respect to the last member of the word, Strabo says that the ancient Gauls used the word *Briva* or *Briga* to denote a town; and in order to assimilate the Celtic and Latin words still more closely, I would remark—on the authority of Plutarch—that the ancient Romans never used the letter G, and that it is comparatively modern in the Latin tongue—which may explain why *Durocobrivæ* is written with a C in Antonine's text.

I do not endorse the "*ex quolibet quodlibet*" doctrine of Buchanan—that by etymology "you may make whatever you like out "of anything you like;" but I maintain that it is a blind and unsafe guide in all controversial matters, and that those who would seek to change the Itinera of Antonine, resting upon its authority alone, may find that they have arrived at most unsatisfactory conclusions. I do not assert infallibility for my version of Durocobrivæ—very far from it; yet, inasmuch as I have preserved the letters in their proper order and integrity, I can set up as good a claim for its being right as the disciples of "the white plain" can claim for their version—with this little additional make-weight in my favour—that, instead of hunting over two or three counties for it, I find it about 12 miles from Verulam and on the line of the Watling-street.

There is another question connected with the antiquities of this locality on which I am inclined to join issue with former writers, and that is, whether the intersection of the Ikeneld and Watling streets was at Dunstable at all. An antiquarian in the neighbourhood has recorded a discovery which he made, a few years ago, of a piece of Roman *via strata*, in a place very remote from the supposed line of the Watling-street. He conceived that the old Roman road diverged from the present turnpike at Market-street, that it passed a little to the east of Kensworth church, and from thence that it ran along the shoulder of the hill until it crossed the Ikeneld about a mile to the west of Dunstable. It then passed Maiden Bower, leaving it a little to the right, and took a line from the Chilterns in the direction of Stanbridge-ford. This gentleman then proceeds to describe the materials (brought from a distance, *more Romano*) of which the road was made, and the manner in which it was con-

structed. "On examination," says he—and I would here remark that a personal examination with the pick and spade is worth the theories of twenty strangers—"I discovered a layer of these stones, "which do not appear to have been the foundations of buildings, "not having been squared off or worked in any way, but appear as "paving-stones placed in the ground as a foundation for other "materials to cover them." Here we have an exact description of the *statumen*, or lower foundation of the Roman road. And there is another feature in this line, strongly indicative of Roman work, namely—that it is traceable by old ridges; for, ever keeping in view the straightness of course, as their principal object, like our railway engineers, the Romans cut through the hills, or raised embankments, according as the inequalities of the ground required.

But there is a physical reason in my mind why the Romans should not have carried the road by way of Dunstable, which is this —that the valley was all a woodland. It is stated in history, that the especial reason why Henry the First came and located himself here, was to hew down the forests and exterminate the bandits that harboured in them. So that it is obvious that when they could have carried a road along the hill-side and parallel with the woodlands below, and at the same time by a straighter line from point to point, —namely, from Verulam to Fenny Stratford—than by the present Chester road:—I say it is plain and obvious that the Romans would have given the forest a wide berth, and have chosen the higher ground.

I am now bringing my argument into a narrower compass. It has been my object to find a station that will correspond with the position of Durocobrivæ, as laid down by Antonine; and I may say that I see no reason whatever why it should be removed from the Down district; and I think that the theories given by different authors to effect this have not been successful, but have rather destroyed each other by their strange incongruities. All that has been said about the site of Durocobrivæ will apply with the same weight to Maiden Bower, which is equally on the Downs and in the district of the "white plains;" and the concluding part of my Paper will be devoted to the establishing an identity between these two places. I have been led to this opinion from the belief that Durocobrivæ ought of necessity to be found on the line of the Watling-street. I have found a Roman road leading up to Maiden Bower, and also a Roman well in close proximity to it; and I see no etymological or physical reason why Durocobrivæ could not have been there; at all events, there are many reasons why it should not have been at Dunstable, either as a British or Roman settlement.

The total absence of brook, spring, or surface-water of any kind, is an insuperable argument against the Britons ever having fixed upon it as a site for an encampment; for it would be equally absurd to suppose that they could have dispensed with the use of water altogether, as that they could have bored twenty-five fathom deep in the earth for it without mechanical appliances. Even many centuries after the country had made great progress in the arts and

sciences, the inhabitants of Dunstable remained satisfied with what water they could collect in tanks and cisterns, rather than risk the chance of procuring it at great cost and labour by digging wells. To the Romans, again, who chose their stations especially for the convenience of water, this argument would apply with much greater force. No fear of expense or labour could ever deter them from their purpose in conveying a plentiful supply of water into their garrisoned towns and camps, as the remains of their aqueducts and fountains plainly testify. We may cite *Æsica* on the *linea valli* as an instance, concerning which station we read "that several wells "have been discovered here, whilst there is a plentiful spring a short "distance from where the bath stood;" in addition to which they cut a water-course six miles in length to this not very important military station. Here we have "several wells," a "plentiful spring," and a "watercourse" six miles in length besides. But as there is no spring, well, water-course, or any remains of a Roman aqueduct on that dry and arid plain around Dunstable, it is sufficiently clear that that people never could have made it a permanent camp station.

It might be alleged that it was called the *Forum Dianæ*, which term would certainly give it a Roman paternity. Then the question very naturally arises—when, and by whom was it so called? The answer is, by Richard the Monk, who died as late as the year 1402. So that it is probable that the map in which the name "*Forum Dianæ*" first appeared was published some time towards the end of the 14th century—at least 150 years after Dunstable was called Dunstable. It is an easy matter to speculate as to the cause why the Monk so designated it, although it may be difficult to arrive at the real truth. He would most likely know that *staple* in English and *Forum* in Latin both meant the same thing, namely, a market. He would also know that "the goddess of the silver bow" was Patroness of cross-ways; and, being under the impression which now prevails that the Iknield and Watling streets crossed here, he therefore, in order to invest it with the garb of antiquity, gave it this fine-sounding classical cognomen.

But I think that history resolves all doubt about the matter. It tells us that Henry the First created the place physically and socially; that he built a palace and a church there, endowed a monastery, and granted charters for fairs and markets; from which we may infer that the place had never enjoyed those privileges before. Besides, the monkish chronicles claim no higher antiquity for it, for they tell us "that the area or structura at the meeting "of the Ikening and Watling was *first* contrived by Henry the "elder." And what finishes the climax, if any doubt should yet remain, is that it is not even mentioned in Domesday, either as Magiovintum, Durocobrivæ, Forum Dianæ, or Dunstable, or under any other alias whatever.

In devoting a few lines to the examination of the term "*Maiden Bower*," it is fair to assume that wherever it is found in England it has one common etymological origin. We find Maiden Bowers in

Dorsetshire, Westmoreland, and even in Scotland; and, according to lexicographers, they are not those sentimental places which their names would seem to indicate. The prefix *Maig* is the same word which has already been noticed under *Magiovintum*, meaning a plain, or, according to O'Brien, an open space of ground clear of wood; and *Dun*, according to the same author, is a fastness built on a hill, or a strong, well-barricaded fortification. As this is a perfect definition of the Maiden Bower on our Downs, I shall not pursue the enquiry further, for it is certainly "a stronghold or fortress on a hill, in a place clear of wood." The *Bower* would seem to be a modern appendage from the Saxon *Burh*, a fort or castle. This makes the term a sort of pleonasm, inasmuch as the Saxon *Burh* and the Gaelic *Dun* both mean the same thing.

This derivation of *Maig dun* denotes very great antiquity, and it is more than probable that it was used by the Romans themselves. It is very clear that the *Maiden Bower* at Poundbury in Dorsetshire, and on Stainmoor in Westmoreland, were both occupied by the Romans; and that the *Maiden Way*, in Cumberland, was a connecting line between two Roman camps. We know also that the Romans adopted the Gaelic *Dun* in building their fortresses in other countries, as *Juliodunum*, *Augustodunum*, &c. This Roman relationship seems to be further confirmed by Gale, when he says "*Plurima sunt loca quæ nomen "Maiden" sibi præfixa habent, omnia ad vias militares sita.*"[4]

I do not claim for Maiden Bower that it corresponds exactly with the distance from Verulam, as marked in the Iter; yet it does not exceed it much more than a mile by the line which I have indicated, and it is retained, moreover, on the line of the Watling-street.

In presuming, however, to establish an identity between *Durocobrivæ* and *Maiden Bower*, it is very possible that I may only have been adding one more to the many erroneous theories which have been already propounded with respect to them. I may have made but a very feeble defence for the integrity of the Iter, but I think I have shown that most of the places contended for by learned antiquaries for Durocobrivæ are too far distant both from Verulam and the Watling-street; and that Dunstable, although it agrees the nearest in respect to distance, is nevertheless disqualified for physical causes from being a permanent camp-station. I have also attempted to shew that the speculations of modern etymologists, unsupported as they are by history, have entirely failed in disproving the authority of the old texts. I may have passed over many difficulties without notice, and created others without attempting a solution of them. The subject matter of my Paper has been for the most part hypothetical, and therefore I have not been able to draw from it any satisfactory logical conclusion; yet, were I but persuaded that these few remarks which I have made would be the means of inducing others to examine into this subject, and reconcile the discordant opinions of former writers, I feel that I shall have rendered no trifling service to the cause of Archæology.

(4) Gale on Antonine.

TOWER.

S. AISLE.

Organ.

Prayer Desk.

Early English

Decorated

Perpendicular

Modern Work

GROUND PLAN.

J. D. Collis, D.D. del.

St. Michael's Church, Stoke Prior, Worcestershire.

WORCESTER

DIOCESAN ARCHITECTURAL SOCIETY

Descriptive Notice of the Parish Church of Stoke Prior, Worcestershire. By the Rev. JOHN DAY COLLIS, D.D., Hon. Canon of Worcester, Head Master of Bromsgrove School. Prepared for the Worcester Diocesan Architectural Society's Excursion, Tuesday, October 9, 1860.

THE Manor of *Stoka* or *Stocka*, together with Shepston, was given by Prince Uthred to the Church of Worcester, when Mildred was bishop and Offa king of the Mercians, about the year 770. Its connexion, then, with the cathedral of Worcester is of very old standing.

There was a church here when Domesday Book was compiled, and probably therefore in the Saxon times.

The present church is dedicated to St. Michael.

Its ground-plan is very good, and the church affords to the student of church architecture an excellent model of arrangement for a small country church.

The various times at which it has been built, altered, enlarged, restored, present a great variety of styles—all of which, however, combine into a very harmonious whole, and serve as links to connect the present generation with the very earliest times when church architecture flourished in England.

A cursory inspection of the church will show specimens of the following styles:—

(*a*) *Norman*, of an early date:

1. The piers and arches of the north aisle.
2. The arch from north aisle to St. Catherine's chapel. [N. aisle E.]
3. A small window in south wall to west of porch.
4. The south doorway.

(*b*) *Transitional.* The arches of the tower, especially that at the eastern end of south aisle.

(*c*) *Early English*, or *First-Pointed.*

1. The pillars and arches on south side.
2. The Tower, except the before-mentioned Transitional arches.
3. St. Mary's chapel, a small excrescence from the tower.[1]
4. The Vestry.
5. North window in chancel.

(1) It is possible that the *tower* formed the chapel, the projection being the *sanctuary*.

(d) The Decorated, or *Middle-Pointed.*
1. The east window.
2. South window in chancel.
3. Window in St. Catherine's chapel.
4. West window.

(e) Perpendicular, or *Third-Pointed.*
1. The south aisle.
2. The Font.
3. The Porch.

(f) Modern.
1. The respond or half-column to the chancel arch on north side.
2. Small windows of north aisle.

(A) *The Nave.* This consists of five bays, all uniform, surmounted by semicircular arches, resting on round abaci, with capitals of a very plain character.

The piers are round and perfectly plain, resting on shallow round bases. The architrave consists of two orders, with plain unchamfered edges, devoid of mouldings or any attempt at ornament—showing (as I take it) the very early date of the church after the Norman Conquest.

The wall is of rubble, of a very rough kind. The greater part of the north wall was rebuilt in 1848, when the latest alterations were made in the church under the late Mr. Eginton's superintendence.

He is not however responsible for the rebuilding of the north wall, and the insertion of ill-proportioned dwarf lancets; this was ordered to be " done as before," by the vestry.

The arch into St. Catherine's chapel is a horse-shoe arch, with sloping sides—possibly so intended. A considerable settlement of the masonry on the north side has necessitated the building of strong buttresses outside, to check the outward thrust.

This is one of the plainest of round arches, on one of the plainest of abaci.

(B) The *Tower* is placed on the south side, at the east end of the south aisle. It stands quite clear on two sides; on the third it is partly engaged; the fourth side opens with a fine arch into the chancel.

The general character of the Tower on the inside marks the *Transition* from the pure Norman of the north side—with its round unchamfered arches and plain piers—to the elegant *Early English* of the pier and double arch on the south side.

(A) The capital of the *eastern arch* into the Tower deserves notice as being bold and well designed—effective with very slight work. The pilaster, or respond, has a fillet down the front. The base displays Early English indications in its sunken hollow.

(B) The capitals of the arch into the chancel, on the south side, in the main resemble those of the last described pillar. The arch is of bold span, and of good character.

The centre shaft is ribbed down the front, and is flanked by smaller shafts of similar character.

The architrave is effective, consisting of four orders, which relieve without disguising the strength of the arch. They are without mouldings. They are a proof of what is an essential principle in Gothic Architecture—that all shall be *real* and not sham—and that, if any ornament is wanted, it shall consist in ornamenting what is constructively necessary, not in mere unmeaning additions, which might as well be placed in one position as another—like so many ornaments in Modern Gothic, which seem chiefly inserted to fill up blank spaces in the drawings. Here is no attempt at hiding the great thickness of the wall; it is simply relieved by being gradually reduced to the thickness of the respond which bears the main weight of the arch. If you wish to see the difference in this respect between what is called Grecian architecture and Gothic, compare the square, unadorned, unrelieved, massive piers that support the dome of St. Paul's, in London, with those that support the lantern in York Minster. You will see the endless beauties that the relieving of the solidity of the latter gives rise to; in moulding within moulding—arch within arch —all harmonized an homogeneous whole of great taste and beauty —quite as strong as the other, and as massive, but displaying beauty as well as strength, grace of outline as well as sturdy solidity of form. In St. Peter's at Rome, this sturdy solidity of form is relieved in another way, viz., by the plentiful use of exquisite marbles, and by the insertion of large mosaic copies of the finest pictures in Rome let into the flat surfaces of the piers, in sunken frames of varied marbles; and also by fine statuary of a massive and commanding character.

The Gothic has this advantage (besides its complicated beauty of arrangement) that it makes the most of the cheap material required for the support of the fabric; whereas the mosaic and the marbles of Italy are a costly addition to the expense of building. To resume:—

(C) The chancel arch is not equal in character to that opening into the tower—neither pier nor mouldings being so good. The span, however, is bold, and adds a characteristic feature to the church when viewed from the west end.

Mr. Eginton is not responsible for the unfinished state of the capital of the northern pillar of this arch.

(D) The arch, on the north side, into St. Catherine's chapel is a failure, from want of height to correspond to the increased span.

It is very similar in character to that on the south side.

The capitals mark the approach to the Early English style, in their bell shape, and in the crisp foliage, which is of good character.

It is to be noticed how all the three arches start from different heights.

(E) These arches, then, are *Transitional* in character, merging gradually into the exquisite Early English of the tower.

I know of few lancet windows to compare with the two over the organ for graceful proportion of height to breadth—for the arch at the top—for the deep splay of the side walls—and for the way in which they are set wide asunder in the masonry, or are banded together on the outside.

They rest on a good string course, with two steps and a bevelled sill running up to the bottom of the light.

In the west wall is a small lancet of similar character to the other two, but shorter, necessitated by the south aisle abutting against the engaged tower.

In St. Mary's chapel are two Early English windows, spoiled by an outer wall, built, not into, but against and projecting beyond the original east wall.

There is a very small lancet of good proportion in the south wall of this little chapel.

There is also an early piscina, with a slight attempt at a broken outline in the arch.

Inside the tower, upstairs, there may be seen traces of the old blunt four-sided spire, and of the way in which it was modified into an octagonal broach. There is a perceptible difference in the colour, preservation and strength of the timbers.

The outside of the windows displays Early English lancet moulding and architrave. Each side is alike, as regards the interior. The louvre boards are bold and effective.

There are four bells.

(F) On entering the *Chancel*, or rather the sanctuary, notice that there is no arch east of the chancel-arch, near the pulpit. There is observable a break in the masonry, showing that it was built at different times—a fact proved also by the diversity of the windows north and east.

The triple sedilia are tolerably perfect; the carving, however, is of the rudest kind. The arch of one of them has been displaced by a settlement in the window above.

The chancel has a piscina of some character, a little later in date than that in S. Mary's chapel.

The chancel walls are very plain.

In the north wall is an Early English window of good proportions, with immense inside splay.

The east window is an excellent specimen, of five lights, with four, three, two quatrefoils in course above, ending in a single one; and parts of others at the edge. It is very suitable for painted glass, and effective on the whole. The only objection to it is, that the necessarily imperfect quatrefoils at the edges suggest imperfection. They carry the eye *out of* the window, instead of the head forming a well balanced whole.

The head of the east window was filled with well-arranged fragments of old glass remaining in different parts of the church in 1848, and some new glass in the quatrefoils. The five lights below are now (1860) fitted with full length figures of our Blessed Lord and the four Evangelists, designed by Mr. Sebastian Evans,

executed by Messrs. Chance. The insertion of this glass was effected by a subscription, raised by some friends of J. Corbett, Esq., of Rigby Hall, to commemorate his public spirit and defence of morality and decency, in putting a stop to the employment of female labour at the salt-works in this parish.

There are windows of a later date, and less perfect character of Decorated work (1) in south wall of the chancel, (2) in west window of the nave, and (3) in St. Catherine's chapel.

(G) The *Vestry* is vaulted and ribbed. There is an Early English lancet blocked up, visible on the outside—which seems to show that at some time or other there was a parvise, or room above the vestry, which is also indicated by the lowness and solidity of the roof of the vestry. There could otherwise be no reason for so strongly-vaulted a roof to so small a room. It may have served as a strong room for keeping parish documents, &c.

(H) We now come to the latest part of the church, *i.e.* the south aisle.

The outside walls and windows are Perpendicular; but the shaft and arches that open it to the nave are of the very best period of the Early English, or First-pointed style, and are the gem of the church. They have often been measured and used as a model, and a better one it is hardly possible to conceive.

There is an elegant simplicity united with all requisite strength that shows how thoroughly our ancestors understood their work, and what grace of form and moulding could be thrown into what (after all) is merely a pillar between two arches necessary for upholding the wall above.

The mouldings of the easternmost arch were formerly cut away to let light into the pulpit. These were faithfully restored in 1848, when the arches of the tower were thrown open to the church.

The centre pier, of four engaged shafts, without bands, deserves especial notice; and we may judge of the beauty of the base of this pillar (which is now concealed by the seating) by the elegance of that of the respond at the west end of the south aisle.

(I) The *Font*, till 1848, stood close to the end of the south aisle.

It is boldly carved—the carvings were all plastered flat till 1848. It has seven carved panels, and one flat, as if it was meant to have been placed against a pier or a wall. The *Tudor* flower, &c., will serve to give it an approximate date, towards the end of the 15th century.

(K) The following *Brasses* are let into the walls:—

1. Henry Smith, 1606, near the chancel arch.

2. Robert Smith—with 2 wives, 6 daughters, and 11 sons—in St. Catherine's chapel.

OUTSIDE.

(A) The *South door* is Norman, with architrave consisting of two plain orders, capped by a peculiar scollopped hood-moulding of

semicircles placed back to back:[2] one of the pillars which flanked it is gone.

(B) The *Porch* itself is of open timber work, and of good Perpendicular character—probably of the same date as the south aisle. It is excellently placed, and effectively breaks the south wall.

NOTICE—

1. The Norman window, flat on the outside, contrasted with the immense splay inside.
2. The west end of the church, which is more modern.
3. Very plain window—without hood-moulding.
4. The western doorway, which is new. It replaced one of late Perpendicular.

Several other changes were made in 1848;—the west gallery taken down, the organ moved from it into the tower, the pews were lowered, &c.

5. The roof is more modern, and was lowered some years back. There is a want of a clerestory, or of light above.
6. On the north side there is too much roof for good effect. The monotony, however, is broken by the gabled window of St. Catherine's chapel.
7. This window is very good, and better on the outside than the inside.
8. *String course*, beginning at east end of St. Catherine's chapel, round to the tower.
9. Buttresses, without break except by string-course.
10. East window is manifestly a later insertion, as may be seen by the edge of architrave.
11. We may also notice the depth of the mullions, and the tracery of south window of chancel.
12. St. Mary's chapel has a stone roof; the window is a later insertion.
13. The *Tower* on the south face, lower stage, has a beautifully proportioned Early English door, with side shafts and bell-shaped capitals.

(b) In the *second stage* are two lancets flanked by shorter blind arches. These lancets have shafts with bands and bell-shaped capitals.

There is a hood moulding, very sparse, with incipient dog-tooth, only flatter in character, and with no undercutting, which elsewhere makes a shadow behind, and necessitates a deep moulding.

(c) The *third* story is blind; this is often the case, so as to draw the gaze of the spectator's eye upwards.

(d) Fourth story has three lancets of excellent proportions.

(e) Corbel-table consists of *billets* and *heads*, in this order:—
b. h. *b.* h. h. *b.* h. h. *b.* h. h. *b.* h. h. *b.*

(f) The staircase projects but very slightly.

(2) A hood-moulding of exactly the same character runs round the arches of the south arcade at Overbury church, in the same county.

Before closing these few remarks on the beautiful tower of this church, I may notice that in many modern towers there is a want of *blind stories;* the use of which is to *rest* the eye, by sparing it the fatigue of taking in too much ornament; and the blank spaces also serve to give greater prominence to the ornamented stories—they answer the same purpose as shadows in a picture.

On the whole, both from its excellent ground-plan, the variety and purity of its styles, the excellence of much of its detail, this parish church is well worthy of the study both of amateurs—who will find in it much that is varied and interesting, and of architects—who might well copy the great *diversity* of its walls and windows, pillars, arches, responds and architraves, and so enable them to produce buildings of greater variety of arrangement than we generally see in modern churches, and at the same time convenient for seeing and hearing. In most modern churches the eye takes in at a glance and at once, *all* its arrangements and beauties; whereas in Stoke Prior, an hour may be well spent before its beauties are half exhausted.

LEICESTERSHIRE

ARCHITECTURAL AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

The Heyricke Letters, illustrating the state of Leicester in the reigns of Elizabeth and James the First. By John Gough Nichols, Esq., F.S.A. Read at a soirée of the Leicestershire Architectural and Archæological Society, held at Leicester, December 5, 1860.

All who have studied the history of Leicestershire are aware how large an amount of illustration it has received from the family papers preserved at Beaumanor. These valuable documents owe their preservation to certain old chests, which once belonged to Sir William Heyricke, in virtue of his office as a Teller of the Exchequer in the reign of James the First; and they principally consist of papers accumulated during the long life of that eminent man, but intermixed with others both of an earlier and a later date. Among these interesting memorials of past ages there are many letters which were written from this town in the 16th and 17th centuries, during which several members of the Heyricke family were flourishing inhabitants of Leicester; and, as the most prominent in interest of the whole, are to be regarded those of Alderman Robert Heyricke, an elder brother of Sir William,—not only from their containing the particulars of various remarkable local occurrences, but also from their offering a field rich in materials that may elucidate the state of society at that period, and the habits and usages then prevalent in a Midland Provincial Town. Though considerable extracts from this series of letters were published by my grandfather in the History of Leicestershire, yet I was led, on their perusal, to express my opinion that they would reward a closer examination—(an opinion communicated to our friend Mr. James Thompson, the living historian of your town, who has consequently requested me to give you some specimens of their contents,)—and, with the permission of Mr. Perry-Herrick, I have much pleasure in now proceeding to do so.

Time is perpetually deepening the shadows of the past, and rendering its former features more and more obscure. Manners, customs, and fashions are continually undergoing changes, individually small, and consequently unheeded and unrecorded on their occurrence, but which gradually remodel not only the external face

of society, but also its inner machinery, and the very tone and spirit of its schemes and speculations.

We cannot, therefore, wonder at the contrasts which are presented to our view after the oft-repeated and incalculable changes of two centuries and a half. When we turn from the England of Queen Victoria to the England of James the First, we revert to times not merely before the electric telegraph, before the railroad, before the steam engine, before gas, before paved streets, and other appliances of comparatively modern date, but before the newspaper, before the bank, before the general post, before the stage coach, and even before the stocking frame. And yet the Englishman of that day, and the Leicester man as much as his contemporaries, was eager for news, and very sensitive to any rumour of mischief from the Pope or Spain; he required money-dealers for the transactions of trade; he had correspondence with the metropolis and other towns; and was himself a traveller to a considerable extent, though with the measured steps and slow that were an exigence of his age. It is therefore not only strange to our notions, but in many respects instructive, to learn how these several operations were then effected; and on these points the letters of Robert Heyricke will supply us with various interesting particulars.

Leicester was not then a town of any considerable trade, nor of a large population. It had lost its ancient importance as a frequent residence of the junior branch of the royal house, when the Dukes of Lancaster maintained their princely household within—or rather just without—its walls. It had lost the influence of its Abbey, in which the fallen Wolsey breathed his last, and of its other religious foundations. It had suffered greatly from desolating pestilence and the oft-recurring plague. Its dimensions and general aspect have been well represented in the lithographic print appended by Mr. Thompson to his *History of Leicester*,—derived from the map or plan made by John Speed about the year 1600, but corrected and adjusted by modern measurements. The town had been reported by commissioners of the Duchy of Lancaster in 1587 to be in great decay, when it was said that thirty parishes were reduced to six, and four-and-twenty wards to ten.[1]

As to trade, Leicester was at that day very far distant from even the dawn of its modern career of commercial prosperity. It was indeed the county town, and the centre of a rich pastoral district. The wool of the surrounding flocks was usually brought to its market, and a wool-hall had been erected in the reign of Elizabeth; but little of this valuable product was wrought within the town. Efforts had been made from time to time to establish the manufacture of cloth, particularly that kind called kersey,[2] but with small success. In 1599, the mayor and burgesses, in an abject epistle to the Earl of Huntingdon, declare, "We have no clothing nor other exercises to maintain our poor, nor are we able to set up any."[3]

(1) Thompson, pp. 282, 284.

(2) Nichols, i. 398, 399; Thompson, pp. 255, 265.

(3) Thompson, p. 303.

Of hosiery, which a century later became the staple manufacture of this district, there was certainly a little carried on, but the particulars of its history are scanty and obscure. We read in Mr. Thompson's History of the town,[4] that in the year 1597 the mayor and the burgesses, by the appointment of the Earl of Huntingdon, lent to Thomas Moseley, a townsman, the sum of £10, to set poor children at work in the knitting of Jersey stockings; and in a paper[5] preserved at Beaumanor—and which I think was probably placed in the hands of Sir William Heyricke when he was burgess in Parliament for the borough, it is stated that (in the reign of James I.) the hosiers of Leicester were compelled by some officers of Blackwell Hall (in London) to pay twopence on every score of stockings for hallage, unless they would take their stockings to the hall, there to be sold. They were also at composition with the Duke of Lennox for ulnage, and paid yearly to the Duke's collectors for the same.

Now, although the stocking-frame is usually stated to have been invented by William Lee so early as 1589, yet, as he is also related to have left England, and to have been working at Rouen until after the death of Henri IV. in 1610, I think it perfectly certain that the frame was not at that period in use at Leicester; and all the stockings that were then made, other than such as were cut out of pieces of cloth or linen (which had hitherto been the way of making hose), were knit by the hand.

In 1578 Mary Erycke writes from Leicester to her son William: "Furthermore, I have sent you a pair of knit hose, and a pair of "knit Jersey gloves. I would have you send me word how they "serve you; for if the gloves be too little for you, you should give "them to one of your brother Hawes's children, and I would send "you another pair."

There is a passage in one of the letters of Robert Heyricke, written in 1594, which is remarkable for the high value then set upon worsted hose: "I have sent up by Henry White this bringer "40 pair of good worsted hose, tied together in four bunches, which I "pray you will sell for me for 12 li. or else lay them up in your press. "I cannot afford them for less." This is the only allusion to hosiery in Robert Heyricke's letters; but in another letter addressed to William Heyricke at a still earlier date, on the 6th of March, 1582, and written from Leicester by Richard Hudson, there is a curious passage on this subject, which I think will amuse you if I extract it at length: "The cause of my writing unto you "at this time is to let you understand that I have sent you the pair "of knit stockens which you sent for by Richard Penne, and I have "received a crown of him for them; they did cost five shillings at "Doncaster"—(so that they were made far from Leicester, unless, having been made in this county, they were taken to Doncaster fair)—"and if you do not like them of the price, I pray you to get

(4) Thompson, p. 299.

(5) Inserted in the *Annals of Leicester*, in the History of Leicestershire, vol. i. p. 425, under the year 1613; but the original bears no date. The word "hallage" is there misprinted *ballage*; and again in Thompson's History of Leicester, 1849, p. 343.

"them coloured of the same colour as the stockens are which you "had on your legs when I was with you,—I take it they were a "murrey, and I will pay you for them, and will send you your five "shillings again. Moreover, friend William Erycke, I have a pair "of worsted stockens, the legs of them I pray you to get me a purse, "a large one, made of them, with a lock ring, and I will pay you "for it. I would have the fringe that shall go about it to be of "silk."

This letter, I fear, will not have given you a very high estimate of the manufacturing resources of Leicester in the reign of Elizabeth. The town was not then one in which large fortunes were made by manufactures or trade. Robert Heyricke himself, though he had enjoyed a long and prosperous career, testifies to this circumstance in a remarkable passage of one of his latest letters. He is speaking of the settlement in marriage of one of his daughters, and is balancing the advantages between her alliance to a country gentleman (one of the Babingtons), or to a "merchant, a goldsmith, or any "good tradesman" of the City. "You know (he writes) that all the "good fortunes of our kinred came only by my mother's sister being "placed in London; and I thank God that your placing there "hath not only been your own preferment, but, by God's great "blessing to you, you have been a great mean for the advancement "of others. You know how poor and beggarly the country is, and "that those who do live best, live nothing like to citizens of London, "though they be not of the richest sort."

In this passage we have brought to our notice a remarkable change in the condition of London,—so far as the city is concerned. It was then not only a mine of wealth for the industrious and enterprising; it was full of life, luxury, and enjoyment: it is now a mere workshop for those who take their acquisitions to be enjoyed elsewhere.

But I proceed to those other contrasts between our own times and those of the Heyricke letters to which I before alluded; and none can possibly be greater than that which the two periods present in the matter of Public News. Where every day now issues forth throughout the country, in thousands of copies, its hundred sheets of varied and accurate intelligence, there was then nothing but the occasional pamphlet, such as that which described "the fearful and "heavy news of the accident at Paris Gardens," of which a copy was sent by William Heyricke to his father in 1582. In the next year the young man transmitted, in manuscript, a copy of a letter sent to the Queen from the Great Turk; in return for which his father communicated one that had come to her Majesty from the King of Barbary. In other letters we read of books of occasional sermons, or those of my lord mayor's show, but of nothing of greater importance; except that one Christmas Sir William Heyricke is thanked by his brother for the books sent in his last letter, "and (he writes) "I hope the reading of them will do many good,"—from which expression it may be supposed that they were of the nature of religious tracts.

In any form, very little public news seems to have reached the good town of Leicester. Occasionally, Sir William appears to have informed his brother of the placing and shifting of persons in high office, but such intelligence excited but little interest in the Leicester corporation: "for my part (says Mr. Mayor), I shall be content, do "what they will." The matters which more profoundly agitated the public mind consisted of rumours chiefly remarkable for their false or exaggerated complexion.

Thus, when Henry Prince of Wales died in 1612, the popular report appears to have added that the King was dead also, or that something still more awful had occurred. The alderman's anxiety to hear from his brother had been greater than usual, "for here "hath been such heavy news, that when we should have been merry "with Mr. Mayor at his feast, we could not tell whether better to "feast or fast; but, God be praised! now we hear it is not so ill as "we then heard it, but great loss. If it had been the Lord's will to "have appointed him life, it had been great comfort to us all, and "great stay to the kingdom; but the Lord's will be done!"

The Gunpowder Treason of seven years before, when both King and Prince were to have been destroyed at a blow, had perhaps suggested this false alarm; but the dread which seems most frequently to have haunted the good Protestants of that day, was that of Popish invasion, as in September 1614—

"On Monday last here was such a rumour of a great army "gathered together by the Pope, the Cardinals, the Prelates and "Clergy, the King of Spain and the Emperor, to the value of 80,000 "horse and foot, and that they were come into the Low Countries, "and would shortly be here, that there was many in great fear, till "some of our neighbours came from London, and brought some-"what better news. By your next I pray you certify us somewhat "of the truth of the matter."

Again, in November 1615:—

"Here is such diversity of news, by such as come from London, "as I can give credit to none almost, unless I have it under your "hand. Here is news that my Lord of Northampton, who, it was "said died here in England, is now living in Spain. Here is such "talk of a great banquet that should come from Spain full of bad "dishes, and to a most vile intent, that, if it may be true, there is "no doubt dangerous plots devised by enemies from home; the "Lord deliver his Majesty and all his, and all others that fear the "Lord! It is said also that at that time this banquet should work "its effect, Spinola should bring in 2,000 strong, and at his coming "should burn the King's ships in the havens, which God forbid!"

On questions of general politics the alderman says absolutely nothing, but on a change of municipal policy upon the accession of a new mayor of Leicester, there is the following amusing passage:—
"We have ventured on Mr. Bonnet for this year to come; and, "though Mr. Manbye hath striven this year to reform strong ale, "yet Mr. Bonnet saith it is a good refreshing to a poor man to have "a cup of strong drink, though he have but little meat, and for his

"part he will not deprive them of it, but if he meet them at George
"Brook's he will take part with them, say against it this year they
"that will."

We will next notice what were the facilities for Written Correspondence. Though some posts had been established for the service of the government, they were not yet available for private persons. The usual mode of communication between Leicester and the metropolis was by carriers, of whom there seem to have been two in constant employment. But the townsmen were frequently making journeys to London, and did not start without offering their services to their friends and neighbours; and it was not yet illegal for them to carry letters; so that correspondence might be frequent, if not regular, or entirely free from mishaps and miscarriages. One of the alderman's letters was to have been carried by one Blincorn, a workman, but, as the alderman was out of doors, the man was fain to lose the carriage of it (for which therefore he would have been paid), and it was afterwards taken by "a pottycary of our "town: his name is Henshaw." A letter was sometimes carried along the road beyond its destination: "your last letter I under-"stand you sent by Sir Oliver Cromwell, but he forgetting it when "he lay at the Angel, took it with him Northward, I do not know "how far, and yesterday he sent it back by Mr. Harlow, who "brought it to me."

The majority of Travellers performed their journeys on foot. At the end of October, in 1614, Francis, the cook of Beaumanor, had a pitiful journey: he was eight days coming from London to Leicester. Those who could afford a horse travelled on horseback, and there are many passages respecting the provision of horses for Sir William by his brother, when the former was preparing to make his annual visit to Leicestershire. Robert Heyricke prided himself on his skill in horseflesh, and on one occasion he recommends to his brother "a very pretty gelding, as well-paced and easy-going as may be, "only six years old, well made and clean of his legs, milk-white, "with some small spots on him, his price £10; or, if you will have "him whilst he is unsold, he shall be sent you up to bring you "down, and if you like not of his price, you must give Fullwood 10s. "for his journey, and deliver him safe again." This passage shows the cost of hiring a horse for the journey to and from London. At another time the alderman writes, "This is a very ill place for to "hire a horse in. I am sure I have sent to twenty several places, "to such as I did hear were likely to have to let for a journey; but "amongst all the butchers, and others, that were likeliest to do the "feat, I could get but one, and he with such covenants that if he "do not return within ten days, then 12d. a day—no less, for every "day that he tarries beside."

When people became too infirm, or otherwise unable, to ride on horseback, there was an end to their travelling. Such was the case with Robert Heyricke himself when he grew unwieldy in his old age. He tells his brother, "I long to see you, and to see you here; "for I think I shall never desire to go to London to see any such

"sights as heretofore, and by your means, I have often seen. I feel "myself very unapt to ride." In answer to this Sir William Heyricke appears to have suggested the resource of a caroche, a luxury then unknown in Leicester, unless when the king or some man of high rank passed through the town; but it offered a mode of travel so untried to the Leicester alderman, that he did not accept the proffered kindness without hesitation. "The last branch of your "letter speaketh of a new caroche, which you say will carry me very "easy when I am weary of my horse; but I must first make trial "here by some short journey, for I dare not make trial of so long a "circuit."

If such were the difficulties attendant upon personal locomotion, before the days of railroads or stage-coaches, those connected with the Transmission of Money were still more embarrassing. It was extremely hazardous to send it along the road, for the bearers were very likely to meet with robbers or cozeners, either those who would despoil them by violence on the way, or cheat them when gambling at the inns. The Leicester alderman was generally too wary to incur such risk, but it was often with much trouble that he made his remittances in security. Sir William Heyricke and his brother, the goldsmith in London and the ironmonger at Leicester, were in fact bankers, though that designation was then unknown, and it was in transacting business resembling that which was performed by the modern banker that they both very largely increased their fortunes: but it is strange to observe the difficulties which frequently attended their primitive operations in banking. On the 5th of November, 1613, Robert writes, "Well! I have spoke and sent to all that be "likely in the market this day, and cannot find one to return (*i e.* "to London) until the 17th of this present." Again, on the 26th April, 1616, "I have such ado to return any money up, but they "will have all before hand or else no bargain; and I cannot tell certainly their soundness, which makes me quake when I do pay "them, and yet I am desirous to return it with what speed I may." The best resource lay in the cattle dealers, who, having sold their beasts in London, were glad to leave their money safe in Cheapside, and take it again at Leicester: but their movements were irregular, and often dependant on the great fairs in the country, which influenced both the periods of their travelling and the roads they took. The alderman sometimes asked his brother to take up money in Smithfield, or "to try the butchers in Eastcheap, or "elsewhere, if any of them that come down to Rowell fair will leave "you 150li. or what you can receive by them; for I cannot return "any, but many come to me of the other side, to leave money with "me to have it in London."

In connection with this subject may be noticed another monetary difficulty, which exhibited itself at a somewhat earlier date. At the time when William Heyricke was first settled in London he was repeatedly required to transmit small change to Leicester, where it was obviously very deficient, and its absence very inadequately sup-

plied by the worthless tokens[6] that traders then sometimes coined for themselves. On the 6th of March, 1582, Richard Hudson writes to him, "I pray you, good William, to send me 10s. in pence and two-" pennies, if you can get them, and I will send you money for them." On the 8th of the same month his father thanks him for 20s. sent in new half-groats; and also for 20s. in pence and half-pence;[7] and on the 16th his brother John writes, "My father gives you most " hearty thanks for the twopennies and the halfpence that you sent " him: he sent you 20s. for them by Richard Penn." On the 31st of July his father thanks him for sending pence and halfpence; " they have done us great pleasure, for small money is yet scant in " the country: your sister Hawes had sent half-a-crown's worth." And on the 3rd of August following, John writes again, " My father " and mother gives you thanks for the single money you sent him, " and he hath sent you money for them by John Saunders."

Whilst coin was thus comparatively scarce, we read of abundance of good cheer, and it was very usual to make presents of provisions and luxuries for the table. From Leicester were sent flicks or flitches of bacon, shields of brawn, cheeses frequently, and on one occasion five dozen of fieldfares, to be distributed among friends in the city. From London were sent—a good keg of fresh sturgeon, pomegranates, and a box of marmalade, and occasionally a sugar-loaf. But at Christmas Sir William Heyricke was always bountiful in despatching a large cargo of grocery and spices, which was welcomed with hearty and uproarious gratitude. The alderman's account of his family's demonstrations in this respect on St. Stephen's day (the morrow of Christmas) in the year 1614, is amusing. He tells his brother that his last letter had been " more welcome than " all the music we have had since Christmas, and yet we have had " pretty store both of our own and other; and the same day we were " busy with holding up hands and spoons to you, out of porridge " and pyes, in the remembrance of your great liberality of fruit and " spice, which God send you long life to continue, for of that day we " have not missed any St. Stephen this 47 year to have as many " guests as my house would hold, I thank God for it."

This old custom of holding up hands and spoons is again mentioned at Christmas, 1616: " This day (he is writing upon another St. Stephen's) " I have had thirty or near at dinner, and with wine " and sugar, and hands held up so high as we could, we remembered " Wood Street; and though we can do no more, yet in our prayers,

(6) The great want of half-pence and farthings impelled the almost general use, among alehouse-keepers, chandlers, grocers, vintners, and other traders, of private tokens of lead, tin, latten, and it is said of leather. There were frequent and well-founded complaints that their circulation was derogatory of the Queen's princely dignity and honour, and occasioned continual loss to the poor, since for these tokens commodities could only be obtained of the parties by whom they were issued; whilst their repayment in silver coin was an expectation very unlikely to be satisfied. (*Introduction, by J. H. Burn, to the Catalogue of the Cabinet of Tokens presented to the Corporation of London by Henry B. H. Beaufoy, Esq.*)

(7) These half-pence, as well as the pennies and two-pences or half-groats, were of silver. They were first issued in 1582, and weighed only four grains. There had been previously, between the years 1561 and 1579, occasional issues of three-farthing pieces, also of silver.

"in our spoons, and in our cups, we do not forget you when time "serves."

Such were some of the holiday and everyday occupations of the townsfolk of Leicester in the reign of James the First. I have confined myself to general topics: as, to enter into the particular matters which form the main subjects of the letters would have occupied too much of your attention. I will only, in conclusion, briefly enumerate as among the more important of them—the king's visit to Leicester in the year 1614, the election of burgesses to parliament in the same year, the incorporation of the Newark Hospital, the purchase of the Newark Grange by the corporation from Sir Thomas Smith, their proposed sale of the Newark Mills, negociations for the purchase of estates at Wanlip, Sweepston, and various other places, and for procuring church preferment for Tobias Heyricke the alderman's son, negociations for proposed marriages of the daughters of both the brothers—to Ashby of Quenby, Babington of Cossington, and other parties, the extraordinary trials for witchcraft at the assizes, and an equally remarkable account of open-air preaching set on foot on the suggestion of Sir William Heyricke, for the benefit of the Newarke Hospital. In addition to these incidental matters of business, there are constant reports from Beaumanor respecting the management of that estate and Sir William Heyricke's rights in the adjacent forest, with some curious details on the planting of trees and agricultural matters, and on the sports of the field as then practised.

Altogether, in my opinion, it would be difficult to find, either in print or still in manuscript, a more interesting series of domestic correspondence than this of Robert Heyricke the old alderman of Leicester and thrice mayor thereof. He always writes to his brother with the warmest affection, combined with an evident respect for one who had become a London citizen, a knight, and a courtier; but at the same time he discusses every subject as it arises with perfect freedom and familiarity,—"as though (he writes on one "occasion) I was walking with you at Beaumanor," or (at another time) "as though I was walking with you in Paul's, a turn and "a turn." His letters are continued until within a year of his death, which occurred in 1618, at the age of seventy-eight. You have his monumental stone still remaining in St. Martin's church, and his portrait in the Mayor's Parlour at the Town Hall.

AUTOGRAPH OF ROBERT HEYRICKE.

Treasure Trove. A Paper read at a Meeting of the Leicestershire Architectural and Archæological Society, December 30, 1860. By G. C. Neale, Esq.

I beg to trespass upon your time this morning whilst I make a few observations on the appropriation of *Treasure Trove*, a subject which I consider so important as to affect the interests of this and other archæological societies, all local museums, and especially every private collection of antiquities. My few remarks will refer principally to the numismatical department of archæological science.

In the early historic ages of our country, we find that in the absence of peaceful pursuits, the love of conquest and the desire for plunder so occupied the attention of neighbouring nations, that Britain was not likely to, neither did she, escape the scourge of the invader's sword. Conquered and reconquered for many centuries, much of her soil was saturated with the blood of her brave defenders and never-tiring foes. In the presence of, or close proximity to, such enemies, with but a thinly-scattered population, little agricultural development, and less of manufacturing skill, it became a necessity that almost every man should be a warrior, should buckle on the sword and learn the art of war. Although in succeeding ages the invader never landed on our shores in any force to devastate the land and pillage the homes of our ancestors, yet records of wars more cruel, of a civil and intestine character, fill pages of our history with melancholy details of desperate conflicts; as examples, those of the Roses, and of the seventeenth century, stand out most conspicuously. To these frequent sanguinary contests, combined with accidental causes and the absence of public depositories for wealth, the coin collector of the present day is indebted for those interesting relics after which he industriously seeks, and places from time to time in his cabinet, as fresh links in a chain, which he is ever anxious to extend, although he may never be able to complete. The bank of deposit to the soldier and man of wealth, in the troublous times to which we have alluded, was a secret little chamber in a chimney, an opening in a beam, a crevice in a wall, or more generally a hole in the ground. Before he went forth to the battle-field, he secreted his hoards of silver pennies and groats, his golden nobles and broads; but often the too well directed arrow or pointed spear prevented his return to disinter his hidden wealth, where concealed for centuries it lay, with no other visitant than the spider or the worm—until the pick of the navvy, the hammer of the mason, or the saw of the carpenter, unexpectedly struck upon the precious deposits. We think this view we have taken is corroborated by the fact, that the coins of Charles I., and those in circulation during his reign, are so frequently discovered in such places, and in such quantities, as to leave no doubt of their being secreted wealth.

The discovery of these treasures has often given rise to serious dispute, and even litigation. The finder, the owner of the soil, the lord of the manor, and the Crown, have each, I believe, endeavoured to substantiate a claim. A few little difficulties and distinctions, more nice than wise, such as whether the objects were discovered on the surface, or an inch or two below, have rendered decision on these matters somewhat perplexing. But Government has lately instituted such an active inquiry after, and demand upon, relics of antiquity, that we are led to conclude it is supported in its claim by some ancient right, which, like many obsolete laws and customs, more honoured in their breach than in their observance, has not hitherto been rigorously enforced. As archæologists, we naturally and interestedly ask—can this be a right, or is it an assumption? The purchaser of a house concludes that the whole of its materials are his own, *de facto* as well as *de jure*; and if, during its demolition, any treasure should be discovered, who in equity has so great a claim to it as himself? The proprietor of a Welsh mountain, for example, concludes the mineral wealth it may contain is indisputably his own; and if he be so fortunate as to find in its surface-soil a coin of Edward I., which some attendant was less fortunate to lose, as he escorted his Queen to Carnarvon castle, such by right should be his—to decide otherwise would be making a distinction without a difference. In appropriating these treasure 'finds,' Government purchases what it appears to claim, at about their intrinsic or natural value. Every one at all acquainted with ancient coins knows, that in many cases their intrinsic value is not their worth—there is a fictitious price far above this. The value of a coin or medal depends upon its rarity, condition, beauty of execution, or its association with any interesting circumstance, person, or event. Rarity is exemplified in such coins as the gold penny of Henry III.; the petition crown by Simon; the quarter florin of Edward III.; the George noble and rial of Henry VIII., and many others. Condition is estimated according to the legibility of its type, freshness, and freedom from abrasion. Beauty of execution is observed in the coins of Cromwell, which were never in circulation, and during the Protectorate were treasured up as works of art. The five shilling piece of the present reign is a work of such exquisite skill, that a proof realizes five times its metallic value. Under this head we cannot classify, though of recent production, the new bronze coinage. The value of a coin or medal, estimated according to its association with any historic event, is exemplified in the medal which Captain Knight exhibited at the late soirée. Its intrinsic worth is perhaps two shillings, but being associated with the history of a most unfortunate monarch, in times most eventful, it is deservedly and highly prized by its fortunate possessor.

During the last and present generation the rapid increase of wealth, and the facilities for acquiring knowledge, have naturally been followed by refinement of taste, and a due appreciation of the rare and beautiful. Objects of antiquity of every description have found many admirers, who have become diligent stu-

dents of their various merits, and of the department of science to which they belong. Ancient coins, as they have been discovered, have found their way into the cabinets of private collectors, where they have been carefully classified and arranged. Many, no doubt, have been melted down; and one-third of those discovered in the present day, from their imperfect condition, deserve no better fate. We are told Government is instituting its present active enquiry after, and demand upon, Treasure Trove, to prevent this destruction; but we cannot accept the plea. Almost every village now has its virtuoso, and every town its jeweller, to whom coins are consigned; and the collector is well acquainted with these depôts of the objects of his cherished pursuit. There is little danger now of coins of value being cast into the melting pot or refiner's crucible. We believe the private collector to be quite as safe a guardian of the objects of antiquity, as museum curators, or government officials. So far as the numismatical department is concerned, the British Museum is little better than a condemned cell; where, most securely kept from the visitor's eye, are objects professedly for "public view." As we are told these are not the days for silver keys to unlock museum doors and government offices, we refrain to apply them. To visit the coin-room of our national museum, we must procure an order, not always easily to be obtained, from some official. A visitor too feels a delicacy in asking to see ten different coins, which perhaps have to be selected from as many different cabinets; however courteous the curator may be, he regards his visit almost as an intrusion. Surely, in this age of iron and glass, when the former can be made of any strength, and the latter of any necessary thickness, and of crystal purity, coins need not be exhibited in opaque cabinets. To dispute the value of museums would be folly, but in the department which we have been considering, we think more general information is distributed by the one thousand little collections in our own country, than by this gigantic system of centralization. The private collector regards with a very jealous eye the government appropriation of Treasure Trove; he must henceforth relinquish his pursuit, or study his subject deprived of his alphabet, grammar, and rules; for such to him are his coins.

Two recently discovered hoards, one at Barrow, the other at Kibworth, have been removed from the county; two pages, as it were, rudely torn from the history of our local antiquities. Some we know would have been lodged in our local museums, their proper destination, if to be publicly displayed; others had passed by purchase into the possession of a gentleman fully capable of appreciating their worth. The Nunburnholme (Yorkshire) "find" does not appear to have been demanded by the Lords of the Treasury. Lord Londesborough, the owner, states, that he divided the coins equally, and presented them to three different Institutes, two belonging to the county of York. The claims of local museums and private collectors should not be disregarded in the discovery and distribution of relics. The British Museum is indebted for her choicest speci-

mens to the private collectors, the contents of whose cabinets from time to time, from various causes, have been distributed under the hammer of the auctioneer. Owing to the labour and taste of the local archæologist, many a costly gem has been snatched from oblivion, and the accumulated dust of ages has been removed from objects which have proved valuable accessories to the study both of history and chronology. If the Government appropriation of Treasure Trove be rigorously enforced, even under the active surveillance of the police, archæological societies must necessarily decline, local museums may close their doors, and private individuals must cease to collect. The subject was named to Lord John Manners at our late meeting. Several members of Parliament have also promised to give it their attention, and to introduce it where it will obtain a fair and candid discussion.

It appears especially desirable that a Society like this should discuss the question, record its opinions, and enter a formal protest on the minutes of its proceedings. My own conviction is, that the diffusion and not the centralization of objects of antiquity is the way to advance science; that Treasure Trove should be allowed to take its accustomed and accidental course, as in an age of taste and refinement like the present it will not be overlooked or misappropriated. We need no Act of Parliament now to prevent the destruction of relics; it would be well indeed if more vigilance was exercised to prevent their manufacture. We do not wish to form an Archæological Protection Society; we would rather have all unnecessary restrictions removed, which prevent the free distribution of objects of antiquity. Treasure Trove is described by an old but excellent authority to be, "Money, which being found, and not "owned, belongs to the King; but in the Civil Law to the finder." How far the present interference of Government accords with this, is a subject of considerable interest and open to grave criticism.

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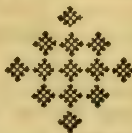

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